





Schloss des Barons

1852

ANCIENT AND MODERN INDIA.

BY THE LATE

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REVISED AND CONTINUED TO THE PRESENT TIME, BY

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P R E F A C E.

THE best introduction to the History of India is the Bible, in which two distinct passages describe the Navy belonging to Solomon, and the trade carried on through the Red Sea by that wise King who, "once in three years, imported in the ships of TARSHISH, gold and silver, ivory, apes and peacocks." Those passages prove that the enlightened Monarch, who was celebrated over the East for riches and for wisdom, received those articles from India.

The British people have done more than Solomon ; they have conquered India and its people, and they have brought from its shores unnumbered articles of value. Yet to many Britons India remains still a sealed book ; its history is scarcely read ; its manners and customs are not understood ; and its value is far from being appreciated. In order to open the way as much as in our power, for enabling the British mind to understand this most interesting subject, this succinct but comprehensive history has been revised, corrected, enlarged, and brought down to the present time, with the hope of inducing the friends of civilization and of British progress to glance at the details. Two powerful motives will have influence in encouraging English students to dedicate attention to Indian history, viz.:—I. The mental pleasure derivable from opening a new and wealthy mine in literature ; and, II. The vast financial advantages arising from thoroughly understanding the bearings of such knowledge.

I. In Europe the long-established practice has been to instruct all well-educated youths in three learned languages,

the Latin, the Greek, and the Hebrew. The value of those studies is still above estimation ; yet the progress of mental culture and the wants of actual civilization require that, in Great Britain, the three leading languages of the East, namely, the Arabic, the Persian, and the Sanscrit, should be carefully taught at the Universities, and that degrees and honours should be granted to the deserving students. The facilities for acquiring a knowledge of these languages have been much increased within late years, so that the trouble of learning them is speedily repaid by a knowledge of the history, the poetry, and the philosophy of the different countries in which they are still preserved. It is unnecessary to dwell on the beauties of Arabic and Persian literature ; they are familiar to every scholar. Reference may, however, be made to the Indian works, and, amongst them, to the *Ramayana*. This grand Epic poem, which some learned men call the *RAMEID*, will be found equal to the *ILLIAD* and *AENEID* in conception, while it inculcates a self-denying morality, in some respects far superior to either. The *Maha-bharat* and numberless other works will also repay the labour of studying the magnificent Sanscrit.

II. Yet, if the interest felt by British subjects in the pleasure derived from Eastern literature be still small, the incalculable financial advantages arising from the intimate connection between England and India cannot be overlooked or neglected. The immense benefit, which is derivable from India, is, however, as little known now, as was its geographical position 400 hundred years ago. A short explanation is given of those advantages in Chap. XXX. (p. 542), of this history ; and it is there shown that the revenue of India, with a population exceeding 150,000,000, amounts, at present, to only £20,000,000 per annum ; and also that that revenue may be increased, with great benefit, to both the Indian and the British people. In the reign of Aurungzebe, 160 years back, the revenue of India amounted to nearly £40,000,000 of our modern currency, that is, to double its present receipts. What prevents its being raised to a higher amount at the actual period ? There is one simple preventing cause—but that is a sufficient

one—namely, ignorance of the means to bring about that much-desired increase.

The burdens of the Hindus, who, like other subjects in different parts of the empire, are deprived of many comforts by the pressure of taxation, require to be relieved. By the arrangement of proper measures, the well-being of the British people, as well as of the inhabitants of India, can be permanently secured. After a thorough study of the political and financial relations of India, and with due sanction and co-operation, there is no doubt of success.

In the Appendices, special details of the events, that have raised up the three chief Cities or Presidencies of India, are given. These details could not be introduced into the work, yet they will be of great use to all those who seek to understand the progress of British rule in that country, and will save the young European, on his arrival there, hours of doubt and difficulty. Many of those details were discovered by slow references to the oldest records, and have never before been printed.

A short statement of the authorities on which this work rests may now be useful, since from its succinctness it was not possible to place the references at the bottom of each page. The reviser and author of this history has had great facilities for referring to various works on Indian events, in the library at the India House, and of them he profited largely; as also of the numerous books on Oriental history, which are to be found in the Publisher's extensive assortment. While revising the early part, he consulted Briggs' celebrated translation of Ferishta, and several other histories, including those in French, Spanish, and Portuguese, which are found in the India House, and some in the British Museum. For other parts of the book he relied on the authority of Orme, Stewart, Duff, etc., and also on the highly-prized History of India by

Mill, with the emendations and continuation by Professor Wilson, as well as on the different official documents published by Parliament and by the East India Company. Many years' residence in India, and a continued study of Eastern subjects, as well as a taste for historical researches, contributed to render the labour somewhat agreeable.

To a few, this book, as being condensed, may appear wanting in lengthened details; yet the author believes that, from its compactness and convenient size, it will prove useful to residents, as well in Europe, as in India. Experience has long taught him the want of such a book, as one of easy and continual reference, and he has endeavoured to supply that want for others as well as for himself. In such a mass of Eastern names and of varied dates, typographical errors may have occurred: the reader is requested to correct those marked in the Errata, and to send a note of any other errors or deficiencies to the Publisher, in order that they may be corrected in the future editions.

The orthography followed in this work is that which is at present generally adopted by the English in India. The spelling of some words may, at first sight, seem strange, such as "Comoree" and "Zamoree" etc.; but when it is known that those words are still so pronounced by the Portuguese, from whom they were taken, it will appear far more strange that the English should persist in giving them sounds which are unintelligible to the natives of every grade.

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A POPULAR HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

BRITISH INDIA, in 1851, extends from the Himalayas to Cape Comoree—from the mountains west of the Indus to the frontiers of Birmah. This magnificent continent has often been compared to Europe ; it is inhabited by at least 150 millions of human beings, the rule over whom has been acquired during the last hundred years by the enterprise and sagacity of the servants of a British Company, under whose guidance it has been cautiously administered. India now forms an integral portion of the British Empire ; and, as such, its preservation must henceforth be a fixed principle in the policy of the Legislature and Government. The duty of all, who seek to promote British interests, requires them to ascertain with exactness the actual state of, and to devise and carry into execution efficient means for augmenting the welfare of, the Indian people ; so that the prize thus rapidly gained may not be as rapidly lost. Instances of such gain and loss are to be found in the history of India.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY HISTORY.—ANCIENT STATE.

Traditional Stories.—The Eighteen Puranas.—The Epic Poem, Rama-yana.—The Epic Poem, Maha-bharat.—Translations of chosen Passages.—The Solar and Lunar Dynasties.—The Chandragupta Era, B.C. 292.—The Samvat Era, B.C. 56.—The Kingdom of Avantee.—The Dakka Era, A.D. 76.—The Four Grand Castes : I. Brahmans ; II. Kshatriyas ; III. Vaisyas ; IV. Sudras.—Buddhism.—Other Religions.

HISTORIANS have been unanimous in regarding the Hindus as one of the earliest, if not the first, civilized nations of the world. Authentic records of antiquity are wanting ; instead of histories they possess only vague traditions, exaggerated by the imagination of their poets, and monumental remains, which attest, CHAPTER
I.
Legends.

CHAPTER I. by their stupendous size, the vast conceptions of their founders, but afford no means of ascertaining the time when their builders existed. Independent of foreign accounts, the chief authorities for the early history of India are the eighteen Puranas and the two great epic poems called the Rama-yana and Maha-bharat. These contain, in their form, decisive evidence of their traditional origin ; nearly all of them are described as repeated by some person who had heard the story from another. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the Christian era, short histories of Cashmeer were written, which throw a little light on the antiquities of India. More accurate information respecting the state of the people during three centuries, may be obtained from the Greek writers, who described the conquests of Alexander.

First Hindus. The Hindus appear, at first, to have possessed only a small portion of India, the country between the rivers Seravoty and Kaggar, a tract about one hundred miles to the north-west of Delhi, about seventy-five miles in length, and from twenty to forty in breadth. The rest of the peninsula was covered with forests, and tenanted by Mlechas, or barbarians. They soon extended themselves, so that the ancient country of the Hindus may be said to have included the present provinces of Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Oude and Allahabad.

Two Dynasties. Ayodha (Oude) appears to have been the first capital of the nation ; it was the birth-place of the two principal families, called the dynasties of the Sun and Moon, both of which are said to have issued originally from Brahma (the Supreme Being, according to the mythology of the Hindus) through his sons, the patriarchs Daksha and Atri. Vaivaswat (the sun) had Daksha for his father, and Soma (the moon) was the child of Atri. The first prince of the family of the sun was named Ik-shwaku. He had several sons, one hundred according to the legend, who established themselves in different places ; but the direct line resided at Oude, in which Ik-shwaku was succeeded by his grandson, named Kakutsha. From fifty to seventy generations of the solar race followed. After these came the most celebrated hero of the solar line, Rama, the son of Dasaratha, whose marvellous exploits and adventures form the subject of one of the great epic poems, the Rama-yana. Stripped of its poetic and romantic decorations, his story merely relates that Rama established a powerful kingdom in Hindustan, that he invaded the Deccan, and conquered the island of Ceylon. On this simple basis the Hindu poets have erected a structure of

Rama-yana

extraordinary adventures, in which we find a parallel to the celebrated Iliad and Odyssey of the Greeks. A brief abstract of the poem will serve to show the nature of the heroes with whose exploits the Hindus are still delighted, and also help to illustrate the nature of their mythology and literature.

Dasaratha, king of Oude, a most fortunate monarch, was without a male child. By the advice of the Brahmins, he determined to propitiate the benevolent deities by the sacrifice of a horse, the most solemn of their religious ceremonies, and one which requires the labour of years in its preparation. Princes and Brahmins were invited to attend this important rite; and its complete success ensured Dasaratha the blessing of male children. The Devas and heavenly sages who had assisted at the sacrifice, proceeded to the mansion of Brahma, the chief of the Hindu gods, and informed him that the benevolent deities were worsted by certain evil genii, called Rakshasas, commanded by prince Ravanas, and that the good spirits were unable to make a successful resistance, having bound themselves by a promise to render their adversaries invulnerable. The god Vishnu "the Vishnu. illustrious lord of the universe," arrived during the discussion; he was "clad in vestments of yellow, ornamented with golden bracelets and riding on the eagle Vainataya, like the sun on a cloud, and holding his discus and mace in his hand." At the request of the deities, Vishnu consented to become incarnate in the persons of four sons of Dasaratha; and, as notwithstanding these incarnations he still retained his dignity and station in heaven, the Indian fable ascribes to Vishnu five separate existences at the same time. Rama is born, and, on the demand of Rama born Vishnu, is furnished with an army of supernatural monkeys to aid him in the approaching war.

When Rama and his brothers had attained a marriageable age, a sage named Visva Mitra appeared at the court of Dasaratha, Visva and obtained from the king a promise of whatever boon he desired. Mitra. He had made a solemn vow of offering a particular sacrifice, but had hitherto been prevented by the opposition of the Rakshasas from performing the ceremony in a manner acceptable to the deities; he, therefore, implored Dasaratha to give him the aid of his gallant son, Rama, against those impious demons. The aged monarch was unwilling to expose his beloved son in so perilous a war; Visva Mitra severely upbraided him for breach of promise, and "at the wrath of the sage the earth trembled, and fear seized even the gods." Dasaratha yielded; Rama and his brothers set forth for the war, and "at their departure a

CHAPTER
I.

The good
and evil
spirits.

CHAPTER I. shower of odorous flowers signified the approbation of heaven; and the celestial inhabitants themselves celebrated the event with songs of joy." In the course of the expedition Visva Mitra instructed Rama in the history and nature of every important object they passed; he also presented him with a suit of celestial armour, each separate piece of which came when summoned by its master, and was even able to enter into conversation with him.

Rama's
exploits.

Having slain the sorceress Taraka, Rama, his brothers, and the sage, traverse the countries bordering on the Ganges, and at length reach the palace of a king named Ganaka, who possessed an enormous bow which no person had yet been able to bend. Ganaka received the sage, Visva Mitra, with all the veneration which royalty itself was bound to show to so illustrious a Brahmin. At the sage's request he permitted Rama to essay the bending of the bow, a feat which the king had promised to reward with the hand of his lovely daughter Sita. It required the labour of eight hundred men to draw the carriage which contained the ponderous bow. Rama, notwithstanding, grasped it with one hand, and not only drew it, but broke it in the middle "with an astounding noise like the crash of a falling mountain." Ganaka at once consented that Sita should become the bride of the successful hero, and that Rama's three brothers should also be provided with wives. Dasaratha was invited to witness the splendid ceremonials of the marriage; he came with a large train, and when the nuptials were over, he brought Rama back to Oude, and associated him with himself in the government of the kingdom.

Kaikeyee, one of the wives of Dasaratha, was anxious that her son, Bharata, should succeed to the throne; and to effect this object, she excited such suspicion of Rama in the mind of the king, that he doomed his gallant son to an exile of fifteen years. Rama, followed by his wife Sita, and his brother Lakshman, departed from Oude, and retired into a forest, where he lived a life of penance. The grief of the father when he discovered his error, which brought down his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave, is thus powerfully portrayed in a passage translated by Milman.

" Mine eye no more my Rama sees--and grief o'erburns, my spirits sink,
As the swoln stream sweeps down the trees—that grow upon the crumblng
brink.

Oh, felt I Rama's touch, or spake—one word his home-returning voice,
Again to life should I awake—as quaffing nectar draughts rejoice,
But what so sad could e'er have been—celestial partner of my heart,

Than, Rama's beauteous face unseen,—from life untimely to depart?
 His exile in the forest o'er—him home returned to Oude's high town,
 Oh happy those, that see once more—like Indra from the sky come down.
 No mortal men, but gods I deem—moonlike, before whose wondering sight,
 My Rama's glorious face shall beam—from the dark forest bursting bright.
 Happy that gaze on Rama's face—with beauteous teeth and smile of love,
 Like the blue lotus in its grace—and like the starry king above.
 Like to the full autumnal moon—and like the lotus in its bloom,
 That youth who sees returning soon—how blest shall be that mortal's doom."
 Dwelling on that sweet memory—on his last bed the monarch lay,
 And slowly, softly seemed to die—as fades the moon at dawn away.
 "Ah, Rama! ah, my son!" thus said—or scarcely said the king of men,
 His gentle hapless spirit fled—in sorrow for his Rama then,
 The shepherd of his people old—at midnight on his bed of death,
 The tale of his son's exile told—and breathed away his dying breath.

After the death of Dasaratha his council proffered the vacant His brother throne to Bharata; but he refused to accept it, declaring that he seeks him. would not usurp the rights of his elder brother. The sages and Brahmins then resolved that Bharata should go in search of his brother; and he, having settled a regency, departed. After several wondrous adventures, Bharata reached the forest where Rama and Sita lived in the disguise of penitents. He informed the hero of Dasaratha's death, and begged of him to return home and assume the reins of government. Rama steadily refused to comply until his fifteen years of penance should be completed; but to prevent the kingdom from falling into anarchy, he surrendered to Bharata the royal insignia, to wit, the golden slipper and the white umbrella, promising to resume them when his allotted term of penance should be expired. Bharata, in consequence, returned to Oude and administered the kingdom in the name of his brother, while Rama, with his wife and brother, continued their penance in the woods.

In the meantime, Ravano, the prince of those impious demons Sita lost. the Rakshasas, having accidentally seen the beautiful Sita, fell violently in love, and by stratagem and force succeeded in bearing her off to his city of Lanka, situated in an island of the same name, where he kept her in strict seclusion. Rama, disconsolate for the loss of his lovely spouse, entered into an alliance with Hanuman, the chief of the supernatural monkeys, and engaged him to go in search of Sita. After many vexatious delays and disappointments, Hanuman obtained an interview with the object of his search at Lanka; and after having delivered to her a consoling message from her husband, hastened to rejoin him. Rama and his allies immediately resolved to attack Lanka; they constructed a wondrous bridge across the sea, over

CHAPTER I. which the allied armies of men, angels and monkeys, marched to the siege of the fortress. Fearful battles took place round the city of the demons. Earth, water and air, were equally the theatre of engagement, and heaven itself was alarmed by the furious struggle. Rama and Ravano encountered each other in their war-chariots; so furious was the shock of their meeting that the earth trembled for seven days, but at length the prince of the Rakshasas was overthrown, and the gates of his city stormed. Rama and Hanuman made a triumphal entry into Lanka; but the hero having delivered Sita began to express doubts of her fidelity, and she had to prove her innocence by submitting to the ordeal of fire. Heaven united with earth in the rejoicings occasioned by the establishment of the purity of the princess. Brahma and the other deities descended from heaven to bestow their benediction on her re-union with Rama. The whole party then returned to Oude, but Rama, instead of assuming his regal station, resigned the sceptre to his brother Lakshman, and ascended to heaven, his real abode.*

After Rama, sixty princes of the same race are said to have ruled in succession over his dominions. It seems probable that Oude ceased to be their capital, and that the seat of government was transferred to Canouj. Another line of the solar kings descended from Nimi, the son of Ik-shwaku, by whom the state of Mithila was founded. In this family Ganaka was born, the father of Sita, the wife of Rama, and his companion in exile and penitence.

* Vishnu had a thousand names; many avatars, or changes of existence, are attributed to him; in general, they were assumed for the purposes of restoring the true doctrines of the Vedas—for destroying oppressors, and for punishing the wicked. Ten of the avatars constitute the chief portion of Brahminical mythology. Nine of them have passed already—the tenth is to come, and with it is to take place the termination of this world. There is in them a marked gradation of historical lore. The first avatar was in the appearance of a fish, which increased exceedingly; the second, as a tortoise, on the back of which the ocean was churned, and the earth was produced; the third, as a boar, which destroyed a tyrant on the Coromandel coast; the fourth, as a man with a lion's head, who killed an infidel monarch; the fifth, as a dwarf, who humbled a haughty ruler; the sixth, as a prince, who fought for the superiority of the Brahmins over the Kshatriyas—his name was Rama Parasu; the seventh avatar represented Vishnu as the courageous and virtuous Rama Chandra, who overcame a tyrant in Ceylon, and whose exploits are sung in the Rama-yana; the eighth was the famed Krishna, the Apollo of the Hindoo females, and worshipped by them incessantly for his adventures, which the Brahmins say are merely allegorical; the ninth, Buddha, the legislator, who taught five points of forbearance, viz.: 1st, not to kill any living thing; 2nd, not to steal; 3rd, not to commit adultery; 4th, not to speak an untruth on any occasion; 5th, not to use intoxicating liquors or drugs. The tenth avatar is yet to come; and the Hindus expect Vishnu as an armed warrior, on a white, winged, and jewel-adorned horse, waving over his head with one hand the sword of destruction, and carrying a discus, with a ring in the other, as an emblem of never-ending existence.

The first prince of the lunar dynasty was Pururavas, the son of Buddha, the son of the moon. His capital was Pratisthana; at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna. According to the legends, he obtained in marriage Urvasee, one of the *Apsaras* or nymphs of heaven, whose celestial charms were without a parallel. Unfortunately, the king violated the conditions on which alone this unequal union was permitted; his beloved Urvasee was taken from him; and he felt the loss so severely that he was deprived of reason. After many years had elapsed, he discovered her sporting on the banks of a lake, and implored her to return; the nymph refused, but at the same time promised to pay him an annual visit. The fruits of their union were six sons, of whom Ayus, the eldest, succeeded to the throne. Pururavas was not satisfied with occasional visits from his celestial bride, he sighed for the permanent enjoyment of her society. Some deities pitying his distress, directed him to perform a sacrifice in a forest, to attain the gratification of his wishes. Fire was wanting to perform this sacred rite, but the king, by rubbing two branches of trees together, and reciting over them the holiest verse of the Vedas, generated a flame which enabled him to perform the necessary sacrifice. When this was done he was elevated to the rank of a demi-god, and permitted to enjoy the constant society of his Urvasee in the celestial regions. From this legend it may be concluded that Pururavas was the first who introduced the worship of fire into India; and there are some other traditions which indicate his being the author of some important innovations in the Hindu ritual.

Ayus had two sons, Nahusha, who succeeded him, and Kahetraviddha, who established a separate principality at Kasi or Benares; his grandson, Saunaka, is said to have established the distinction of castes; for in the age of purity all Hindus were equal.

Nahusha was succeeded by Yayatee, who had five sons. According to the Puranic legend he married the daughter of an eminent saint, to whom he proved unfaithful. The queen complained to her father; and he inflicted on Yayatee the curse of premature decay, with permission, however, to transfer his infirmities to any one who was willing to give him youth and strength in exchange. The king applied to his sons, all of whom refused, except Puru, the youngest. After a brief enjoyment of his renovated constitution, the king restored his youth to Puru, and resumed his own former decrepitude. He made this affectionate son paramount over his elder brothers, each of whom,

CHAPTER I. however, was appointed king of a circle or district. By their descendants the greater part of southern and western India was colonized, and civilization introduced among the barbarous inhabitants.

Puru continued to reside at Pratisthana, and was the ancestor of several celebrated princes, amongst whom Bharata, the son of Dushyanta, exercised such extensive power, that India is sometimes called after his name, Bharata Versha, or the country of Bharata. After about twenty descents from Puru, the crown devolved on Hastin, who removed the capital farther north, to a city which he erected on the banks of the Ganges, and called after his own name, Hastinapur. After having long flourished, the city was finally ruined by the encroachments of the river ; but vestiges of its remains may still be discovered. Four descents after Hastin brought the crown to Kuru, "who gave his name to the holy district Kurukshetra," north-west of his capital, an appellation which is still retained. It seems probable that at this time the lunar race had been forced backwards towards the north, by the increasing power of the kingdom of Oude, under Rama and his descendants.

Vichitravirya, the fourteenth in descent from Kuru, died without issue, but his half-brother, Vyasa, married the widow, by whom he had two sons, Pandu and Dhritarashtra. Vyasa is celebrated for having collected the hymns and prayers which

The Vedas. constitute the Vedas, or sacred books of the Hindus, and for having arranged them under their present divisions ; he also established a school in which they were taught, and the Puranas are sometimes, but erroneously, ascribed to his disciples. He is further described as the original narrator of the Maha-bharat, the second great Hindu epic. When his sons attained maturity, Vyasa resigned the government ; Pandu retired to the Himalaya mountains, where he had five sons ; Dhritarashtra remained in possession of the kingdom, and had a hundred sons, of whom Duryodhan was the eldest.

The Pandavas. The Pandavas, or sons of Pandu, came from the mountains to claim a share of their father's kingdom : they were first regarded as impostors, but a strong party being formed in their favour, a separate principality was assigned them, and they erected a new city for their capital on the banks of the Jumna, which was named Indraprastha. It was on or near the site of Delhi. Frequent dissensions between the kings of Hastinapur and Indraprastha led to the Great War, which forms the subject of the Maha-bharat, as the name indicates. Most of the princes

of India took a share in this mighty contest ; but the chief ally of the Pandavas was Krishna, who having been driven from Mathura, the seat of his family, had founded a new city, Dwaraka in Guzerat. He was, like his allies, one of the lunar race, being a Yadava, or descendant of Yadu, the eldest son of Yayatee.

CHAPTER
I.

According to the legends, Krishna was an incarnation of the Krishna god Vishnu, and as such he is still worshipped by the Hindus. Though of royal birth he was educated in the cottage of a herdsman, where he was concealed from a tyrant who sought his life. The frolics and exploits of the deity in childhood,—his stealing milk, his destroying serpents,—are favourite themes with the pastoral poets, and they love to dwell on his surpassing beauty as a youth, when he captivated the hearts, not only of the female rustics, but of the proudest princesses of Hindustan. As he advanced in years he achieved innumerable adventures ; among the rest, he destroyed the tyrant who usurped his inheritance, but was nevertheless unable to defend his native capital, and therefore established himself in Guzerat. It was chiefly by his aid that the Pandavas triumphed in the great battle, which lasted eighteen days ; Duryodhan and his host of brethren were slain. The undivided kingdom became the possession of the sons of Pandu ; but they were so grieved by the dreadful slaughter which their ambition occasioned, that they resigned their power. The end of Krishna was also unfortunate ; he was accidentally killed in a thicket by a hunter, and his sons—driven from their paternal possessions—were forced to seek refuge beyond the Indus. The successors of the Pandavas seem to have transferred the seat of government to Delhi ; none of them attained any eminence, and the kingdom of Magadha became the most flourishing in India, a rank which it continued to retain for several centuries.

Jarasandha, who was descended from Puru by a collateral branch, appears to have been the first monarch of Magadha who Magadha. acquired any remarkable power. He was slain by the Pandavas and Krishna, during the Great War at his capital, Ragaguba, an ancient city which can still be traced by its ruins. For many centuries the kings of Magadha belonged to the warrior caste ; and, during their dynasty, the Buddhist religion was introduced by Sakya, or Gautma, the son of a feudatory prince, who claimed to be an incarnation of the divinity. The last king of the warrior caste was Mahanandi, who was succeeded by Nanda, the son of a Sudra mother, who consequently was deemed one of that caste. Nanda's posterity held the throne for nine genera-

CHAPTER I. tions ; the last of the line, who was also named Nanda, was murdered by a Brahmin, who raised a relative of his victim, Chandra-gupta, to the throne.

Alexander. We now begin to obtain more accurate information respecting India from the Greek historians, the conquest of Alexander having for a time opened the country to Europeans. Previous to his arrival, the western parts of Hindustan had been conquered by Darius Hystapses, king of Persia ; and his son Xerxes was attended by a body of Indian troops when he invaded Greece : but the Persian dominion was brief in its duration and limited in its extent. When Alexander crossed the Indus, he found Hindustan divided into independent states, all of which are declared to have enjoyed a high degree of civilization ; the chief state appears to have been the empire of the Prasii, with its capital Palebothra, on the banks of the Ganges. From the accounts which the Hindus gave to the Greeks, it would appear that the Gangetic States had never been attacked by any foreign enemy, during the long interval between the exploits of Rama and the conquests of Alexander. Some perplexity has arisen from the inveterate habit, common to all the Greek historians, of identifying foreign deities with that of their own god Olympus ; thus, they assumed that the achievements of Rama, described in the Rama-yana, and the exploits of Krishna, detailed in the Maha-bharat, related to their own heroes Bacchus and Hercules, who must of course have invaded India. Alexander did not advance beyond the Hyphasis, one of the five great streams tributary to the Indus ; he only knew the great empire of the Prasii by report, having turned back before he reached its western frontier. The kingdom of Bactria, which the Greeks founded, probably became the means of introducing some portions of western civilization into Hindustan ; but it could not have been the only or the principal source of the Sanscrit language and literature, since, as we have seen, the companions of Alexander are unanimous in asserting that they found a system of civilization already established when they came to the frontiers of India, and also since there is not a particle of internal evidence, to show that the Hindus borrowed their systems of poetry and philosophy from foreign sources.

Sandracottus.

292 B.C.

After the retreat of Alexander, there arose a conqueror in India, known to the Greeks by the name of Sandracottus, who has been successfully identified with the Chandra-gupta of Hindu poetry and legend. He was the son of a woman of low extraction, and would therefore have been excluded from all share of

power, had not his royal father, Nanda, provoked the hostility of the Brahmins. They united with some prince in the north of India, by whose aid they destroyed Nanda and his legitimate children, after which they raised Chandra-gupta to the throne. The new king not only refused to pay the stipulated reward to the prince, his ally, but procured his assassination. The prince's son led an army to revenge his father's murder, consisting of his own subjects and a body of Greek auxiliaries. Chandra-gupta contrived by crafty intrigues, to excite dissensions between these allies, and thus the invasion was frustrated. He subsequently entered into a treaty with Seleucus Nicator, who after the death Seleucus of Alexander held for some time the sovereignty of Upper Asia, and probably by the aid of the Greeks extended his empire from the Ganges to the Indus. The descendants of Chandra-gupta were called Mauryas. Asoca, the third of the line, established a commanding influence over the states north of the Nerbudda; he erected columns, inscribed with edicts, for the regulation of the government, which from the remote points of their several positions prove the extent of his government, while their injunctions bear testimony to the civilized character of his policy. The family of Maurya retained possession of the throne for ten generations, and were succeeded by three other Sudra dynasties, under whom the prosperity of the kingdom of Magadha gradually declined.

Though the kingdom of Avantee, or Oujein, cannot claim equal antiquity with those already mentioned, it is the first of which we possess any authentic date. The Samvat era, still current in the countries north of the Nerbudda, dates from Vicramaditya. B.C. 56. This prince was a great patron of learning and learned men; nine of the sages whom he protected were called the Nine Gems of Science, and were scarcely less celebrated than the Seven Wise Men of Greece. Vicramaditya rendered a still more important service to India, by arresting the conquests of the Sakkas, or Scythians, who had overturned the Greek kingdom of Bactria, the modern Balkh. From his numerous wars against these barbarians, he was named Sakari, or the Foe of the Sakkas. It is probable, however, that some tribes or wandering clans of this race settled in northern India, and became the progenitors of the Rajpoot tribes between Oude and Marwar.

The celebrity of Avantee ceased with Vicramaditya; and the next prince of any note is Salivahana, king of Pratisthana in the Deccan. The Dakka era is reckoned from him, but little is known A.D. 76. of him beyond his name. From this time, India appears to have

CHAPTER I. been severed into a number of small principalities, distracted both by political and religious feuds, until it was invaded and brought under subjection by the Mahomedans, in the tenth century of the Christian era.

Foreign origin of the Hindus.

Modern investigations show that the Hindus were not the original natives of India, but that they came at some unknown age, from countries west of the Indus, bringing with them the Sanscrit language, and the religion of the Vedas; that they established themselves in the eastern part of the Punjab, or the country inclosed by the Indus and its tributary streams; and that they gradually acquired dominion over the barbarous tribes in their neighbourhood. It is probable that the original immigrants were a colony of priests, a religious and philosophical community rather than a political body, and that having established an ascendancy by their superiority of knowledge, they introduced the system of caste to secure the same advantages for their posterity. It is generally conceded, that the distinction of caste was not so rigidly observed in the more ancient periods of Hindu history, as it was in later times; the Brahmans are described, as having been forced to share their exclusive privilege of teaching the Vedas, with members of the warrior class, and both appear sometimes engaged in fierce contests both for spiritual and temporal supremacy. Caste is the fundamental principle of the Hindu polity; and the maintenance of its purity appears to be the main object of the great code of legislation ascribed to Menu. There are four original castes, the Brahmans or priests, the Kshatriyas or warriors, the Vaisyas or merchants, and the Sudras or vulgar.

Castes.

Brahmins. The Brahmans possessed the exclusive privilege of explaining the Vedas; and as these sacred books are the source of all Hindu learning, whether religious or scientific, the possession of knowledge was confined exclusively to their caste. They were the only physicians, because diseases were regarded as a punishment for sin, which could only be removed by religious expiations. They were the judges, for they alone possessed a knowledge of law, and they were the national priests, having the exclusive right of offering sacrifice. Sovereigns were obliged to treat them with respect, as being of a supernatural order; it was deemed impious to refuse their requests, their estates were free from impost, and it was unlawful to put them to death even when convicted of the most atrocious crimes. On the other hand, they were bound to perform ascetic duties, which, with the single exception of celibacy, are as rigid as those of the strictest

monastic order in Europe ; for without such austerities, the belief in their superior sanctity could not long have been maintained. In old age the Brahmin usually retires into solitude, to meditate upon the futurity which awaits him, and by which he hopes after death to obtain the *Nirvana* or absorption into the happiness of the Divinity. The Brahmins have a hierarchy amongst themselves, the laws of which are implicitly obeyed, and for transgressions a rigorous punishment is exacted.

CHAPTER
I.

The Kshatriyas or warrior caste ranked next to the Brahmins, with whom they, as well as the Vaisyas, shared the privilege of reading the Vedas, but were forbidden to make any comment or interpretation of the Sacred Books. It is probable that the first immigrants found it necessary to defend the supremacy they had acquired, and that they therefore trained a body of warriors, whose allegiance they hoped to secure by communicating to them a portion of their own privileges, while at the same time, they took every precaution to prevent these soldiers from becoming rivals to the Brahminical power. In fact, we know that the warriors made more than one effort to overthrow the power of the priests, and hence the laws regulating the Kshatriyas, are better calculated to make monks than soldiers. To the jealousy of the Brahmins must be attributed the great want of warlike spirit among the Hindus, and the ease with which they were subdued by foreign conquerors. The Brahmins assert that the old warrior caste is annihilated; and the institutes of Menu relate that several of their tribes were expelled from their caste, for neglecting to observe holy customs, and pay proper respect to their spiritual superiors.

Agriculture, trade and commerce, occupied the attention of the Vaisyas. Vaisyas, who were probably the most numerous of all the castes. They, like the preceding classes, were permitted to wear the sacred cord, which was the symbol of regeneration ; but this privilege was refused to the Sudras, who, according to the Hindu expression, were only born once.

The Sudras were absolutely forbidden all knowledge of the Sudras. Vedas ; they were liable to be punished with death, if detected reading one of the sacred books. It was declared that they were born to be servants ; that their first duty was to wait on a Brahmin ; but if they could not obtain a priestly master, they were recommended to enter the service of a Kshatriya or Vaisya. As some consolation for their degraded state, they were allowed to hope, that fidelity to a Brahmin would ensure the transmigration of their soul after death into a body of higher caste. They had

CHAPTER I. also other rights, particularly security of property and personal independence.

Mixed castes.

Power of the Brahmins.

In spite of all the legal restrictions on marriage, new castes were formed, chiefly by the intermarriage of the Hindus with the descendants of the primitive inhabitants of India. It has been, indeed, asserted that the Brahmins alone retained their original purity. Though the priests were excluded from reigning, they secured the dependence of the rajahs or kings on their order, by rigidly prescribing the routine of his daily occupations, and by insisting on the knowledge of the Vedas, as a qualification for admission into his council. The Brahmins even took upon them to depose kings for impiety and tyranny. In one of the Hindu dramas, Rakshasa, a Brahmin thus boasts of his share in the destruction of Nanda, to facilitate the elevation of Chandragupta as we have already described.

— “ Tis known to all the world,
I vowed the death of Nanda and I slew him ;
The current of a vow will work its way,
And cannot be resisted. What is done
Is spread abroad, and I no more have power
To stop the tale. Why should I ? Be it known
The fires of my wrath alone expire,
Like the fierce conflagration of a forest,
From lack of fuel, not from weariness.
The flames of my just anger have consumed
The branching ornaments of Nanda's stem,
Abandoned by the frightened priests and people,
They have enveloped in a shower of ashes
The blighted tree of his ambitious counsels ;
And they have overcast with sorrow's clouds
The smiling heaven of those moon like looks,
That shed the light of love upon my foes.”

Unity of the Deity taught.

It has been already mentioned that the Vedas were the first sacred books which were regarded as the authorities for the religious system of the Brahmins ; but it must be added, that the religion of the Hindus, in the present day, is very dissimilar from that taught in the Vedas. “ The real doctrine of the Indian scripture,” says Mr. Colebrook, “ is the unity of the deity in whom the universe is comprehended ; and the seeming polytheism which it exhibits, offers the elements, and the stars and planets as gods. The three principal manifestations of the divinity (Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, the persons of the Hindu trinity), with other personified attributes and energies, and most of the other gods of Hindu mythology, are indeed mentioned, or

at least indicated in the Vedas. But the worship of deified heroes is no part of the system; nor are the incarnations of deities suggested in any portion of the text, though such are sometimes hinted at by commentators." "It is true," says Professor Wilson, "that the prevailing character of the ritual of the Vedas is the worship of the personified elements; of Agni or ^{Worship} fire; Sudra, the firmament; Vayu, the air; Varuna, water; ^{of the} Aditya, the sun; Soma, the moon; and other elementary and planetary personages. It is also true, that the worship of the Vedas is, for the most part, domestic worship, consisting of prayers and oblations offered in their own houses, not in temples —by individuals for individual good, and addressed to unreal presences, not to visible types. In a word, the religion of the Vedas was not idolatry."

This simple and primitive form of worship was succeeded, in ^{successive} some remote and unknown age, by the adoration of images and ^{deities} types, and of historical personages elevated to the rank of divinities, which swelled into the most cumbrous body of legend and mythology to be found in any pagan nation. It is probable that this religious revolution was the work of the poets; the story of the Rama-yana and the Maha-bharat turns wholly upon the doctrine of incarnations, all the leading personages being incarnate gods, demigods, and celestial spirits. We know that a similar change was wrought in ancient Greece by Homer and Hesiod, for previous to the appearance of their theogonies, the objects of worship were the Titans, who were purely elementary deities, like the gods of the Asiatic nations. The legends which now constitute the Hindu mythology are collected in the Puranas, works generally believed to have been written or compiled about the tenth century of our era, when the original religion had been corrupted, and the ancient system of civilization had fallen into decay.

Manu, or Menu, was the legislator of the Hindus. His code of ^{Menu} laws was manifestly intended for an early stage of society; but it contains many excellent regulations relating to trade and commerce, marking an era when improvement was progressive. Manu, except when the author of the code is intended, is a generic term, and signifies a sage presiding over a chronological period, called a Manvantara, of whom fourteen appear. The account given of one of these Manus, Patryavata, bears a striking similarity to the scriptural account of Noah; and it will be interesting to compare the Hindu legend of the flood with the authentic narrative of Scripture. Manu, like Noah, stands alone in an age

CHAPTER of universal depravity ; he obtains the favour of the deity by
 I.
 the most rigid austerities.

He in wonder-working penance,—sire and grandsire far surpassed.
 With his arms on high outstretching,—wrought the sovereign of men,
 Steadily on one foot standing,—penance rigorous and dread,
 With his downward head low-drooping,—with his fixed unwavering eyes,
 Dreed he thus his awful penance,—many a long and weary year.

Brahma's
transmi-
grations.

At length Brahma appeared to him in the shape of a little fish, and besought to be saved from some larger fish that threatened to devour him. Menu, without suspecting the presence of a divinity, placed the fish in a crystal vase ; Brahma soon became too large for the vessel, and was removed to a lake ; he outgrew the lake, and was transferred to the Ganges ; and finally was transported by his kind protector to the ocean. Brahma then warned Menu of the approaching deluge, and informed him of the means by which he might escape from its destruction.

When the awful time approaches—hear from me what thou must do.
 In a little time, O blessed !—all this firm and seated earth,
 All that moves upon its surface—shall a deluge sweep away.
 Near it comes, of all creation—the ablation day is near ;
 Therefore what I now forewarn thee—may thy highest weal secure.
 All the fixed and all the moving—all that stirs, or stirrteh not,
 Lo, of all the time approaches—the tremendous time of doom.
 Build thyself a ship, O Manu—strong, with cables well prepared,
 And thyself, with the seven sages—mighty Manu enter in.
 All the living seeds of things—by the Brahmins named of yore,
 Place thou first within thy vessel—well secured, divided well.
 From thy ship keep watch, O hermit—watch for me as I draw near ;
 Horned shall I swim before thee—by my horn thou 'lt know me well,
 This the work thou must accomplish—I depart ; so fare thee well—
 Over those tumultuous waters—none without mine aid can sail.
 Doubt thou not, O lofty minded !—of my warning speech the truth."
 To the fish thus answered Manu—"All that thou requir'st, I'll do."
 Thus they parted, of each other—mutual leave when they had ta'en,
 Manu, raja ! to accomplish—all to him the fish had said.
 Taking first the seeds of all things—launched he forth upon the sea ;
 On the billowy sea, the prudent—in a beauteous vessel rode.
 Manu of the fish bethought him ;—conscious of his thought, the fish,
 Conqueror of hostile cities !—with his horn came floating by.
 King of men, the born of Manu !—Manu saw the sea-borne fish,
 In his form foreshewn, the horned—like a mountain huge and high.
 To the fish's head his cable, Manu bound—O king of men !
 Strong and firm his cable wound he—round and round on either horn ;
 And the fish, all conquering raja !—with that twisted cable bound,
 With the utmost speed that vessel—dragged along the ocean tide.
 In his bark along the ocean—boldly went the king of men :

Dancing with the tumbling billows—dashing through the roaring spray,
 Tossed about by winds tumultuous—in the vast and heaving sea,
 Like a trembling, drunken woman—reeled that ship, O king of men.
 Earth was seen no more, no region—nor the intermediate space;
 All around a waste of water—water all, and air and sky.
 In the whole world of creation—prince son of Bharata!
 None was seen but those seven Sages—Manu only, and the fish.
 Years on years, and still unwearied—drew that fish the bark along,
 Till at length it came, where lifted—Himavan its loftiest peak.
 There at length it came, and smiling—thus the fish addressed the sage :
 "To the peak of Himalaya—bind thou now thy stately ship."
 At the fish's mandate quickly—to the peak of Himavan
 Bound the sage his bark, and ever—to this day that loftiest peak,
 Bears the name of Naubandhana—from the binding of the bark.

CHAPTER
I.

The virtue attributed to extravagant princes, of which notice Buddha. is taken in the preceding extract, led to the promulgation of a new creed, which might be regarded as at once a religious, philosophical, and political reform of Brahminism. This religion, which probably possesses more votaries than any existing, is named Buddhism. According to the Brahmins, Buddha was the ninth incarnation of Vishnu; but the Buddhists recognize several successive Buddhas, seven of whom were persons of mortal mould, who, by prayers, penances, and meditation, attained to such excellence of nature as to have been gifted with divine nature, and to have been finally absorbed in the essence of the deity. The doctrine of absorption, or *Nirwana*, may be regarded Nirwana. as the fundamental principle of the Buddhist creed; it holds out the promise, that the soul, when sufficiently purified, shall lose all consciousness of separate existence, and be received into the essence of the godhead; and it teaches that this state of bliss is equally attainable by men, angels, and demons. It substituted sanctity for sacrifice. "Genuine Buddhism," says Mr. Hodgson, "has no priesthood; the ascetic despises the priest; the saint scorns the aid of mediators." As a consequence, it followed that the Buddhists recognized no distinction of caste, and that, wherever this system existed as a political institution, their creed tended to weaken and destroy its influence. It seems probable, that the Buddhists for a time obtained an ascendancy over the Brahmins, particularly in the states of Western India, where symptoms of their peculiar creed are found graven on the gigantic cave temples; but in the end they were overcome Its extent. by the Brahmins, and driven by persecution from the Peninsula. The exiles carried their creed to the vast regions of Asia, which extend beyond the north and east of India; they preached

CHAPTER I. it successfully in Nepaul, Mongolia, China, the farther peninsula, and the island of Ceylon, where it still flourishes with unabated vigour, and is supposed to include among its disciples fully one-third of the human race. It is probably owing to the expulsion of the Buddhists, that so much of the ancient literature of India has been lost, and that such darkness and uncertainty rest upon Hindu history. It was obviously the interest of the Brahmins to destroy every memorial of a contest which had nearly proved fatal to their power, and every record of a creed which struck at the very root of their pretensions.

The civilization of the Hindus. It is not necessary here to enter on any discussion of the amount of civilization to which the Hindus had attained, while they continued under the government of their native princes.

Professor Wilson's summary of their social state is so complete, and his authority of such weight, that we shall conclude this chapter by quoting his testimony. "The Hindus," says this eminent scholar and enlightened writer, "by the character of their institutions, and by the depressing influence of foreign subjugation, are apparently what they were at least three centuries before the Christian era. Two thousand years have done nothing for them, every thing for us. We must, therefore, in fairness compare them with their contemporaries, with the people of antiquity, and we shall then have reason to believe that they occupied a very foremost station amongst the nations. They had a religion, less disgraced by idolatrous worship than most of those which prevailed in early times. They had a government, which, although despotic, was equally restricted by law, by institutions, and by religion. They had a code of laws, in many respects wise and rational, and adapted to a great variety of relations, which could not have existed except in an advanced state of social organization. They had a copious and cultivated language, and an extensive and diversified literature; they had made great progress in the mathematical sciences; they speculated profoundly on the mysteries of man and nature; and they had acquired remarkable proficiency in many of the ornamental and useful arts of life. Whatever defects may be justly attributed to their religion, their government, their laws, their literature, their sciences, their arts, as contrasted with the same proofs of civilization in modern Europe, it will not be disputed by any impartial and candid critic, that, as far as we have the means of instituting a comparison, the Hindus were, in all these respects, quite as civilized as any of the most civilized nations of the ancient world, and in as early times as any of which records or traditions remain."

Another branch of Brahminism deserves notice, namely, the Jains, who resemble the Buddhists in religious doctrines, but look upon God as so inconceivable in his nature, that the human understanding is too feeble to comprehend his perfections. The Jains believe that a few chosen persons have been able to comprehend them. Since the creation of the world there have appeared twenty-four such persons, whom they call Tirthankars, who are honoured as saints. The Jains are to be found in the north-west of India, where they have erected larger and more splendid pagodas than the Brahmins ; they are less superstitious, and more polished, than the orthodox adherents to the original tenets of their creed.

The foreign religions, which have been introduced into India, are—the Mohammedans, or Moslems ; the Guebres, or fire-worshippers from Persia, who are commonly called Parsees ; some of the descendants of the tribes which were taken as captives from Judea into the East by the Babylonian conquerors, who are known as the Beni-Israel ; the descendants of the Syrian Christians, converted by Saint Thomas the Apostle ; the Roman Catholica, who have various churches under the Portuguese, British, and French authorities ; and the Established Churches of England and of Scotland, both of which have missions in several places.

Jews, Abyssinians, and Chinese are also to be met with in considerable numbers.

CHAPTER II.

THE AFGHAN AND MONGOLIAN INVASIONS, A.D. 800—1525.

First Mohammedan Invasion, A.D. 997.—Ten Attacks by Mahmoud of Ghuznee, 1020.—Ghorian Dynasty, 1187.—Empire fixed at Delhi, 1194.—Jenghiz Khan's Sons invade, 1242.—Mongolian Invasion, 1286.—Mallek Khan invades the Deccan, 1306.—Togluk reigns, 1321.—Bahmenee Dynasty, 1340.—Feroze rules, 1386.—Timur Lenk (Tamerlane), 1378.—Desolation by the Turks and Mongolians, 1400.—Death of Timur, 1405.—Afghan Dynasty at Delhi, 1450.—Baber succeeds in Ferghana, 1494.—Confusion in India, 1505.—Baber invited into India, 1525.—End of the Afghan Dynasty.

CHAPTER II. BEFORE the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope had opened India to European enterprize, the greater part of the country had been subdued by foreign invaders, animated equally by cupidity and religious fanaticism. From the earliest ages, the wealth of India has been the theme of so much exaggeration in western Asia, that the Saracens had scarcely become masters of Persia, before they evinced an anxiety to obtain some portion of the riches, which their native traditions as well as the legends of the countries which they had subdued, led them to believe were accumulated in the countries on the eastern side of the Indus. After the conversion of the Afghans to Mohammedanism, which took place in less than half a century from the first promulgation of that religion, frequent incursions were made into the territories of the Hindus : avarice and bigotry combined to stimulate the marauders to cruelty, for they regarded their victims as at once the most wealthy and the most obstinate of idolators.

Saracens
go to India.

After their first great burst of success, the Saracens sunk into indolence and effeminacy ; their sovereigns, the Khalifs, began to recruit their armies from the wild tribes of Turks and Tartars ; in a short time, these mercenaries became masters of the empire, and their generals founded independent principalities, limited in their extent and temporary in their duration. The Samanian dynasty, established by a Turkish adventurer, possessed the eastern provinces of the Persian empire, but obtained only a nominal obedience from the military hordes of the Afghans, who

have been distinguished by their love of savage independence, from the time that their name first appears in history. To control these dangerous subjects, they entrusted the government of Candahar, or (as the other capital is called) Ghuznee, to one of their officers named Sabektekin, who had risen from the condition of a slave to the highest rank in the army. His extraordinary talents enabled him to unite a great number both of Turkish and Afghan tribes under his government; he soon became so powerful that he not only rendered himself independent of the Samanian sultan, but even crossed the Indus to invade the kingdom of Lahore. Jeipal, a Brahmin prince, who then ruled Lahore, or as it is called from its five rivers, the Punjab, assembled a powerful army to protect his religion and his country, but was twice defeated with enormous loss, and forced to purchase peace by the sacrifice of a large portion of his dominions. The causes of the success of the invaders, were the discipline of their soldiers, and the weight of their horses. Hindustan was at this time apportioned among various tribes of Rajpoots, who were bound to perform a kind of feudal service for their lands; but the Rajpoot vassals were an ill-equipped and worse-officered body of national militia, suddenly called into the field at moments of emergency; their horses were the feeble race of steeds peculiar to the country, untrained to act in concert. The Turks, like their predecessors the Saracens, had been particularly attentive to the breeding and training of their horses, and hence the Hindus used to describe the dreaded charge of the Ghuznee cavalry, as "the burst of a whirlwind." The Afghans still look upon themselves as descendants of the ten tribes of Israel, removed by their ruthless conquerors.

On the death of Sabektekin, his son, Mahmood, ascended the throne; he was bigotedly attached to the Sonnee form of the of Ghuznee. Mohammedian faith, equally proud of his theological skill and A.D. 997. military prowess; from his very childhood he believed himself divinely summoned, to extirpate idolatry and establish the creed of Islam beyond the Indus. Jeipal was once more forced to take the field against invasion, and was again defeated: he was taken prisoner after the fight with several of his kinsmen, and the jewels found upon his person have been valued at eighty thousand pounds. The unfortunate prince, believing that his misfortunes arose from some crime which he might expiate by self-sacrifice, resigned his crown to his son, Ananga Pal, and terminated his life on the funeral pile. The renewal of the war by the Rajpoot chiefs, who refused to obey Ananga Pal, on

CHAPTER
II.
A.D. 997.
A.H. 387.

CHAPTER II. account of his submission to Mahmood, led the sultan a second time across the Indus, when he completed the subjugation of the Punjab, and captured the important city of Mooltan. A third expedition was undertaken to punish a refractory vassal; but a

A.D. 1004.

His invasions.

fourth and more important invasion, was rendered necessary by the revolt of Ananga Pal, who was stimulated by the remonstrances of the priests to make a great effort for throwing off the Mohammedan yoke. The battle which decided the fate of the Punjab, was fought in the neighbourhood of Peshawur. During forty days the armies remained watching each other: Mahmood at length commenced the battle, but his archers were driven back, and his lines thrown into confusion by the furious charge of the Gakkars, a wild mountain tribe, the ancestors of the modern Jats. The Mohammedans were on the point of being routed, when the elephant on which Ananga Pal rode, being terrified by the balls of burning naphtha hurled at him by the Afghans, turned and fled: the Hindus, believing themselves deserted by their sovereign, and disheartened by his apparent cowardice, gave way in every direction. A vigorous pursuit was maintained for two days and more than twenty thousand men are said to have fallen in the battle and the flight.

Mahmood's fifth invasion of India was undertaken to acquire possession of Nagrakot, a mountain fortress between the sources of the Ravee (Hydraotes) and the Beyas (Hyphasis), celebrated for its strength and reputed sanctity. Its temples were stored with gold and jewels; and that extraordinary spectacle of nature, a burning fountain in its neighbourhood, had from remote ages been regarded with superstitious veneration. Nagrakot yielded after a feeble defence; the treasures, which for many years had been accumulating in its shrines, became the prey of the conquerors, and Mahmood on his return home proclaimed a solemn festival, that the followers of the Prophet might have an opportunity of admiring his magnificent plunder. The next four expeditions were undertaken to obtain similar treasures, but it is not necessary to recite the particulars; the mind is fatigued and sickened by the sameness of the horrors perpetrated to gratify fanaticism and avarice; towns were burned, temples destroyed, idols broken, and such a multitude of captives driven into slavery, that in the Mohammedan camp the price of a strong man was only ten drachms, or about five English shillings.

Somnath.

Mahmood's tenth and most celebrated invasion, was directed against the temple of Somnath. The idol of this shrine was one of the twelve famous Lingams or Phalli erected in Hindustan,

and was dedicated to Siva under his title of Swayan Nath, CHAPTER II. or "the Self-existent." Though situated in Guzerat, water was brought from the distant streams of the holy Ganges for the A.D. 1024. daily washing of the idols, the revenues of ten thousand villages were assigned for the support of the temple, and princes devoted their daughters to the service of this obscene emblem. Undaunted by the difficulties of the expedition, Mahmood entered the inhospitable desert, between Mooltan and Guzerat : his soldiers suffered severely during the march, but they felt that all their toils and perils were rewarded when they beheld the walls of Somnath. The Hindus, animated by the Brahmins, defended themselves with all the rage of fanaticism and despair ; but they were unable to resist the enthusiastic fury of the Turks and Afghans, who believed that plunder would be the reward of life, and paradise the recompense of death. On the second day the fortress was taken by storm, incalculable treasures were found in the temple, which were removed to Ghuznee, and the idol was broken to pieces, though the Brahmins offered immense sums for its ransom. Mahmood did not long survive this brilliant conquest : he died after having raised his kingdom to the highest rank among the states of Upper Asia, and collected in his court the most eminent poets and philosophers who had yet contributed to Persian literature.

A disputed succession weakened the Ghuznevid power after Masood. the death of Mahmood ; and when Masood secured the crown by triumphing over all other competitors, his plans of Indian conquest were frustrated by the increasing power of the Seljukian Turks. Turks. Pressed forward by other tribes in their rear, vast hordes of Turks had crossed the Oxus, and among them a war-like sept, commanded by the three sons of Seljuk, had obtained permission from Mahmood to occupy the vacant pastures of Khorassan. Masood, jealous of the strangers, wished to drive them back, but Togrul Beg, the grandson of Seljuk, collected the scattered tribes of Turks, defeated the sultan, and wrested from him all his northern provinces. The Seljukians established their empire over all the country between the Euphrates and the Jaxartes, while the Ghuznevids, expelled from their ancestral possessions, removed to their Indian possessions and made Lahore their capital. When once an Eastern dynasty begins to decline, nothing can arrest the progress of decay ; in a few years the power of the Ghuznevids had become little better than a name ; many of the Hindoo princes asserted their independence, resumed the practice of their idolatrous rites, and retook several

CHAPTER II.
A.D. 1187. of their ancient fortresses. The Mohammedans, indignant at this proof of their sinking supremacy, became anxious to obtain a new and more prosperous race of sovereigns.

The family of Ghor originally possessed the mountainous district of Ghori, south-eastward of Khorassan ; it had been connected with the royal family of Ghuznee by several inter-marriages ; but these ties, as is frequently the case in Asia, produced hostility rather than amity ; murders from envy and jealousy laid the foundation of bitter feuds. A series of desultory wars ensued, which ended in placing the Ghorians in possession of the ancestral territories of their rivals. Mohammed Ghori having been appointed by his brother, viceroy of Ghuznee, resolved to extend his power over Northern India : he invaded the Punjab at the head of an Afghan army, which then, as now, was superior in valour to any military body in Asia, laid siege to Lahore, captured the city by treachery, and the last of the Ghuznevid dynasty, Khosrau II. terminated his life in prison.

Mohammed Ghori. Mohammed Ghori was emulous of the fame of the first great sultan of Ghuznee ; he resolved to extend his empire over Hindustan, but he found a formidable opponent in Prithvee Raya, the prince of Ajmeer. In the first engagement between the rival sovereigns, the Ghorian monarch was defeated with great loss, and was so depressed by the unexpected result, that he remained inactive for several years. At length a pretended saint predicted to him success over the enemies of Islam, and he again marched an army into the territories of Ajmeer. Prithvee Raya, lulled into fatal security by his former victory, was surprised in his camp, but he made a desperate though vain resistance. He was at length overcome and taken prisoner. Ajmeer, deprived of its monarch, surrendered immediately, and Mohammed, having appointed one of his slaves viceroy of his new dominions, returned to Ghuznee, in order to raise new hordes of Afghans and recruit his army for further conquests. Kuttub, to whom the government had been delegated, was raised from the condition of a slave to that of a general by Mohammed, who was a shrewd judge of merit ; he improved with diligence and ability the advantages which his master had gained ; he reduced the surrounding districts, and after having taken the fort of Meerut, laid siege to Delhi. The garrison ventured to meet him in the field ; he defeated them so severely that the citizens refused to continue their defence, and the city was surrendered.

Jaya Chandra, rajah or prince of Kanauj, had remained a tame

spectator of Prithri Raya's downfall : but the wanton cruelty of ^{CHAPTER} II. the Mohammedan conquerors inflamed his courage, and he led an army against the Ghorian viceroy. Information of this movement, which threatened formidable consequences, was sent to Mohammed, at Ghuznee ; he immediately assembled his Afghans, crossed the Indus, and effected a junction with the troops of Kuttub. After some preliminary skirmishes, a decisive battle was fought on the banks of the Jumna, in which the Hindus were totally defeated, and Jaya Chandra slain. The results of this victory, were the capture of the holy city of Benares, and the subjugation of Hindustan, even to the confines of China. These conquests consolidated the power of the Mohammedans in India ; and laid the foundation of the empire of Delhi.

The conquerors next assailed the barbarous Gakkurs and reduced them to obedience ; but on their return Mohammed Ghori was murdered by two of these mountaineers, who eluded the vigilance of his guards, and during the night penetrated to his tent. As he left no children, the succession to the empire A.D. 1206 was disputed by his nephews. Kuttub finally prevailed over the other competitors, but resigned himself to sloth and indolence. His son, Aram, exhibited still more deplorable weakness. In less than a year he was deposed by Altmish, originally a slave, whom Kuttub had elevated to the highest dignities, having bestowed upon him the hand of his daughter and declared him his adopted son. The usurper's reign was prosperous ; but after his death, his son Feroze dissipated the public treasures, and brought the monarchy into such contempt that he was dethroned by his own sister, Ruzia Begum. The queen's feebleness invited rebellion ; after a reign of six months she was slain in battle, and the empire remained in confusion until Nassir-ud-din Mahmood, the youngest son of Altmish, obtained the crown.

Mahmood II. had been consigned to a prison after his father's death, and had been compelled to support himself by his skill in II. caligraphy ; but he never complained of the fatigue of copying books, declaring that "he who would not work for his bread did not deserve it." He was subsequently released, and appointed to the government of a province, where his prudent administration obtained such fame that the Omrahs resolved to entrust him with the fortunes of the empire. In his reign the terrible Mongols, who under the command of Jenghis Khan and his successors, carried devastation from the seas of China to the shores of the Mediterranean, crossed the Indus, but retreated on the approach of Mahmood. After the death of this excellent

CHAPTER II. monarch, who left no children, the visier Pulbun or Balin, who, like several of his predecessors, had been originally a slave, ascended the throne. His reign was long and prosperous—it may also be termed glorious; for no less than fifteen Mohammedian sovereigns, driven from their thrones by the Mongolian successors of Jenghis Khan, sought refuge in the court of Delhi, and were supported in a manner worthy of their rank by its generous sovereign. The Mongols made a second attempt to penetrate Hindustan, and the king's favourite son, Mohammed, a prince of great promise, was sent against them, while the monarch proceeded to suppress a dangerous insurrection in Bengal. Mohammed encountered the invaders in the province of Mooltan, and gained a decisive victory; but following the pursuit with too great eagerness, he fell into an ambuscade and was slain. Decisive as his own triumphs were, they could not console the aged monarch, who had reached his eightieth year, for the loss of his heroic son; he sunk under the calamity, and was succeeded by his grandson, Kai Kobad.

A.D. 1286. Allah-ud-din. A troubled scene of revolutions, destitute of interest or importance, ended in the elevation of Allah-ud-din Khilji to the throne. Soon after his accession, the Mongols a third time invaded Hindustan with a countless army; they were met and defeated by Zaffer Khan, a general equally remarkable for his personal courage and skill as a commander. The last great battle was fought almost within sight of Delhi, and the gallant Zaffer Khan fell in the arms of victory. Allah-ud-din was not sorry for the loss of a general whose ambition he suspected; but the empire at large was filled with sorrow at being deprived of its great hero. "The bravery of Zaffer Khan," says Ferishta, "became so proverbial among the Mongols, that when their horses started, they would ask them if they saw the ghost of Zaffer Khan?" Intoxicated by his victories over the Mongols, Allah-ud-din began to form the most extravagant projects; he resolved to found a new religion, after the example of Mohammed; and, like Alexander the Great, to entrust his dominions to a viceroy, and undertake the conquest of the world. The very ignorance that led to the formation of designs so insane, prevented the monarch from proceeding any length towards their execution; his first efforts were productive of so many dangers and difficulties that he at once abandoned his ambitious enterprises, but at the same time consulted a holy man as to the means by which he might best transmit his name to posterity. The monarch was fortunate in his choice of an adviser; he was

recommended to secure his empire in Hindustan, by subduing the south-eastern provinces of the Peninsula, and to prevent the future incursions of the Mongols, by fortifying Qabul and Candahar. He engaged with great ardour in the former of these enterprises, and subdued several Rajahs ; but the remembrance of his follies still rankled in the minds of his nobles, and several conspiracies were formed, from which he escaped with great difficulty. These dangers impressed upon his mind the disadvantages of ignorance ; though past the middle age of life he began the study of letters ; and, as we are assured by the historians, in a short space of time became eminent for his proficiency. Mallek Kafur, a general of great reputation, in the mean time carried the Mohammedan arms into the Deccan, and gained so many victories, that on his return to Delhi the king himself met him at the gate, and acknowledged that he was his debtor for a new kingdom. An atrocious act of cruelty soon afterwards sullied this generally good reign ; the Mongols who had been made prisoners, or who had deserted during the invasions of their countrymen, having become Mohammedans, were enlisted in the royal army ; the king from some unknown cause grew jealous of these converts, and disbanded them without pay. In their distress, a rebellion was projected ; the plot was discovered ; and orders, issued for the extermination of the Mongols, were obeyed as ruthlessly as they were given. Fifteen thousand of these unhappy men, were seen lying dead on one day in the streets of Delhi, and all their wives and children were enslaved. Allah-ud-din was poisoned by his favourite general, Mallek Kafur, who procured the elevation of the king's youngest son, Omar Khilji, to the throne.

The nobles of Delhi, dissatisfied with this arrangement, murdered Mallek, dethroned Omar, and chose his brother Mubarik for their sovereign. Mubarik was a weak debauchee ; he placed his entire confidence in a Hindoo of the lowest origin, Mallek Khosrau, and thereby disgusted the ancient friends of his family. Mallek treacherously resolved to murder his benefactor. Information of his designs was given to the king ; but he refused to hear a syllable breathed against his favourite. He became the victim of his infatuation ; and all his relatives were involved in his fate. The governors of the provinces, on the news of the king's death, took up arms against the usurping Hindoo, and having conquered him, put him to a cruel death. They then raised the most eminent of their own number, Gheias-ud-din

A.D. 1316.

II.

Mallek
Kafur
invades the
Deccan.A.D. 1321.
Mubarik.

CHAPTER II. Toghluk, to the throne, and their choice was enthusiastically ratified by the people.

A.D. 1321. Toghluk's rule. Toghluk, like many of his predecessors, had been originally a slave. He displayed no wish to obtain the crown ; for when he entered Delhi after his victory, he proclaimed, "O ye subjects of this great empire ! I am no more than one of you who unsheathed my sword to deliver you from oppression, and rid the world of a monster. If, therefore, any of the royal line remain, let him be brought, that we, his servants, may prostrate ourselves before his throne. If not, let the most worthy of the illustrious order be elected among you ; and I will swear to abide by your choice." But the people vehemently cried out that none of the royal family remained alive, and that he who had protected the empire from the Mongols, and delivered it from the tyrant, was alone worthy to become its sovereign.

A.D. 1323. Murdered. Toghluk's earliest care was to secure his dominions against the formidable Mongols ; he erected a chain of forts along the frontiers of Kabul, so judiciously placed, and so well garrisoned, that these invaders were deterred from making any effort to renew their incursions during his reign. He pursued the conquests which his predecessors had begun to make in the Deccan, or peninsula of Southern India ; and he reduced to obedience several Omrahs, who had taken advantage of the former period of confusion to assert their independence. Returning from a victorious campaign, he was crushed to death in a temporary building, in which he had been entertained by his son : the fall of the roof, at the moment when the king was left with only a few attendants, has been, by many writers, ascribed to the contrivance of the young prince, who was immediately proclaimed his successor.

Mohammed Toghluk. Mohammed Toghluk ascended the throne conscious that he was suspected of parricide ; and to avert the dangerous consequences, he rendered himself popular by excessive liberality. He was the most eloquent and accomplished prince of his time ; even at this day, his letters in Arabic and Persian are regarded as the most perfect models of diplomatic correspondence. But literature did not change the native ferocity of his disposition ; few princes have rendered themselves more infamous by avarice and cruelty ; his eminent abilities only rendered him a greater scourge to his subjects. In the early part of his reign he subdued several of the southern provinces, especially the greater part of the Carnatic ; but the acquisitions of valour were lost by misgovernment. To inordinate taxation, he added the evils

of a depreciated currency. Ferishta's account of the result of this expedient is too remarkable to be omitted ; for it shews that an Oriental writer, more than two centuries ago, had sounder views in the science of political economy, than many Europeans of our own day.

II.

A.D. 1323.

"The king, unfortunately for his people, adopted his ideas of currency from a Chinese custom, of using paper on the emperor's credit, with the royal seal appended, in lieu of ready money. Mohammed Toghlu^k, instead of stamped paper, struck a copper coin, which he issued at an imaginary value, and caused it to pass current by a decree throughout Hindustan. The mint was under bad regulations. Bankers acquired large fortunes by coinage. Foreign merchants made their payments in copper to the home manufacturer, though they themselves received for the articles they sold silver and gold in foreign markets. There was so much corruption practised in the mint, that for a premium to those persons who had the management of it, merchants had their coin struck considerably below the legal value ; and these abuses were connived at by the government. The great calamity, however, consequent upon this debasement of the coin, arose from the known instability of the government. Public credit could not long subsist in a state so liable to revolutions as Hindustan ; for how could the people in the remote provinces receive for money the base representative of a treasury that often changed its master ? From these evils the discontent became universal, and the king was at length obliged to call in the copper currency. Such great abuses had occurred in the mint, however, that after the treasury was emptied, there still remained a heavy demand. This debt the king struck off, and thousands were ruined. The state, far from gaining by this crude scheme, had exhausted its treasury ; and the bankers and some merchants alone accumulated fortunes, at the expense of their sovereign and the people."

Having heard of the great wealth of China, Mohammed Invades Toghlu^k resolved to subdue that empire, and assembled a numerous army in the mountainous regions of Nepaul. Having made arrangements for securing his communications, the Mohammedan general entered the Chinese frontiers with diminished numbers, and soldiers dispirited by the fatigues and perils of their march. A superior force was ready to meet the invaders, and the Indian army commenced a retreat. But the rainy season surprised them in the mountains ; the Nepaulese, issuing from their fastnesses, harassed their flanks, the Chinese hung on Great loss.

CHAPTER II. their rear, and, out of their formidable forces, only a few miserable fugitives escaped to bring intelligence of their ruin.

A.D. 1340.

The next project of the king produced consequences scarcely less calamitous ; he resolved to make Dowlatabad the capital of his dominions, and ordered the citizens of Delhi to remove thither, "leaving that noble metropolis a resort for owls, and a dwelling-place for the beasts of the field."

At this time the taxes were so heavy, that the cultivators of the soil, unable to endure the exactions of the revenue officers, abandoned the entire fertile tract between the Jumna and the Ganges, set fire to their houses, and sought refuge in the jungles with their families and cattle. The vanity of the monarch was equal to his cruelty : having lost one of his teeth, he ordered it to be interred with great solemnity at Bir, and erected over it a magnificent tomb, which still exists as a monument of his folly. At length, these excesses drove even the patient Hindoos to revolt, and several of the native Rajahs recovered their independence. While engaged in subduing one of these insurrections, Mohammed died of a surfeit from fish, in the twenty-eighth year of his cruel reign.

Feroze chosen.

A body of Mongols, in Mohammed's service, had been sent to keep in control the turbulent people of Guzerat ; but these barbarians soon set the power of Mohammed at defiance : they withdrew into the Deccan, seized the strong fortress of Dowlatabad, and proclaimed their independence. The death of the Sultan was propitious to their efforts ; it afforded them time for laying the foundation of a new Mohammedan empire, which rose to considerable power, and preserved its existence for several centuries. Its sovereigns are known in history as the Bahmanee dynasty, and they included under their dominion all the provinces which had ever acknowledged the sway of the emperors of Delhi. The governor of Bengal took advantage of the general confusion, to erect his province into an independent state, and several nobles of minor importance shewed themselves ready to take part in the dismemberment of the empire. Amid these commotions, the Omrahs assembled, and resolved to confer the crown on Feroze Toghluk, the cousin of the deceased monarch. His claim was disputed for a time by the citizens of Delhi, who placed a son of Mohammed on the throne. But this competitor was only six years of age, and there was some doubt of his legitimacy. The nobles on both sides, having agreed to discuss what was best to be done in an amicable interview, the boy's claims were set aside, and Feroze was universally acknowledged.

But, during these disputes, the revolted provinces had concentrated their strength and consolidated their power, so that the new emperor was compelled to recognize the usurpers of the Deccan and Bengal as independent sovereigns, and to receive ambassadors from both. Notwithstanding their submission, Feroze seems to have dreaded the hostility of the citizens of Delhi, for he refused to reside within the wall, and erected the new city of Ferozabad in the neighbourhood, as the metropolis of his dominions. He was, indeed, so passionately fond of architecture, that he is said to have constructed fifty great aqueducts, or reservoirs of water, forty mosques, thirty schools, twenty caravanserais, a hundred palaces, five hospitals, one hundred tombs, ten baths, ten spires, one hundred and fifty wells, one hundred bridges, and pleasure-gardens without number.

After he had passed his eightieth year, Feroze, finding that the cares of the government pressed too heavily on his advanced age, resigned the crown to his son, Mohammed Toghluk II., who was devoted to pleasure, and slenderly provided with abilities. He gave himself up to debauchery, was deposed in a popular tumult, and the old king was forced to resume the reins of power. On his death he bequeathed the crown to his grandson, who was, in a few months, assassinated by his cousin, Abu Bekr, and he, in his turn, fell a victim to Mohammed Toghluk III., a younger brother of Feroze. The six years of Mohammed's reign were spent in quelling the revolts of his principal Omrahs, who aimed at independence, like the sovereigns of the Deccan and Bengal ; their insurrections scarcely allowed him any interval of repose, and the anxiety they occasioned hastened his death. His son, Humayoon, who succeeded, followed his father to the grave in less than two months, and a minor, Mahmood Toghluk, succeeded to a distracted empire and an exhausted treasury. The government fell into anarchy ; civil war raged everywhere ; three claimants for supremacy over the emperor contended with each other in the streets of Delhi for as many years. Mahmood became the puppet of whichever obtained a temporary triumph ; and the uncertainty of the state was increased by the neutral chiefs, who dreaded the establishment of the power of any of the competitors, and therefore when any one of them was too much depressed, lent him their aid to restore the balance. In the midst of this confusion news arrived of the approach of a formidable enemy, Pir Mohammed Jehan Ghir, the grandson of the

CHAPTER
II.
A.D. 1357.

CHAPTER II. terrible Timur Lenk (Tamerlane), who was sent by that terrible conqueror to subdue Hindustan.

A.D. 1387. Timur was a Jagatay Turk ; but in consequence of his claim, real or pretended, to descent from Jenghis Khan, he is commonly called a Mongol, as if all traces of his Mongolian descent would not have disappeared in successive generations. Strongly attached to the Shiah creed, he believed that he was employed by Heaven to extirpate heresy as well as idolatry, and to revenge on the Sonnees the murder of Ali. This belief consoled him for the ferocious massacres he had perpetrated, and was craftily encouraged by those who were anxious to conciliate his friendship. In that extraordinary specimen of autobiography, his memoirs, recently published, he shows us how strongly he was influenced by this persuasion. “ In the year of the Hejira 771 (A.D. 1378), when I had driven the Jetes (Uzbek Tartars) out of Turan (Transoxiana) and mounted the throne, and had directed the royal declaration to be read from all the pulpits, the Syeds (descendants from the family of Mohammed), the learned, the prelates, the rich and the poor, all raised their hands in prayer for my prosperity ; but Khuaje Abyd, who was the most celebrated preacher of that time, forbade them to pray for me, saying, ‘ Do not pray for this murderer and blood-thirsty Turk who has put to death an innumerable number of Mussulmans, nor repeat blessings on him.’ On that very night the Khuaje dreamed that he saw me standing in the presence of his holiness the prophet, that he entered, and several times made his obeisance to Mohammed, without his salutation being returned ; at length he called out, ‘ O, messenger of God, do you permit this wretch Timur, who has murdered hundreds of thousands of your followers, and who has destroyed the habitations of so many Mussulmans, to stand before you, whilst you do not return the salutation of me, who am the zealous supporter of your religion, and the establisher of your law ? ’ His holiness replied to him in an angry manner, ‘ Although Timur has shed much of the blood of my followers, as he has been the friend, the supporter, and the respecter of my posterity, why dost thou forbid the people to pray for and bless him ? ’ The Khuaje having awoke, came even during the night to me and asked pardon : when this intelligence reached the people, all of them raised their hands in prayer for my prosperity, and, considering me as supported by the divine favour, bore witness to my right. In gratitude for this favour, I day by day showed more attention,

Timur's
memoirs.

respect, and affection to the descendants of Mohammed, and CHAPTER
esteemed myself as the elect of God." II.

Religion afforded Timur a pretext for invading and conquering the kingdom of Persia. The history of that country, from the age of Jenghis Khan to that of Timur, is an unvarying repetition of cruelties, usurpations, treasons, and assassinations ; the provinces sometimes independent, and sometimes professing a nominal allegiance, were devastated by a ferocious soldiery, and the mosques were either deserted or possessed by ignorant priests, whose doctrines were frequently inconsistent with the creed of Islam. Timur's conquest of the country was consequently favoured by a large party of the priests, who regarded him as the extirpator of heresy ; and it was on the petition of the Imams and doctors of law, that he issued his celebrated decree at Shiraz, for the massacre of all the princes of the house of Musaffir, as obstinate disturbers of religion and the state.

One great reason which rendered Timur ambitious of subduing Hindustan, was the great fame which the Sonnee hero, Mahmood of Ghuznee, had obtained by establishing the creed of Islam amongst the idolaters beyond the Indus. He, too, aspired to be celebrated as a Ghazee, or heroic promulgator of the faith ; and hoped that, like Mahmood, he would bequeath a name to be celebrated by history, poetry, and legend. He found, however, great difficulties in persuading his nobles to undertake such an achievement ; they were daunted by the severe defeats which the Mongols had suffered on former occasions, and by the fear of the perils and hardships which they would necessarily endure in forcing the mountain passes around Cabul. Timur's own resolution was shaken ; but his courage was restored by a dream, which he thus records in his singular autobiography :—“ When I was about to invade Hindustan, and my chiefs, by their backwardness, rendered me doubtful whether I should proceed, I dreamt that I was in a large garden, and saw a number of people who were pruning the trees, and sowing seeds ; that the garden was full of trees, both great and small, on the tops of which the birds had built their nests ; I thought that I had a sling in my hand, and that I destroyed the nests with stones from the sling, and drove away all the birds. This dream was realized when I took that country, by expelling all the sultans, and taking possession of the kingdom.”

Mirza Pir Mohammed Jehan Ghir was sent to prepare the way for the conquest of Hindustan ; he crossed the Indus, defeated the troops sent to oppose him, and took Mooltan by storm.

CHAPTER **II.** The solstitial rains, however, compelled him to draw his army within the city, upon which the people of the country blockaded him closely and intercepted his supplies. In the meantime, Timur, at the head of an immense army, was advancing over the stupendous range of mountains which separates India from the regions of the north. The passage of the Hindu Koosh was not effected without great loss and difficulty ; the soldiers had to make their way through deep snow, which effaced every trace of a road, and at the same time to defend themselves against the savage mountaineers, who harassed them by continual skirmishes. The invaders, at length, forced their way to Cabul, and thence to Attock, the celebrated passage of the Indus. Prince Mubarik, who had revolted, after submitting to Mohammed Jehan Ghir in the preceding year, made a brave attempt to stop the progress of invasion ; but he was badly supported by his troops, and with difficulty escaped being made prisoner. Having sent relief to his grandson, Timur pursued his march towards Delhi, marking his track by massacre and desolation. Sultan Mahmood was roused to defend his kingdom ; he had a numerous and well-appointed army, attended by a formidable train of war-elephants and a rocket brigade, whose missiles were greatly dreaded. The battle was hot and terrible ; but, at length, the enervated troops of Delhi were borne down by the physical superiority of the iron men of the north ; the elephants were driven back on their own ranks, and many of them, deprived of their guides, rushed wildly over the field, trampling friends and foes alike ; a small body of Afghans alone remained firm, and enabled the sultan to effect his retreat, abandoning the rest of his followers to merciless conquerors, who refused to give any quarter. Mahmood and his ministers fled from the city, which was surrendered to Timur without further resistance, on the condition of being saved from destruction by the payment of a large ransom. In levying the heavy contribution, some disputes arose between the citizens and the conquerors, which led to blows. The fierce soldiers of Timur, without waiting for any orders, immediately commenced an indiscriminate massacre and pillage, which continued for three days, until the barbarians were forced to show mercy, because, from sheer exhaustion, they were no longer able to continue the work of cruelty. Having sent his plunder back to Samarkand, Timur led his forces as far as the Ganges, repeating the work of destruction with unvarying ferocity. At length, the intelligence of disorders and rebellions in Western Persia imperatively recalled Timur

**Conquers
the Indians.**

**Takes
Delhi.**

from his sanguinary career ; he quitted Hindustan, after having converted one of its fairest provinces into a desert.

Zaffer Khan, surnamed Azim Humayoon, had been appointed Governor of Guzerat by Mohammed Toghluk II., and had ruled the province with almost regal authority. His son, Mohammed Khan, having been forced to fly from Delhi, where he held the office of Vizier, rebelled against both the Sultan and his father, and proclaimed himself king of Guzerat, just at the time that Timur invaded India. Mohammed Toghluk, when he fled from Delhi, sought refuge in Guzerat, but not meeting with a very courteous reception, he went to Malwa. Mohammed Khan died soon afterwards, and was buried as a saint in the city of Patan. Zafir Khan continued his allegiance to the nominal emperors of Delhi until the family of Feroze became utterly powerless, when he suffered himself to be proclaimed king of Guzerat, and took the name of Musaffir Shah. The founder of the Patan dynasty, A. D. 1407. as the kings of Guzerat are sometimes called, from their capital city, was a wise and virtuous prince. "He continued," says the author of the *Mirat Amadi*, "to dispense justice, to punish the wicked, and to protect the poor, until he was poisoned by his grandson, Ahmed Shah."

A. D. 1410.
After the departure of Timur, Mahmood was nominally restored to the empire, but his authority was spurned by his factious nobles ; anarchy everywhere prevailed, and the death of the sultan was hailed as a relief by his suffering subjects. With him ended the third dynasty of the Afghan kings of Delhi.

An Afghan noble attempted to usurp the throne, but he was unable to maintain himself against the superior power and popularity of Khizer Khan, a Syed (or descendant of the prophet), who became the founder of a new dynasty. Khizer refused the title of sovereign, pretending that he held the government as viceroy for the house of Timur, in whose name he ordered all the coins to be struck and all edicts issued. By this expedient, he obviated the jealousies of the Omrahs, whose claims to the crown were superior to his own, and he terrified insurgents by the dread of chastisement from a powerful ruler who had given them such dreadful proof of his merciless disposition. Khizer's administration relieved the empire from many calamities, and the people again began to enjoy the blessings of peace and protection.

After a reign of seven years, Khizer died, and was succeeded by his son Syed Mubarik, who displayed considerable talents for government, and a more than ordinary attention to justice and

A. D. 1400.

A. D. 1391.

A. H. 794.

CHAPTER
II.
A.D. 1450.

humanity. But his reign, which lasted thirteen years, was one continued series of wars with the petty principalities which had been formed from fragments of the Delhi empire, and with his own factious nobles. While he was thus engaged, the kingdom of Guzerat was daily increasing in importance, under the wise administration of its second sultan, Ahmed Shah, who extended his conquests to the Deccan. Mubarik was murdered, by a band of assassins, employed by his vizier, who placed the sultan's grandson, Syed Mohammed, on the throne, expecting to reign in his name. But the Omrahs were disgusted with the pretensions of the aspiring minister; they had recourse to arms; and the king, probably without much reluctance, found it necessary to conciliate them by procuring the assassination of the insolent vizier. This concession, universally attributed to weakness, exposed the monarch to fresh demands, the refusal of which was followed by rebellion. Mubarik's power was reduced to a shadow, and a revolution was only averted by his death. Four years previous to this, the glorious reign of Ahmed in Guzerat had closed; but his son and successor, Mohammed, though of far inferior abilities, maintained the greatness of the kingdom. Syed Mohammed was succeeded at Delhi by his son Syed Allah-ud-din, who inherited the weakness as well as the throne of his father. After an inglorious reign of seven years, he was compelled to abdicate, and so little was he feared, that he was permitted to live unmolested in his retirement fourteen years,—a circumstance which can hardly be paralleled in Oriental History.

Beilolee
Lodee.

Beilolee Lodee, an Afghan by birth, became the founder of the fifth dynasty, established by his countrymen in Delhi. His mother was smothered while under the ruins of a falling house, but her husband opening the body saved the life of an infant destined to be the future emperor of Hindustan. In his early youth a dervish is said to have predicted his future greatness; and this prophecy, by awakening his ambition, may well be believed to have had some influence in working out its own accomplishment. The turbulent Omrahs refused at first to submit to one who had been long their equal, but by uniting firmness with prudent concession, he succeeded in establishing his authority over all the petty principalities round the metropolis. During his entire reign, he was engaged in a tedious and indecisive war with the kings of Joonpoor, whose obstinacy he had bound himself to subdue. Old age had arrived before his darling object was completed, and, feeling his infirmities, he divided

his dominions among his children. Soon after the conquest of Joonpoor, Beilolee died, having reigned thirty-eight years. In the mean time Guzerat was enjoying perfect tranquillity, under the wise administration of Sultan Mahmood Begarrah.

On the death of Beilolee, the Omrahs assembled as usual to deliberate on the choice of a successor. While they were debating, Sultana Zerna, a goldsmith's daughter, raised to the late king's bed on account of her eminent charms and witty conversation, addressed the assembly from behind a curtain, in favour of her son, Sekander Lodee, and thus united all the suffrages for his election. The brothers of the new emperor, dissatisfied by the choice of the Omrahs, refused to recognize Sekander's claims, and thus the early part of his reign was spent in a series of ruinous fraternal wars. One of the most remarkable events in his history, was a public discussion of the doctrine of toleration, the advocates of which, as might be expected, were pronounced guilty of heresy, and punished with death. Sekander's bigotry has rendered him a favourite with Mohammedan authors; not content with extolling him as a saint, they praise him as a hero—though, during his entire reign, he never performed any exploit worthy of being recorded.

The tranquillity which the prudent administration of Mahmood Begarrah had established in Guzerat was disturbed by an event, which, in a future chapter, will engage our attention—the rapid progress of the Portuguese in Southern India. The Sultan of Guzerat joined in the Mohammedan league, formed for the destruction of these Christian intruders; but he soon directed his attention exclusively to his domestic affairs, believing that the growing power of the Ottomans would, ere long, compel the Europeans to abandon the Indian seas. Begarrah was succeeded by his son, Musaffir II., surnamed, and deservedly, the Merciful.

Syed Ibrahim Lodee succeeded his father in Delhi. A conspiracy was formed to raise his younger brother to the throne, but it was fortunately detected almost at the very moment at which it was about to explode. Sultan Ibrahim punished not only the guilty, but the suspected, with such remorseless cruelty, that he drove most of his nobles into rebellion. Finding himself an object of suspicion to his sovereign, the governor of Lahore invited Baber, the sultan of Ferghana, and the descendant of the illustrious Timur, to his assistance, by whom Ibrahim was defeated and slain. With him ended the last of the Afghan empires in India. The sovereignty was entrusted to a new race of monarchs, called, by inveterate error, the Great Moguls: but

CHAPTER II. before entering on the history of this revolution, we must briefly direct our attention to the countries west and north of the Indus, and trace the fortunes of the posterity of Timur.*
 A. D. 1525.

The Sonnees and Shias are the chief sects of the Moslems; they cordially hate each other. They date from the Hejira, or flight of Mohammed. The Turks are Sonnees—the Persians are Shias.

* It will be useful for the reader of this history to consult the map of India, and to form an accurate notion of the geographical positions of the small Mohammedan kingdoms into which the Delhi empire was divided, after the invasion of Timur. They were seven, as follow:—I. Lahore and Mooltan; II. Samana, a large town now in ruins, 17 miles S.S.W. of Pattiallah; III Calpie, $79^{\circ} 44'$, $26^{\circ} 8'$; IV. Byana, $77^{\circ} 15'$, $26^{\circ} 57'$; V. Canouge, Oude and Joonpoor; VI. Malwa; VII. Guzerat.

The Mohammedan kingdoms of the Deccan, afterwards subjugated, were then six in number:—I. Koolberga, capital Dowlatabad; II. Beejapoore; III. Ahmednuggur; IV. Melingana, a large division, of which the capital was Wurangole; V. Berar, capital Ellichpoore; and VI. Beedur.

By subsequent conquests the Deccan was divided into five kingdoms, viz., Beejapoore, Golconda, Berar, Ahmednuggur, and Ahmedabad Beedur.

Bengal and Bahar were invaded in 1191 by Mulk Mohammed Buktyar, and tribute was paid to Delhi until 1838, when Mulk Faqueer-ud Din revolted and proclaimed his independence, and the Poorby dynasty was established there.

CHAPTER III.

MOHAMMEDAN EMPIRE AT DELHI, A.D. 1525—1803.

Baber founds the Mogul Dynasty, 1525.—His Sons quarrel, 1530.—Humayoon reigns; is defeated, 1536.—Flees to Persia.—His conduct there, 1543.—Religious disputes, 1545.—Humayoon restored to Delhi, 1548.—War in Afghanistan, 1550.—Akbar the Illustrious succeeds, 1555.—Battle at Paniput, 1557.—Akbar's magnanimity, 1565.—Siege of Chitoor; gallant defence, 1567.—Conquests in Guzerat, Bahar, and Bengal, 1575.—Akbar's toleration, and wish for a New Religion.—His system of administration.—His Son opposes him, and persecutes.—Jehan Ghir's great cruelties, 1598.—The celebrated beauty, Nur Mahal, 1612.—Immense riches of Jehan Ghir.—He subdues Bengal, 1616.—Jehan Ghir, a prisoner, is released by his Empress, 1620.—Shah Jehan rules over too wide an Empire, 1628.—Ruled by his wife.—Deprives the Portuguese of Hoogley.—The Mahrattas rise into power.—His four sons quarrel.—Aurungzebe succeeds.—His great craft and talents, 1658.—Invades Assam.—Driven back by the rains, 1665.—Threatened with an Invasion from Persia, 1668.—Aurungzebe's treachery to the Afghans.—Sambajee and Sivajee, Mahratta chiefs.—They refuse to trust Aurungzebe.—Sambajee taken and put to death.—Golconda and Beejapore subdued.—The Mahrattas continue the War.—Aurungzebe dies after a reign of forty-eight years.—Civil war among his children.—Jehander Shah succeeds.—The Empire declines.—He is ruled by his wife; slain by Rebels.—Ferokhshear raised to the Throne by two Syeds.—They revolt and slay him.—Refi-ud-Derjat reigns three months.—The Syed brothers are slain.—The Nizam of the Deccan asked to become Vizier.—He recommends that Nadir Shah be invited.—Nadir comes rapidly and routs the Army.—Delhi taken and plundered, 1739.—Great Massacre.—The Empire ruined.—The Mahrattas and Rohillas become powerful.—Nadir Shah assassinated, June 8th, 1747.—Ahmed Shah, the Afghan, invades India.—Routs the Indians, and subdues the Punjab.—The Rohillas defeat the Emperor.—They are beaten by the Mahrattas.—The Vizier deposes the Emperor, and maintains regularity.—The Afghans invade India the

fourth time.—The celebrated battle of Paniput, fought January 14th, 1761.—Hard fate of Shah Alum, 1772.—He is nearly starved, and then blinded, 1788.—Taken prisoner, 1790.—Released, 1803.—Died a pensioner, 1806.—The Delhi Empire terminated.

CHAPTER
III.

A.D. 1405.

Timur's
death.
A.D. 1405.

Intrigues
and
quarrels.

A.D. 1415.
A.H. 817.

A.D. 1446.
A.H. 850.

WITHIN a very short period after his return from India, Timur had settled the affairs of Persia; subdued Syria, Asia Minor, and Egypt; defeated the Turkish emperor, Ilderim Bajazet on the plains of Galatia, and prepared a vast expedition against China, which he was conducting over the mountains of Tartary, when he was overtaken by the stroke of death. He met his fate with the same steady resolution which had borne him onward through his prosperous career: perceiving his end approach, he convoked his nobles, exhorted them above all things to preserve the unity of his empire, and to secure the supremacy for his favourite grandchild, Pir Mohammed Jehan Ghir. Before the emperor's body was laid in the grave, active intrigues were commenced for frustrating both his requests. His grandson Khalil, at the instigation of the principal officers of the army, usurped the government, and tried to secure his throne by a lavish distribution of the treasure which Timur had accumulated; but this great expenditure produced no effect, save the impoverishment of his exchequer. Each chieftain who received his bounty, deemed that he had been underpaid when he learned the amount that had been bestowed on some other leader, whose consequence he underrated as much as he overvalued his own. Khalil succeeded in defeating his cousin, Pir Mohammed, and some other rivals; but he was finally betrayed to Khodabad, the secret enemy of Timur's family, and though he retained the name of royalty, he became a passive instrument in the hands of the Shah Rokh, the youngest son of Timur, who, enraged at this insult offered to his family, marched from Khorasan, which was the seat of his government, captured Samarkand, and reduced all the rest of Mawer-al-naher under his obedience. Khodabad was slain by the Mongols, from whom he sought aid. Khalil submitted to his uncle, and was for a brief space treated with great kindness, but finally ended his life by poison. Shah Rokh restored the empire founded by his father, nearly to its greatest extent, and ruled his vast dominions with equal firmness and clemency; but his death was followed by a renewal of the wars that had ensued on the decease of Timur.

Ulugh Beg succeeded his father, Shah Rokh, in Samarkand:

he was a prince of amiable dispositions, fondly attached to scientific pursuits, who has secured an honourable name by the valuable astronomical tables constructed under his directions, at an observatory which he caused to be erected in Samarkand for the purpose. All his relations, brothers, cousins, and nephews, raised insurrections against this estimable prince; but there were two, more marked in their hostility, from whom far different conduct might have been expected, his own son Abd-ul-latif, and Abu-syed Mirza, whom he had protected in infancy and youth, and had raised to rank and station. Ulugh was defeated and slain by his rebellious son; but the parricide did not long enjoy the fruits of his crime; he was murdered in a mutiny, A.H. 853. and his cousin Abdallah was chosen emperor. Abdallah, in a few months, was dethroned by Abu-syed.

Almost every province of the empire had now been formed into a kingdom by one or other of the descendants of Timur: Abu-syed was no sooner established on the throne of Samarkand, than he prepared to extend his dominion over the different principalities formed out of the ancient kingdom of Persia. After a series of desultory wars, and many vicissitudes of fortune, he conquered the greater part of Timur's ancient empire, and placed his sons over the new provinces. His last expedition was into Persian Irak, where he was defeated, taken prisoner by his enemies, and beheaded.

The dominions of Abu-syed were divided between his sons after his death. They engaged in mutual wars, barren of any interest, though productive of much misery. Omar Sheikh Mirza received the least of the provinces for his share—the province of Ferghana, on the upper Jaxartes, a river called by the orientals the Sin or Sihun. He was a restless, profuse, good-natured prince, and, on his death, he left his dominions in considerable confusion to his eldest son, Zehir-ud-din Mohammed, A.H. 900. surnamed Baber, or the Tiger.

The state of central Asia, when the illustrious Baber commenced his reign, must be briefly described. His uncle, Sultan Ahmed Mirza, was king of Bokhara and Samarkand; a second uncle, Mahmood Mirza, possessed Kunduz and Badakshan; a third, Ulugh Beg Mirza, held Cabul and Ghuznee; Huzzein Mirza, a descendant of Timur, and the most powerful prince of his age, ruled over Khorasan; Mahmood Khan, a Mongol, and Baber's maternal uncle, possessed Tashkend and Shahrokhia, on the lower Jaxartes, and the chief power over the Mongols of the Desert; finally, Sheibani Khan was collecting in the desert a

CHAPTER III.

A.D. 1449.

Timur's

descend-

ants.

A.D. 1449.

A.H. 853.

A.D. 1467.

A.H. 871.

A.D. 1494.

A.H. 900.

Baber the

Tiger.

CHAPTER III. horde, compounded of different races, destined in a future day to found a new monarchy. This was two years before the discovery of America by Columbus, and the passage round the Cape of Good Hope by De Gama.

A.D. 1500. No sooner had Baber mounted the throne than his dominions were attacked on every side by his paternal and maternal uncles ; he repulsed the several invaders. Two of them, Ahmed and Mahmood Mirza, died soon afterwards, and their kingdoms were united under Khosrau Shah, a son of the latter. Khosrau was a weak imprudent prince, but his accidental triumph over the Sultan of Khorasan gave him a temporary importance, of which he knew not how to avail himself. To describe the wars between the petty princes of Transoxiana would be tedious and uninteresting ; we shall therefore, for the most part, confine our attention to the progress of Baber, who made his first great step towards empire by the conquest of Samarkand. Scarcely, however, had he made the acquisition, when he was deprived of it by the desertion of one part of his followers and the revolt of others. Disheartened and weakened by sickness, he sought refuge in Khojend, where he prepared for fresh exertions, and after two years recovered his paternal dominions.

A.D. 1497. In the mean time Sheibani Khan, at the head of the Uzbeks, as his tumultuary hordes were called, had made himself master of Samarkand and Bokhara. Baber, by a sudden march, surprised the former city, and being joined by many of the Begs who had before deserted him, ventured to meet the Uzbeks in the field. He was defeated, and once more driven from the city, apparently a hopeless fugitive.

A.H. 903. Baber's sufferings and escapes—his total loss of his hereditary kingdom, and his adventures as the leader of a plundering horde rather than a regular army, have all the interest of romance ; but they want the importance of history. After having finally lost his inheritance, Ferghana, which became the prey of the Uzbeks under Sheibani Khan, he seems to have resolved to seek a new kingdom in the south, and entered his cousin Khosrau's dominions in Khorasan. Over this part of Baber's history there rests no little obscurity, our principal authority being his own memoirs ; but even from these it appears, that having been received by Khosrau as a friend and relation, Baber entered into secret intrigues for depriving his cousin of sovereign power. From Kunduz, Baber marched with the army, which he had enticed from the service of Khosrau, against Cabul, which was distracted by civil commotions. He became master of the

provinces of Cabul and Ghuznee ; but their superior wealth and power did not console him for the loss of his paternal Ferghana, to which he frequently cast "a longing, lingering look," as the country of his early affections. He shared his new acquisitions among his followers ; but finding the plunder exhausted before his troops were satisfied, he resolved on some new exploit, and after long deliberations, it was determined to invade Hindustan. This foray, for it does not deserve to be called a campaign, being finished, he returned to tranquillize and consolidate his new kingdom. This proved a very difficult task, principally on account of the complicated claims and pretensions made to sovereignty by the numerous descendants of Timur ; but Baber's power being established by his conquest of Candahar, he once more turned his attention towards Hindustan. But a new vicissitude awaited him : the army of Cabul revolted, as that of Samarkand had done before, and Baber was for more than two years a partisan chief before he could regain his kingdom.

Scarcely was Baber restored to the throne of Cabul when he heard of the death of his great enemy, Sheibani Khan, and that consequently an opportunity was offered of re-conquering his beloved Ferghana. His enterprise was at first successful ; he for the third time became master of Samarkand ; but the Uzbeks soon recovered from their dismay, and, being favoured by the natives, compelled Baber to relinquish the country of his ancestors for ever.

The project of invading Hindustan was resumed by the active monarch when he lost all hope of recovering Mawer-ul-nahar ; he crossed the Indus no longer as a predatory adventurer, but, as he gravely informs us, as a monarch coming to take possession of his right. "The countries among which I now was," he says, "had long been in the possession of the Turks ; I regarded them as my own domains, and was resolved to acquire the possession of them either by war or peace." After some partial successes he returned to Cabul ; and though he never resigned his plan, three years had elapsed before he could find a favourable opportunity of renewing his operations. Baber's fourth invasion of India was undertaken, as has been already mentioned, at the instigation of the nobles who were discontented with Ibrahim, the Afghan sultan of Delhi. On this occasion he subdued the whole of the Punjab, took Lahore by storm, and, enraged at the obstinacy of the resistance which he encountered, burned the city to the ground.

The fifth and final invasion of Hindustan was professedly

CHAPTER
III.
A.D. 1504.
A.H. 910.

CHAPTER
III.A.D. 1525.
A.H. 932.

designed to support Allah-ud-din's claims to the throne of Delhi ; but that prince having intrigued against his ally, Baber no longer deigned to use the pretext of his name ; and in his memoirs he never once alludes to Allah-ud-din's pretensions. Ibrahim levied an immense army to protect his crown, and hastened to meet Baber, whose progress had for some time resembled the procession of a monarch through his own dominions, rather than the campaign of an invader in a foreign country. After a severe conflict Ibrahim was defeated and slain. This single battle decided the fate of the empire ; detachments from Baber's army occupied Agra and Delhi without encountering any resistance. His nobles were now anxious to return home and disband their followers,* regarding their conquest merely as a successful inroad ; but Baber assembled them, and eloquently portrayed the superior advantages of Hindustan, and the glory that would result from founding a new empire. Four years were spent in subduing the Hindoo Rajahs and the Mohammedan provincial governors, who had established their independence during the recent distractions of the empire. These expeditions, some of which were attended with great danger and difficulty, finally proved successful ; the Turkish soldiers, reconciled to the climate of India, no longer spoke of returning home, and Baber assumed the title of Padishah or emperor, and Ghazee.

Thus was founded the empire of Delhi, absurdly called the empire of the Great Mogul, because a doubtful tradition had described one of Baber's very remote ancestors as a Mongolian prince. The error is now so inveterate that it would be vain to expect its cure ; we shall, however, use the name "Emperors of Delhi" for the successors of Baber, which will prevent any mistake, and avoid the difficulty that might arise from the true designation—Jagatays.

The great fatigues he had undergone in the various vicissitudes of his shifting fortunes, broke down the strong constitution of Baber, and having arranged the affairs of the empire with great wisdom, he quietly awaited the stroke of death, having appointed his son, Humayoon, his successor. While the emperor was on his death-bed, a plot was formed to procure the crown for his son-in-law, Mehdi Khwajeh, which was defeated by a very singular incident. Mir Khalifeh, Baber's vizier, was the chief supporter of Khwajeh ; he one day, unperceived, stood behind the prince,

His death.

Singular
incident.

* One vented his feelings in verses, to the following effect :—

If safe and sound I pass the river Sind,
Deuce take me, if again I'll visit Hind.

with whom he had been previously conversing, and Khwajeh, supposing that the vizier had left the apartment, said to himself aloud, "God willing, I will soon flay off your hide, old boy!" At the same moment, turning round, he saw the vizier's eye sternly fixed upon him. Khwajeh attempted to turn the matter off with a jest, saying, "Ah! my good fellow, the red tongue often gives the green head to the winds;" but Khalifeh was not so easily satisfied, and immediately after placed Khwajeh under arrest, thus securing his inheritance to Humayoon. Baber died on the 26th December, having ruled over his new empire of Hindustan a little more than five years.

CHAPTER III.

A.D. 1530.

A.D. 1530.

A.H. 935.

In Guzerat, Musaffir the Clement displayed equal valour, prudence, and mercy, in the administration of his kingdom. On his death he bequeathed the government to his son, Sekander, a youth of inferior abilities, and too exclusively attached to those who had been his favourites and companions while a prince. The rich largesses and presents he bestowed on these minions grievously offended the nobles; a conspiracy was formed, of which the vizier was chief, and Sekander was murdered, after a brief reign of three months. He left behind him a formidable avenger, his brother, the Sultan Bahadur, who marched against the usurping vizier, routed his adherents with little difficulty, and inflicted on him the just penalty of his treason. The new sultan marched against the Portuguese who had settled at Diu, and obtained some advantages, which, however, were not sufficient to compensate him for the expenses of the war; he was more successful against the Hindoo Rajahs on the frontiers of his kingdom, several of whom he compelled to become tributary. In the midst of his victorious career, he was summoned to defend his own kingdom against the emperor of Delhi, who was preparing for the subjection of Guzerat.

A.D. 1526.

When Humayoon succeeded his father, Baber, on the throne of Delhi, few monarchs could have had fairer prospects of a peaceful and happy reign. He had distinguished himself before his accession as a warrior and a statesman; his superiority was readily acknowledged by his brothers; and his literary attainments gained the respect of his subjects, who were now beginning to cultivate those sciences, which, for a season, rendered the court of Delhi one of the most brilliant and beneficial that ever existed in Asia. Ambition led him to invade Guzerat, where his success was so great that proposals were made for receiving that kingdom as a tributary state, and allowing Sultan Bahadur to reign as the emperor's deputy. Although Humayoon was aware that a

Humayoon
succeeds
Baber.

CHAPTER
III.

A.D. 1586.

A.D. 1586.

Guzerat
declines.

dangerous rebellion was on the point of exploding in his hereditary dominions, he rejected this judicious advice, and resolved to annex Guzerat as a province to his empire, and appointed his natural brother, prince Askerry, its governor. Scarcely had the emperor returned to Agra, when Sultan Bahadur, assisted by a body of Portuguese mercenaries, recovered his kingdom, and compelled Askerry to save himself by a precipitate flight. The Portuguese, relying on the promises they had received from the sultan, began to extend and secure their dominions by the erection of forts, which gave offence to Bahadur. His attendants attempted to murder some Portuguese on board a boat, when one of them, named Diego de Mesquita, understanding the orders given, drew his sword and wounded Bahadur, who jumped into the sea near Bassein. He was succeeded by his nephew, Mohammed II., who was taken from a prison to ascend the throne. From this time Guzerat began rapidly to decline; the princes of the Deccan withheld the tribute they had previously paid to the sultans, and the Portuguese ceased to pay any compensation for the ports of which they had taken possession.

After his return from Guzerat, Humayoon quelled several petty revolts which had broken out in his dominions; but while thus engaged, he received intelligence of a formidable insurrection of the Afghans, headed by Shir Khan, and at the same time obtained private information that the allegiance of his brothers, Hurdal and Kamran, was more than suspicious. Before marching against the Afghan insurgents, Humayoon sent for all the princes of his family, and impressed upon them the necessity of uniting their interests, declaring that their intestine feuds must lead to the dissolution of that mighty empire which had cost their father so much pains to acquire. They readily promised him their support; but he had no sooner departed to commence his campaign, than they commenced their treacherous intrigues with renewed vigour.

The emperor's first operations against the Afghan insurgents were crowned with success. Shir Khan, unable to maintain himself in the open field, sought to make peace, and Humayoon, dreading the machinations of his brothers during his absence, readily offered favourable terms. To render the treaty more binding on the insurgents, like all Afghans, more remarkable for their superstition than their fidelity, he employed a celebrated saint, Sheikh Khalil, to conduct the negotiations, and under his auspices the conditions were speedily and equitably arranged.

The treaty, however, had been scarcely signed, when the trea-

cherous Afghan made secret preparations to surprise the imperial camp, though most of his officers protested against an act which combined perfidy with impiety. A few less scrupulous, however, were found to volunteer ; and the choicest of the Afghan troops, with several war-elephants, were secretly drawn together. CHAPTER III.
A.D. 1540-54.
Afghan treachery. Sheikh Khalil, suspecting Shir Khan's designs, sent a messenger to warn Humayoon ; but the emperor would not believe that Shir Khan would venture on such a breach of honour and religion, and passed the night without taking any precautions. Just as the sun was rising on the following morning the Afghans attacked the imperial camp in the rear. Completely surprised, imperfectly armed, and unable in the confusion to form their ranks, the soldiers of Delhi made but a faint resistance. Humayoon, after several brave but ineffectual efforts to rally his troops, could only escape captivity by a rapid retreat across the Ganges. Though the stream was swollen, he plunged his steed into the river ; but the horse sunk exhausted, and the emperor would have been drowned, had not a water-carrier lent him a *musek*, or inflated leathern bag, by the aid of which he reached the opposite bank in safety. On this fatal day, eight thousand of the imperial troops were slain, or drowned in their efforts to pass the river. A second and still more fatal defeat compelled Humayoon to abandon his capital. He retreated slowly through the Punjab, where he received unquestionable proofs of Prince Kamran's treason. The officers and counsellors of the emperor advised him to inflict condign punishment on the traitor ; but he nobly replied—"No ! never for the vanities of this perishable world will I imbrue my hands in a brother's blood ; for I shall always bear in mind the dying words of our common and respected parent. Almost with his last breath he said to me, 'O Humayoon, beware—beware ! do not quarrel with your brother, nor ever form evil intentions towards him.' these words are graven on my heart." Several of his chiefs were displeased by this clemency, so unusual in the East, and withdrew from the imperial standard. Humayoon twice defeated.

Shir Khan's advance soon compelled the emperor—weakened by desertion—to abandon Lahore, and retire towards the Indus. A new misfortune seemed to await him at every step ; the princes of his family abandoned him to consult for their own safety ; the provincial governors refused to send him their contingents ; and some whom he had loaded with benefits, attempted to seize him, and send him prisoner to Shir Khan. Thus beset, he was forced to seek refuge with a few faithful followers on the west bank of the Indus. The country through which they fled

CHAPTER III. was a desolate waste ; their sufferings from want of water were dreadful—some went mad—others fell down dead. On the fourth day they reached a well, from which they raised water by means of their buckets, and a rudely-constructed wheel, put together on the spot by some of the soldiers. “So deep was the well,” says Ferishta, “that a drum was beaten to give notice to the driver of the bullocks when the bucket had reached the top. The unhappy followers were so impatient for water, that as soon as the first bucket appeared, several of them threw themselves upon it before it had quite reached the surface, and fell in.” During this calamitous retreat, Prince Akbar, afterwards emperor, was born. So severe was the pressure of his enemies on the unfortunate emperor, that he was obliged to leave his wife and infant son in his camp, where they were seized by the rebellious prince, Askerry, who carried off his nephew to Candahar. Humayoon had now no resource but to seek refuge in Persia, whither he was invited by the reigning monarch, Shah Tamasp ; he accordingly passed the frontiers, and was received by the Shah's orders with the utmost hospitality and kindness.

Flees to Persia.

When the emperor of Delhi entered Persia, he declared his determination of undertaking a pilgrimage to Mecca, if he could not obtain aid to recover his kingdom. Tamasp, however, promised to render him efficient assistance, and revived his courage, by according to the exiled sovereign all the honours of royalty. This generosity has been highly celebrated by all the Persian historians, and by the European writers who have relied upon their statements ; but recent investigations have shewn that Tamasp's conduct was not quite so honourable as it has been hitherto represented. The memoirs of Humayoon, written by Jouher, one of his confidential servants, shew us that the Persian monarch soon persecuted the royal exile for his adherence to the Sonnee creed, and only granted him assistance at the price of an extensive province. Though Timur himself was a bigoted Shiah, and made the injuries, which the Sonnees had inflicted on the house of Ali centuries before, a pretext for the destruction of Damascus, yet most of his descendants embraced the Sonnee creed, and Baber made it the established faith at Delhi. Soon after Humayoon had entered Persia, he received, among other presents from Tamasp, a *taj*, or Persian tiara of crimson silk, which he refused to wear. This *taj* was of a high conical shape, divided into twelve segments, in honour of the twelve Imams, and was, consequently, a Shiah cognizance, which no one of the opposite sect could wear without incurring the imputation of

apostasy. Tamasp was greatly irritated at Humayoon's refusal of the *taj*; and, as his biographer informs us, "when a large quantity of wood had been sent to the imperial residence, for the use of the followers, Shah Tamasp sent a message to his majesty, saying, unless he and all his followers would become *Shiahs*, he would make a funeral pile for them with that wood." Nor was this an idle menace; we learn from the same authority, that Religions quarrels. Tamasp consulted with his brother, Behram Mirza, respecting the destruction of the royal fugitive, and was with difficulty deterred from such a breach of hospitality by the unanimous representations of the Persian princes. Humayoon subsequently contrived to inspire the Shah with hopes of his conversion, and told the king's sister that "he had always been privately well disposed towards the *Shiahs*, out of which had partly originated the animosity of his brothers." Soon afterwards Tamasp levied an army, which he entrusted to the command of one of his sons, and sent to undertake the restoration of Humayoon.

The first operation of the war was the siege of Candahar, which was obstinately defended by prince Askerry. But the delay was advantageous to the emperor; it afforded time for those who were weary of Kamran's usurpation to rally round their lawful sovereign, and it lessened his obligations to the Persians, who seemed well disposed to secure all the fruits of victory for themselves. Candahar surrendered, and was garrisoned, according to agreement, by a Persian force; but Humayoon seized the first opportunity of securing so strong a place for himself, and having thus provided a place of refuge in case of defeat, he advanced upon Kabul. On his road he was joined by several deserters from the enemy, and Kamran was forced to abandon Kabul without striking a blow. After a long and desultory war, in which Kabul frequently changed masters, Kamran was finally defeated, and betrayed into his brother's hands by one of his partizans. His life was spared, but he was deprived of his sight; and the effects of this cruel punishment soon brought him to the grave. In the meantime, the Afghan conquerors of Hindustan were engaged in disastrous civil wars, and inflicted such calamities on the country, that the citizens of Agra and Delhi sent pressing messages to Humayoon, entreating him to return and rescue them from the oppressors. Humayoon immediately crossed the Indus and occupied Lahore, without encountering any serious opposition. Alarmed at this unexpected event, the Afghans laid aside their jealousies to unite against the common enemy; but they were defeated in three

CHAPTER III. general engagements, forced to evacuate their fortresses, and abandon all the conquests they had made. Humayoon made his triumphal entry into Delhi, after an absence of fourteen years, and soon saw every sign of the revolt effaced. But he did not long enjoy his restoration; he accidentally fell down a marble staircase, and was so severely injured that he died within a few days.

Akbar the Illustrios. Humayoon was succeeded by his favourite son, the illustrious Akbar, by whose abilities the empire of Delhi was raised to the summit of its glory.

Battle at Paniput.

Scarcely had he ascended the throne, when a series of insurrections in every quarter deprived him of all his dominions, except the Punjab; but though he had not yet attained his fourteenth year, he had sufficient wisdom to appreciate the abilities of Beiram Khan, whom he nominated regent of the empire by the affectionate title of Baba, or "father." This energetic minister, by several timely examples of severity, put an end to the spirit of mutiny which was rapidly spreading through the imperial army. Having thus restored discipline, Beiram Khan and Akbar marched against Hemu, a Hindu prince, who had usurped the throne of Delhi. The armies met at Paniput, and victory was long doubtful. At length Hemu, who was mounted on an elephant of prodigious size, being pierced through the eye with an arrow, fell back into his howda, and was believed to be slain. Notwithstanding the intense agony of the wound, Hemu drew the arrow, and with it the eye, out of the socket, which he wrapped in his handkerchief, and, in spite of his painful situation, attempted to rally his wavering troops. He might have succeeded, had not the cowardly driver of his elephant, terrified by the approach of an imperial lancer, offered to drive the animal wherever he was directed, and consented to bring Hemu within his enemy's lines. The unfortunate prince was dragged from his howda and put to death, while his followers dispersed in every direction. The immediate consequences of this victory were the occupation of Delhi without opposition, and the capture of Meerut, where Hemu's treasures were deposited. Not long after this victory, Beiram Khan began to abuse his power, putting to death those whom he suspected of rivalry, and insulting the prerogatives of royalty. Akbar, sensible of his obligations to the minister, endured several affronts with patience, but his resentment was at length inflamed by a circumstance which is thus related by Ab' ul Fazel:—"One day while the king was at Agra, one of the elephants being *must* (*veneris desiderio*

(impulses) attacked and killed another of Beiram Khan's, who, at the spur of the moment, commanded the keeper of the royal elephant to be put to death without first speaking to the king. CHAPTER III.
A.D. 1560.

Akbar was highly incensed, the more so on finding that the man was not to blame, having lost all control over the animal." Finding his favour decline, Beiram Khan revolted; but his followers were soon routed by the imperial troops, and he was reduced to such distress that he was forced to throw himself upon the emperor's mercy.

The impressive scene of the repentant minister's reception by his generous master, is too illustrative of the character of both to be omitted even in our limited page; it is thus portrayed by Ferishta:—

"When Beiram Khan entered the court, he hung his turban round his neck, and advancing rapidly threw himself in tears at the foot of the throne. Akbar, stretching forth his hand, caused him to rise, and placed him in his former station at the head of the nobles. A splendid dress was now brought, and the king addressed the fallen minister in the following words:—'If Beiram Khan loves a military life, the governments of Kalpy and Chandery offer a field for his ambition. If he choose rather to remain at court, our favour shall not be wanting to the benefactor of our family; but should he be disposed to seek devotion in retirement, let him perform a pilgrimage to Mecca, whither he shall be escorted in a manner worthy of his rank.' Beiram Khan replied, 'The royal confidence being once shaken, how can I wish to remain in the presence? The clemency of the king is enough, and his forgiveness is more than a reward for my former services. Let me, therefore, avert my thoughts from this world to another, and be allowed to proceed to the holy sepulchre.' " Akbar assented, and granted him a suitable retinue, and a considerable pension, Beiram Khan proceeded to Guzerat to seek means of transport to Arabia, but he was murdered on the road by an Afghan nobleman, whose father he had slain in battle.

Akbar now took the reins of government into his own hands, and by a judicious mixture of firmness and clemency, quelled the turbulent dispositions of the feudatory princes in his diversified dominions, and greatly extended his territories on the side of Bengal. One of his most memorable exploits was the siege of Chittoor, in which the officers on both sides displayed greater skill in mining and the construction of military works than could have been found in Europe at the same period. This fortress, the strongest in Malwa, was garrisoned by five thousand rajpoets of acknowledged bravery, and plentifully supplied with

Akbar
pardons
Beiram.

CHAPTER III. provisions and the munitions of war ; it could not therefore be taken by storm or blockade, and Akbar resolved to assail it by sap. The approaches were made in three lines ; batteries were erected to cover the mining operations, and mounted with cannon cast upon the spot, a circumstance which greatly surprised the Hindus, who had chiefly relied on the delay and difficulties attending the moving of the emperor's heavy ordnance. At length the mines were conducted under the wall, the chambers heavily loaded with gunpowder, and the trains fired. By some unfortunate accident one of the explosions was delayed until the storming party had mounted the breach : it proved more fatal to the assailants than to the besieged, and the imperialists, thrown into confusion, were beaten back to their entrenchments. A new sap was commenced ; it was happily completed, and a lodgment formed at the head of it, calculated to afford ample security against any attempt on the part of the garrison ; several breaches were also opened by the batteries, whose fire was incessant, and the garrison was harassed by a series of false attacks, which gave them neither rest nor respite. Notwithstanding these vigorous operations, the besieged maintained an obstinate resistance, until one of the most popular chiefs was shot, while superintending the repairs of the principal breach, by Akbar's own hand. The breach was instantly abandoned : the imperialists gained the walls with little loss, and, opening the gates, gave admission to the war-elephants and cavalry, who rushed furiously through the streets, with their trunks tossing the inhabitants against the walls, or trampling them under their feet. For some hours, quarter was neither asked nor given ; more than thirty thousand of the rajpoots and citizens of Chitoor were slain ; but a body of a thousand sharp-shooters, specially marked out for vengeance, escaped, by the ingenious stratagem of collecting their wives and children together, driving them onwards, as if they had been captives taken in the storm, and representing themselves as a body of imperial foot-soldiers, escorting plunder to the camp.

Fortress taken.

The fame acquired by the capture of Chitoor, facilitated Akbar's conquests in Guzerat, Bahar, and Bengal, but it did not abate the hostility of the Afghans, the hereditary enemies of the descendants of Baber. They were, however, defeated in all their efforts, and the emperor gradually extended his sway over the whole of northern Hindustan. Akbar was naturally of a mild and tolerant disposition ; he spurned the solicitations of the bigots by whom he was surrounded in the early part of his reign,

to persecute those who dissented from the established faith, and he aimed at the formation of a new religion, which might unite into one body Mohammedans, Hindus, the followers of Zoroaster, and even Jews and Christians. Previous, however, to this time, he seems to have been well disposed to adopt the religion of the Gospel in preference to that of the Koran, for he addressed a letter to the king of Portugal, a copy of which has been preserved by Ab' ul Fazel, requesting that Christian teachers, and translations of the sacred books of the Christians, should be sent to his court. This mission was entrusted to some individuals, who mixed falsehood with the truth; presented the emperor with a translation of the Gospels, in which the translators had mingled with them many of the popular Persian legends, trusting that they might thus be rendered more acceptable. This impious artifice had an effect directly contrary to that which was designed. Akbar was disgusted by meeting with legends, of whose falsehood he was previously convinced, and regarded Christianity with suspicion. He now resolved to form an eclectic creed for himself; and, like most Mohammedan sectaries, especially insisted on the great doctrine of the Divine Unity, which, he declared, was but obscurely revealed to the prophets. Unlike, however, every other propagator of a new faith, his proceedings were regulated with the utmost caution, and his appeals made solely to the reason. The religion which he endeavoured to introduce was merely a pure Deism, and his ritual was mainly derived from the forms and ceremonies of the ancient Persians, ascribed to Zoroaster. Many of the Hindus, and a great body of the Shiahs, declared their willingness to embrace the imperial creed; but Akbar introduced an institution, which, though apparently of trifling importance, appears to have been the rock on which his entire system was ultimately shipwrecked. He forbade his subjects to wear beards, and thus gave more offence than had been excited by all his abuse of Mohammed, and ridicule of the avatars or incarnations of Vishnu.

The conclusion of Akbar's reign was spent in vain efforts to propagate his new religion, which only spread where the court had influence. His eldest son, Jehan Ghir, strenuously opposed his father's tolerant principles, and attempted to extort from him edicts of persecution, which the emperor not only refused, but endeavoured to convince his son of the folly of bigotry. Akbar had sent a large army into the Deccan, which had been dismembered on the fall of the Bahmenee dynasty, and had reasonable hopes of extending his empire over the whole of India,

CHAPTER
III.
A.D. 1589.

He wishes to introduce a new religion.

Jehan Ghir persecutes.

CHAPTER III. when grief for the loss of his favourite son, Daniel, who fell a victim to intemperance, brought him to the grave. Few sovereigns have been more generally or more deservedly lamented than Akbar ; he was far the most enlightened monarch that ever

A.D. 1598. ruled over an Oriental empire, and he was the only one of the Delhi dynasty who had the wisdom to form a plan for uniting the various races subject to his sway, into an organized and single nation. He introduced a system of revenue which was satisfactory to the cultivators, by which one-third of the crops on the average of the nineteen preceding years was given to the government, excepting always in cases of drought, inundations, &c. The village regulations were as follow :—the *Pattel* was the chief, (like the *Maire*, in France, and the *Alcalde*, in Spain) the accountant was called the *Patwarree*; the *Pyke* was the watchman and head of the police. Besides these three essential personages, there were the money-changer, who was the silversmith (and as banker and money-lender, has become the usurer and the curse of many), the priest and astrologer (of whom one was required to be the school-master), the smith, the carpenter, the leather-worker, the potter, the barber, the tailor, the washerman, the physician, the musician, and other tradesmen (including even the dancing-girls) were all paid a stipend out of the general profits of the villages.

**His system
of govern-
ment.**

Akbar divided his extensive dominions into fifteen *Soubahs*, or provinces, twelve in Hindustan, and three in the Deccan—the latter were increased subsequently to six. The officer in charge of each was called the *Soubadar*, who held the civil and military authority. The chiefs of the military and police were called *Foujdars*. *Nabob* (*Nawab*) means “a Deputy of the Soubadar.” The *Dewan* was the civil and financial superintendent. It is necessary to understand these names as they often occur in Indian history.

**Jehan Ghir
suc. ceds.** Immediately after the death of Akbar became known, the nobles around the court assembled, and agreed to proclaim his eldest son, Selim, emperor, with the title of *Jehan Ghir*, which signifies “Conqueror of the World.” The first measure adopted by the new sovereign was the restoration of Mohammedanism to its former supremacy, and the removal from office of all who had favoured the religious innovations of Akbar. In the very first year of his reign, *Jehan Ghir* had to take the field against his own son *Khosrau*, who was supported in his rebellion by *Hassan Bek*, the governor of *Cabul*. The insurrection was suppressed, and eight hundred of the prince’s chief supporters

punished by the horrible death of impalement. But this did not prevent fresh conspiracies, which kept the emperor in constant anxiety. His chief consolation was derived from the company of the widow of Shir Afghan, a nobleman who had been put to death for treason. The emperor had loved this lady in the lifetime of his father Akbar, and had been grievously afflicted by her marriage with another. He became so deeply enamoured that he named her Nur-mahal, or the "light of the harem," also called Nur-jehan, or "light of the world," and spent every hour he could spare from the affairs of state in her company. In his autobiography the emperor declares, "At the period in which this is written (about the fourteenth year of the emperor's reign), I may say that the whole concern of my household, whether gold or jewels, is under her sole and entire management. Of my unreserved confidence, indeed, this princess is in complete possession, and I may allege without a fallacy that the whole fortune of my empire has been consigned to this highly endowed family; the father being my finance minister, the son my lieutenant-general, with unlimited powers, and the daughter the inseparable companion of my care." During the reign of Akbar immense wealth had been accumulated in the royal treasures, and the Great Mogul, as the emperor of Delhi by pertinacious error continues to be called, was celebrated throughout Europe as the richest monarch in the world. The European ambassadors who visited his court, among whom may be noticed Sir Thomas Roe, sent to negotiate a commercial treaty by the British sovereign, James I, confirmed the reports of the wealth and magnificence of the court of Delhi; but their statements were suspected of exaggeration by many who knew not the value of India while its resources were yet unexhausted. An extract from the "Memoirs of Jehan Ghir" will show that the accounts of his magnificence given by the travellers of the seventeenth century, were not so much overdrawn as is usually supposed: "On the eleventh day of the month of Shaban, of the year (of the Hijra) 1019, (18th of September, 1610), I bestowed the daughter of Mirza Rustam upon my favourite son Parviz, with a marriage portion of one lak of asherfees (two hundred thousand pounds). On the evening on which the bride was brought to the palace, I presented her with a necklace of sixty pearls, for each pearl of which my father had paid the sum of ten thousand rupees (consequently the value of the necklace was sixty thousand pounds). I also presented them with a ruby of the value of two hundred and fifty thousand rupees (twenty-

A.D. 1610.

A widow,
the beauty
of the
Court.

His
immense
riches.

CHAPTER five thousand pounds); and I finally assigned for her support
 III.
 the annual sum of three laks of rupees (thirty thousand pounds);
 A.D. 1628.
 and for the establishment of her household one hundred maidens
 from Surat, who were devoted to her service.

Subdues
Bengal. After the suppression of prince Khosrau's rebellion, Jehan Ghir directed his attention to the affairs of Bengal, and completed the subjugation of that province. His partiality for the relations of his favourite sultana, however, provoked the resentment of the royal family, and a new insurrection was planned by the emperor's third son, Khorrum, better known in history by the name of Shah Jehan, who commenced his career by murdering his brother Khosrau. The young prince laid siege to Agra, but being repulsed from the walls he hazarded a pitched battle, in which he was completely defeated. He continued, however, to maintain a vigorous struggle, passing with great rapidity from one province to another, while Jehan Ghir, influenced by the jealous councils of the sultana, treated his nobles and ministers so harshly, that they were almost driven to rebellion in their own defence. Mohabut Khan, the best general in the emperor's service, having been treacherously attacked by the imperial forces, routed them with great loss, and profited by his victory to make Jehan Ghir a prisoner. The empress was not daunted by this misfortune;—she secretly levied an army, and when she had mustered sufficient strength, contrived a plan for Jehan Ghir's escape, which perfectly succeeded. Mohabut Khan, suddenly deserted by the greater part of his followers, fled to prince Khorrum, and both prepared to renew the war. But the death of the emperor averted the horrors of a new contest; the empress vainly attempted to raise up a rival to prince Khorrum, on whose approach all the nobles flocked to his camp, and saluted him emperor by the title of Shah Jehan, King of the World.

A.D. 1628. Although the empire of Delhi had reached the summit of its greatness when Shah Jehan ascended the throne, it was at this very period that the signs of its future ruin became most apparent. It was too extensive for its unenlightened rulers: there was no bond of union between its discordant parts; and, consequently, insurrections were frequent in all the remote provinces. Shah Jehan was, like his father, ruled by his queen, and at her instigation he declared war against the Portuguese, and deprived them of their settlement at Hoogley. After the death of his favourite sultana, the emperor abandoned himself to the most profligate debauchery, and exhausted his immense treasures in gratifying the caprices of his favourite mistresses. But his strict

His vices.

administration of justice, and the wisdom of his decisions, which are still quoted with respect, saved him from the contempt which is usually incurred by voluptuous princes. As he grew older avarice succeeded to prodigality, and he made use of the most iniquitous pretexts to forfeit the property of his nobles, and increase the burdens of his people. To save the expense of maintaining his sons at court, he assigned them the government of distant provinces, without any appointments but what they could draw from their subjects, and thus laid the foundation for a new series of calamitous civil wars.

CHAPTER

III.

A.D. 1655-58

The mutual jealousies of Shah Jehan's four sons prevented His four them from acting in concert, and through fear of each other they sons. remained quiet until the emperor became so dangerously ill that a report of his death was generally credited. Dara, the eldest, who was at court, hearing that his brothers were levying armies, hastened to assure them that Shah Jehan was not only alive, but was fast recovering. Sujah, the second son, refused to credit the report, and took the field with an army which he had been enabled to levy from the wealth he had amassed in his government of Bengal. Aurung-zebe, the youngest of the princes, Aurung- feigning that he had devoted himself to a religious life, took up zabe. arms under the pretence of supporting the claims of his brother Morad ; and being consequently joined by that prince, steadily advanced towards the capital. In the mean time Sujah was defeated by the son of Dara, and forced to retire.Flushed with recent victory, the imperial army marched to drive back Aurung-zebe and Morad ; but, through the treachery of one of the generals, it was routed with great loss, and the two princes continued their progress. Dara, enraged at this unexpected failure, and trusting to the vast superiority of his forces, resolved to crush the revolt before it had time to spread further, and marched to encounter his brothers. Aurung-zebe baffled Dara by the unexpected rapidity of his movements, and reached a place within five miles of Agra before his advance could be checked by the imperial army. In the battle that ensued, Dara, at the head of the elephants and cavalry, made so furious a charge that he bore down all opposition. Believing the victory secure, he descended from his elephant to mount a horse and pursue the fugitives ; but no sooner did his followers miss him from the elephant, than, believing him to have fallen by some sudden blow, they broke their lines and fell into confusion. Aurung-zebe, who had contrived by immense exertions to keep a small band together, so ably profited by this sudden turn of fortune, that he gained a

CHAPTER III. decisive victory, and compelled Dara to seek shelter in Agra.

A.D. 1658. Suleiman, the son of Dara, was hastening with a numerous army to his father's aid, when he received news of this calamity. He prepared to remedy the disaster; but his principal generals, gained over by the secret intrigues of Aurung-zebe, plotted his arrest, and he was compelled to fly with a few faithful friends to avoid being delivered up to his uncle.

His craft. Shah Jehan was well aware of Aurung-zebe's crafty and ambitious character, but he thought it best to dissemble his feelings and to throw the whole blame of the war on Dara. The emperor, however, had to deal with a master in the arts of duplicity. Aurung-zebe affected to be perfectly satisfied until Shah Jehan was thrown off his guard, when he was suddenly arrested by Aurung-zebe's son, Mohammed, and confined a close prisoner to the palace. Soon afterwards he seized his brother Morad, whom he had so long deluded, and confined him in a strong fortress near Delhi. His brothers, Dara and Sujah, however, still disputed the usurper's power to empire, and his own son, Mohammed, for **His success.** a time supported the pretensions of the latter. They continued their efforts for two or three years, but they were finally defeated and put to death by Aurung-zebe's command. Morad shared their fate, and the entire empire recognised the authority of the crafty usurper.

A.D. 1661. On his accession Aurung-zebe took the proud title of Alumghir, or "Conqueror of the World." The policy of Aurung-zebe was proverbial among the Mohammedans of India. His empire was ravaged by a famine, caused by a drought, in 1661; he provided for the wants of the suffering inhabitants by having grain brought from provinces in which it was abundant, to those in which there was a deficiency. He remitted all rents and taxes on the husbandmen during the calamity, and he maintained the utmost economy in his own disbursements. The vigilance and steadiness of his administration preserved tranquillity in the empire; but the bigotry and intolerance of the emperor revived religious animosities between the varied sects and parties subject to his sway: the perfidy of which he set the example, spread through his court, so that he had neither a minister nor an officer worthy of confidence, and his sons evinced a disposition to emulate him in wars upon their father, and upon each other. Intent on conquest, he sent a large army to invade Assam, but after having obtained several victories, the imperial forces were compelled to return by the violence of the rains, and were almost annihilated in their retreat. Several

His decisions.

insurrections were provoked by the rapacity of the imperial CHAPTER III.
tax-gatherers ; but only one was formidable, from a general belief that the insurgents were protected by enchantment. Au- A.D. 1660-99
rung-zebe revived the spirits of his soldiers by distributing to them amulets, inscribed with verses from the Koran ; and thus, one superstition counteracting the other, the rebels were conquered. An invasion from Persia menaced greater dangers, but it was averted by the death of Shah Abbas, in his camp, before he could reach the scene of action. His successor was too anxious for the security of his throne to commence his reign with an arduous war, and Aurung-zebe was more anxious to establish his supremacy over the Deccan, than to make conquests in Persia.

The power of the Mahrattas in southern India, was now beginning to be formidable under the guidance of Sivajee, who had been originally a leader of banditti, and had gained the chieftaincy of the wild mountain tribes between Canara and Guzerat. Sivajee had acquired great strength during the civil wars which preceded the accession of Aurung-zebe ; but he had submitted to the conqueror and offered to lead a part of the imperial forces against the Persians. A wanton insult from the emperor drove him to rebellion, and his progress in the south was facilitated by a simultaneous rising of the Afghans, who never forgot that the empire of northern India belonged to them before the arrival of Baber. The Afghan chiefs were invited to a banquet, and treacherously murdered ; an act of treachery disowned by Aurung-zebe ; but by which he profited without scruple. It was impossible to employ such arts against the Mahrattas : Sivajee and his successor, Sambajee, were too suspicious to place themselves voluntarily in the emperor's power. Sambajee was, however, surprised and made prisoner while amusing himself in the mountains ; he was at once put to death, his capital was forced to surrender, his wives and his infant son were made prisoners.

As Aurung-zebe had previously subdued the kingdoms of Golconda and Beejapore, his empire over southern India seemed on the point of being completed ; but Rama, the brother of Sambajee, with other Mahratta chieftains, maintained the war, eluding encounter when pursued, and issuing from their fastnesses to devastate the country so soon as the imperial forces were withdrawn. So enriched were they by the spoils they obtained, and so strengthened by the number of desperate adventurers who joined their ranks, that towards the close of Aurung-zebe's reign, the advantages of the war had decisively turned in their favour.

CHAPTER III. This contest continued to the emperor's death, which took place in the ninety-fourth year of his age, and forty-eighth of his reign.

A.D. 1707. **Aurungzebe's death.**

A civil war ensued with the usual results. His three sons took up arms against each other; but the victory finally remained with Bahader Shah, who was recognized by all the provinces of the empire.

A.D. 1712. The brief reign of this emperor produced nothing worthy of note. His death was followed by a civil war between his children, which ended in favour of the eldest, Moiz-ed-din, who took the title of Jehander Shah, or "the King who possesses the World." Jehander Shah was a weak prince, and was so foolishly attached to his wife Lal-kur, a woman of mean birth, that he endeavoured to fill the greatest offices of trust and honour throughout the empire with her relations. This conduct gave such offence to his nobles, that they conspired to raise his nephew to the throne.

His successors murdered. Ferokh-siar, whose father had already contended for empire, only waited for a favourable moment to assert his claims; he readily obeyed the summons of the conspirators, and routed the imperial forces on the banks of the Jumna. Jehander Shah fled from the field to Delhi, where he was arrested by his own ministers, and given up to the mercy of the conqueror. Ferokh-siar ordered the unfortunate monarch to be slain, and his body to be dragged with shocking indignity through the streets of Delhi. The command was obeyed, and such was the cruelty of the conqueror, that the corpse of Jehander Shah was denied a grave. It was during the reign of Ferokh-siar that the

The Sikhs appear. Sikhs, soon the most formidable native power in India, first rose into importance. They were originally a fraternity of mendicants, founded by Gooroo Nanuk, who gave them a code of morals, the basis of which is pure deism, and permitted the reception of converts from all classes of society. They soon increased in numbers, and desolated the province of Lahore, which has since become the seat of their power. About the same time also, the English East India Company obtained a firman exempting them from the payment of any duties within the emperor's dominions; and this grant was the foundation of the power subsequently acquired by that body in Bengal.

A.D. 1713. Ferokh-siar owed his elevation to the exertions of two brothers, Abdallah Khan and Hassan Khan, who claimed to be Syeds, or descendants of the Prophet Mohammed. These powerful nobles seized on all the dignities of the empire, and finding that Ferokh-siar grew jealous of their authority, they openly prepared to set him aside, while the emperor, equally cruel and

cowardly, could not be prevailed on to take any precautions for his security. The unfortunate Ferokh-siar was seized in his own harem, blinded with a red-hot iron, and afterwards put to death by cruel tortures. Refi-ud-Derjat son of Refi-al-Kadr, the nephew of Bahader Shah in the female line, was then placed upon the throne by the Syed brothers, but in less than three months he fell a victim to consumption, or as some say to poison. Refi-ud-Dowlah, the brother and successor of Refi-ud Derjat, died a few days after his elevation, and the Syeds, who disposed of the empire at their pleasure, proclaimed as their pageant sovereign a grandson of Bahader Shah, who took the title of Nasir-ud-din Mohammed Shah. The nobles were now weary of the yoke imposed upon them by the Syed brothers, and they found no difficulty in inspiring the emperor with the same sentiments. A secret conspiracy was organised; Hassan was murdered in front of the emperor's tent, and Abdallah, who took up arms to avenge his fate, was defeated and taken prisoner. The Syed did not long survive his overthrow, he died in a few months from the effect of his wounds. Though he was a Mohammedian, forty-five of his wives and concubines burned themselves on his decease by setting fire to an apartment in the harem. Nizam-ul-mulk, the governor of the Deccan, was invited to accept the office of vizier; he refused to accept it, under the pretence that his abilities were inadequate to the task, but in truth because he had resolved upon establishing an independent sovereignty in southern India. He excited the Mahrattas, a warlike race fast rising into importance, to ravage the imperial territories, while the feeble emperor wasted his time in indolent luxury. These freebooters extended their incursions to the very gates of Delhi, and, though they suffered a defeat, they induced the imperial generals to purchase their future forbearance by a large and dishonourable bribe. Nizam-ul-mulk, after much persuasion, was induced to visit the court, but being insulted by the imperial favourites, he engaged the nobles, who were displeased by the disgraceful treaty with the Mahrattas, to invite Nadir Shah to invade the empire; and that conqueror, already Nadir Shah. indignant at the protection afforded to his Afghan enemies, readily accepted the invitation.

Some historians have expressed doubts of Nizam-ul-Mulk's treachery, and it is not easy to comprehend what advantages he could hope to have reaped by betraying his country. Neither did Nadir's avarice or ambition need much prompting, as he must have felt assured of success over a court so degraded that

CHAPTER III. it actually paid tribute to the plundering Mahrattas. The march of Nadir was more rapid than the court of Delhi had anticipated ; they were scarcely roused from their state of infatuated security until the conqueror had crossed the Indus.

A.D. 1789.

Mohammed Shah then collected an army, and established himself in a fortified camp in the plains of Karnal, near the banks of the Jumna. On Nadir's approach, the emperor having recently received a large re-inforcement, left his camp to encounter his adversary in the open field. After a fierce engagement, which lasted two hours, the imperialists were routed with the loss of 20,000 men, and so completely disheartened, that Mohammed Shah, without making any effort to defend his camp, surrendered himself, his treasures, and his dominions to the conqueror. Nadir received the conquered emperor with great kindness, and promised to restore him to his throne at Delhi. The conquerors advanced to that city in order to receive, as the reward of their victory, the immense treasures of gold and jewels accumulated by the descendants of Baber, and to exact heavy contributions from the nobles and citizens. The cruel exactions of those appointed to collect the stipulated sum, were intolerable ; a false report of Nadir's death, induced the citizens to take up arms, and even when the mistake was discovered, they persevered in their insane attacks on their relentless conquerors. Nadir was, at length, so provoked, that he gave orders for a general massacre to his troops, who had come up from their encampment. The carnage continued for several hours, during which time Nadir continued in a small mosque, silent, gloomy, and alone. No one dared to interrupt his solitude, until the unhappy Mohammed Shah forced his way to his presence, and in agonizing tones exclaimed "Spare my people !" Nadir immediately gave orders that the massacre should cease ; and the promptitude with which he was obeyed, afforded the strongest proof of the strict discipline he had introduced into his army.

Massacre.

Enormous spoil.

Weakness of the empire.

Nadir continued at Delhi fifty-eight days ; he then returned with a treasure, which some have estimated so high as seventy millions, and none less than thirty millions. Before his departure, he gave Mohammed Shah some judicious advice respecting the administration of his empire, and severely threatened the Omrahs if they failed in their obedience. But the injury which his invasion had inflicted on the empire was incurable : the army was destroyed, the treasury exhausted, nearly all financial resources cut off ; the Mahrattas ravaged the South, and all the provinces which had escaped their devastation were laid waste

by Nadir's army. Under the able government of Bajee Rao, and his successor, Balajee, the Mahratta power made such rapid progress, that it seemed not very improbable that India might again be formed into a Hindu empire.

Other enemies began to appear in the east and north. An Afghan colony, called the Rohillas (so called from their original tribe *Roh*), acquired possession of the country east of the Ganges, from Oude to the mountains. Their chief was Ali Mohammed, a Hindu convert adopted by an Afghan officer, in whose character were united the cunning of the Hindu and the courage of the Afghan. He raised the new state of the Rohillas to such importance, that it required an expedition, headed by the emperor in person, to enforce even a temporary submission.

A far more formidable combination of the Afghans had been formed in their own territories; and the death of Nadir, the worst enemy of India, was but the herald of new invasions and calamities to the unhappy land.

Though Nadir had raised the Persian monarchy to the highest pitch of greatness, he had disgusted his subjects by his severe exactions, his excessive cruelties; but, above all, by his alienation from the national religion—the Shiah form of Mohammedanism. Aware of the hostility he had provoked, Nadir entrusted the guardianship of his person to mercenary Uzbeks and Afghans, who were, like himself, attached to the Sonnee creed. Preparations were in progress for the arrest of all the Persian nobles; but some of them received warning of their danger, and averted it by the assassination of Nadir in his tent. Ahmed Khan Abdalee, the leader of the Afghans, made a desperate attack on the Persian camp, hoping that he might be in time to rescue his sovereign. Finding himself too late, he made good his retreat to his own frontiers with a large amount of treasure, in spite of all the efforts which the Persians made to intercept him. His fame soon spread abroad among his countrymen, and the Turkish and Tartar tribes north and west of the Himalaya; before the end of the year he was solemnly crowned king at Candahar, and his authority was acknowledged, not only in Afghanistan, but also in Balkh, Scinde, Cashmeer, and Beloochistan. He called himself Doordowran (pearl of the age), which was corrupted into Dooranee, from whence the name of his tribe is taken.

Though the distracted state of Persia might seem to have invited the ambition of the founder of a new dynasty, yet, either from a consciousness of the difficulties which beset such an undertaking, or from feelings of attachment to the family of Nadir,

CHAPTER
III.
A.D. 1747.

The Ro-
hillas
colonize.

Nadir's
death,
June, 1747.

Ahmed
Khan.

CHAPTER III. he preferred extending his territories on the eastern side, and led an army to the banks of the Indus, for the purpose of invading the Punjab. The emperor of Delhi sent his son and his vizier to protect the fords ; but Ahmed crossed the river in an unguarded spot, took the Indian army in the rear, and captured Sirhind, where they had deposited their baggage, their stores, and a portion of their artillery. This boldness so intimidated the enemy, that they did not venture to meet him in the field, but fortified themselves in an entrenched camp. The Afghans assaulted their position for ten days ; but were finally repelled with great loss, and compelled to retreat. Such, however, was the impression they produced, that the viceroy of the Punjab consented to pay a permanent tribute.

A.D. 1749. Subdues the Punjab. Mohammed Shah did not long survive this imperfect success ; he was succeeded on the throne of Delhi by his son, Ahmed Shah, who bore the same name as his Afghan rival. The first efforts of the new emperor were directed against the Rohillas ; he entrusted the conduct of the war to his vizir, Sufder Jung, who was a very incompetent general, and whose army was in such a miserable state of discipline, that it was formidable to every body except the enemy. Over such a commander, and such

The Rohillas fight bravely. forces, the brave Rohillas obtained an easy victory ; they took advantage of their success to invade the kingdom of Oude, and Sufder Jung had no other resource than to seek assistance from the Mahrattas. By this degrading aid, the vizir triumphed in his turn, and the Rohillas were forced to submit to humiliating conditions of peace.

Second invasion of the Afghans. On his return to Delhi, the vizir heard intelligence of disasters which more than counterbalanced his late imperfect success. The Afghan monarch had again invaded the Punjab, with an army which the viceroy was not prepared to meet ; and having completed his conquest, had sent an envoy to demand the absolute cession of that province. Nadir's visit was too well remembered for compliance to be refused ; when the vizir reached the court, he found all arrangements concluded. His discontent was increased by the discovery that a favorite eunuch had superseded him in the confidence of the emperor, and, like a true Oriental, he removed this rival by a treacherous assassination. The emperor, enraged at this outrage, applied for help to the powerful Omrah, Ghazi-ud-din, who, with the assistance of the Mahrattas, expelled Sufder Jung, and became prime minister in his stead.

The Mahrattas called to aid the vizir. But Ahmed Shah soon found his new vizir more intolerable than the former, and began to form secret machination ; for his

removal or destruction. Ghazi-ud-din discovered the intrigue, and sent an armed force against the emperor. Ahmed Shah was taken prisoner by his rebellious minister, who, after depriving him of power, put out his eyes, as well as those of the queen, his mother. Ghazi-ud-din then selected one of the princes of the blood to bear the name of emperor, while he reserved the entire power to himself, and the new sovereign was proclaimed by the title of Alum-Ghir.

CHAPTER III.

A.D. 1754.

The emperor deposed.

Ghazi-ud-din maintained tranquillity for a considerable time by the stringent severity of his measures; but he at length provoked a mutiny among the troops, in which he narrowly escaped from destruction. The emperor's conduct, at this crisis, awakened the vizir's suspicions. He resolved to strengthen himself against the probable designs of his master, and, therefore, attempted to obtain possession of the Punjab, then ruled by the widow of an Afghan noble, to whom Ahmed Shah Dooranee had entrusted the government during the minority of her son. Ghazi's outrage provoked a third Afghan invasion. Ahmed Shah marched almost without resistance to Delhi, and repeated in that unfortunate capital the massacres and exactions of Nadir Shah. He was much struck by the unhappy position of the emperor, and before returning home appointed a Rohilla chief to command in Delhi, plundered. trusting that his influence would be a sufficient counterpoise to the usurped power of the vizir.

The vizir becomes powerful.

Third Afghan invasion.

The Mahrattas usually carried on war in the same manner as the Cossacks, or the ancient Parthians—they fought and fled. Their power was at its height when they were invited to assist the Mogul emperor against the Afghans. Their first chief was Sivajee; but the rule over them had been usurped by the Peishwa, or prime minister. Ghazi-ud-din tried to use them as his instruments, but could not do so with effect. The Peishwa's brother, Ragoba, at the head of a large force, came to Delhi, which he captured. Siege was laid to the fortified palace. After a month it was taken and plundered. Ragoba overran the Punjab, and leaving a Mahratta governor, returned to the Deccan in 1758.

A.D. 1758.

The Mohammedan leaders of Northern India combined to check the incroachments of the Mahrattas, who had suddenly invaded Rohilkund. The son of Sujah Dowla, Soubadar of Oude, attacked them, and with great slaughter drove them over the Ganges. In the meanwhile Ahmed Shah was advancing with his formidable army, after a successful campaign in Scinde and Beloochistan, to attack them. He routed two of their leaders, Scindiah and Holkar, and reached Delhi. Ghazi-ud-din issued

A.D. 1759.

CHAPTER III.
A.D. 1754. orders for the murder of the monarch, which were executed by two pretended Fakirs, who, under the mask of sanctity, induced the emperor to quit the palace. Shah Alum, the heir apparent, was in Bengal and escaped, and Ghazi fled and was heard of no more.

Delhi declines.

The Mahratta army, under their famous chiefs, came like a whirlwind towards the capital. In their march they summoned Surajee Mull, the Jata rajah, to join them. He hesitated, for he was jealous of their power. They threatened to devastate his country. He joined them with reluctance, at the head of 50,000 men. Their force amounted to nearly 200,000 men. On their approach to Delhi, Ahmed Shah retired across the Jumna, and the Mahrattas again plundered the city. Their chief, Sedeshao Rao, tore down the ceiling of the Hall of Audience, seized all the ornaments of the princesses, and sent them to the mint. The wretched citizens were scourged, and forced to reveal where any treasure was hidden : thousands perished of starvation.

Grand battle of Paniput, January, 1761.

The merciless Mahrattas were at length compelled, from want of provisions, to quit the city, and they proceeded to Paniput, where they encamped on the ground of Mohammed ; while Ahmed Shah occupied that selected by Nadir some years before. Several days passed in preparations. Attempts were made by Sujah Dowla to establish peace; but neither side would yield. The Mahrattas were forced by want to offer battle, and on the 14th of January, 1761, the Afghans, who were also distressed finding the enemy had come out of their entrenched camp, rushed at them with irresistible impetuosity. The Mahratta force consisted of 55,000 regular, and 15,000 irregular cavalry, with 15,000 disciplined infantry, and 200 pieces of artillery, and a large supply of rockets. Ahmed Shah was at the head of 40,000 Afghans and Persians, 13,000 Indian cavalry, and 38,000 Indian infantry; with about thirty pieces of artillery, and some wall-pieces. The Mahrattas placed their formidable artillery in front, and withstood the shock with great resolution : they then attacked in turn, and drove the Afghans back almost to their camp. While elate with their success, they saw the head of their leader struck off by a cannon ball. The Jats deserted to the Afghans, and the Mohammedans attacked their now exposed flank; and although prodigies of valour were achieved, the Mahrattas were routed. A horrible carnage ensued—no quarter was given—50,000 men fell in the action, and 30,000 in the pursuit, which lasted three days. Of the many Mahratta leaders, only one reached his own country—Mulhar Rao, who fled from

the field on the first charge. The Afghans glutted themselves with the spoils of the Mahrattas, who lost all that they had seized at Delhi. This grand defeat destroyed the spirit of the Hindus and Moslems, and left India to be taken by another power.

CHAPTER
III.
A.D. 1770.

Ahmed Shah went to Delhi—whither he invited Shah Alum to join him—and left the empire to the Shah's care, on promise of a large tribute. Sujah Dowlah, of Oude, whose name figures in subsequent years, was confirmed as perpetual Vizir. Ahmed Shah returned home, and never afterwards mingled in the affairs of India.

Shah Alum returned to his capital, where he was treated with neglect and indifference by his Vizir. He sent several messages, requesting the interference of the British authorities. In 1765, on his granting firmans appointing the East India Company to the office of *Dewanee*, or administrator of the revenues of Bengal, Lord Clive engaged to pay into the imperial treasury, the annual sum of twenty-six lakhs, which with other prerogatives, left the descendant of Timur nearly half a million sterling per annum.

In 1770, siege was laid to Delhi, by the combined forces of the Mahrattas and Jats; but Mulhar Rao, the leader of the former, was bought off by Shah Alum's minister. In 1772, Shah Alum having saved some money, tried, at the head of a Mahratta force, to carry on war against the son of his former minister; the Mahrattas betrayed him, and he became poorer than before. Various events at length threw him and his family into the power of Gholam Khadir, a Rohilla chief, by whom he, after many indignities, and after his family had been nearly starved, was blinded by having his eyes picked out with a dagger, on the 10th of August 1788. Scindiah, a Mahratta chief, subsequently took Delhi, and kept him prisoner until 1803, when General Lake liberated him. Shah Alum, after twenty years of misery and disaster, passed the remainder of life in comparative happiness. He died on the 18th of December, 1806. His eldest surviving son assumed his rank and titles, under the name of Shah Akbar, and as such received a pension from the Company, with which he maintained a nominal court. The supposed or implied vassalage of the East India Company to the nominal Padishah or Mohammedan ruler of Delhi, was finally terminated by Earl Amherst in 1827. So ended the glories of the Moslem emperors at Delhi.

CHAPTER IV.

WESTERN TRADE WITH INDIA, 1500, B.C.—1500. A.D.

The communications of Cyrus.—Of the Phœnicians.—Of Solomon, B.C. 1014.—Alexander invades, 331.—Alexander on the Indus.—Ptolemy and the Egyptians, 200.—Emporiums of trade.—Berenice.—Coptos.—Alexandria.—Trade by the Oxus and Persia.—Tadmor (Palmyra) in the desert.—The Romans destroy this Source.—Ceylon sends an Agent to Rome.—Constantinople encourages the Trade.—The Saracens carry on Commerce.—The Crusaders feel its Influence.—The Venetians form their grand Marts.—Columbus opens the New World.—Portuguese sail to “the Cape of Storms,” A.D. 1486.—Its name changed to “the Cape of Good Hope,” 1488.—Vasco de Gama’s Expedition, 1497.—Reaches Calicut, 22nd May, 1498.—The Zamorees plots to destroy Gama.—All Europe roused into activity by the Discovery of Gama.—The Venetians and Turks try to obstruct its Progress.—The Venetian influence destroyed by the League of Cambray.—Lisbon becomes the Emporium of Indian Commerce, 1520.

CHAPTER
IV.
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B.C. 1014.

Cyrus.

LITTLE is known of the Hystaspid dynasty in Persia, except what has been communicated to us by the Greeks; and the continuous wars between them and the Persians, from the accession of Darius Hystaspes to the fall of Darius Codomannus, necessarily produced bitter animosities, which prevented the historians of Europe from devoting much attention to the detested despots of Asia. No stronger proof can be given of the little reliance to be placed on the Greek histories of Persia, than the utter inconsistency between the accounts given of Cyrus the Great, by Xenophon and Herodotus: they differ, in almost every particular they record, respecting the birth, the life, and the death, of this mighty conqueror; and, furthermore, neither historian can be successfully reconciled to the incidental notices of Cyrus in the Bible, or to the traditions preserved in Oriental writers. There is, however, little reason to doubt, that commercial intercourse existed, from a very early period, between India and Persia; that the monarchs of the latter country reckoned some princes of Western India among their tributaries; and that caravans connected the trade of the Indus with that of the

Euphrates, probably by the great road through Candahar. The enterprising Phoenicians, and very probably the Egyptians, communicated with the countries of Southern and Eastern Asia, through the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean. It was for the purpose of procuring his subjects a share of this lucrative trade, that Solomon took possession of the port of Ezion-geber, on the Gulf of Akaba; but his subjects did not share his spirit of enterprize: the Jews had not then reached such a state of civilization, as would enable them to appreciate the lucrative pursuits of commerce; and the judicious plans of their wisest monarch died with him.

About one hundred and sixty years after the reign of Darius Hystaspes, Alexander the Great undertook his great expedition into India: he did not penetrate farther than the Punjab—indeed, he did not traverse the whole extent of that country, having been compelled to turn back by a mutiny of his troops on the banks of the Hyphasis. But, both as he advanced and returned, his soldiers were so spread over the country, and acted in so many separate divisions, and all his movements were so exactly measured and delineated by men of science, whom he kept in pay for the purpose, that he acquired a very accurate knowledge of that part of India.

On his return to the banks of the Hydaspes, he found that his officers, during his absence, had assembled a numerous fleet, destined to sail down by that river and the Indus to the Ocean, and thence proceed through the Persian Gulf to the mouth of the Euphrates. The armament thus prepared was so great and magnificent, as to be worthy of such a commander as the conqueror of Asia. It consisted of two thousand vessels of various sizes, one hundred and twenty thousand men, and two hundred elephants. As the conqueror pursued his course along the streams of these great rivers, the nations on both sides were compelled to submit; but, for the first time in the annals of history, the march of civilization accompanied the progress of military triumph—cities were founded, commercial marts established, and an active intercourse opened with the unknown nations of the remote interior. It took nine months for Alexander to descend to the mouth of the Indus, a distance of more than a thousand British miles; but the delay was occasioned by the prudent determination of Alexander, to leave nothing unexplored or unattempted, which would advance his great and noble project, of uniting the Eastern and Western world by the bonds of mutual trade. On reaching the ocean, Alexander led his army

Alexander  
on the  
Indus.

**CHAPTER IV.** back to Persia by land; the fleet was left under the command of Nearchus, who, after a coasting voyage of seven months, conducted it safely up the Persian Gulf to the Euphrates.

b.c. 250.  
Ptolemy in  
Egypt.

Emporium.

Berenice a  
port on the  
Red Sea.

Coptos.

Trade by  
the Oxus.

and Persia.

Tadmor in  
the Desert.

The magnificent schemes of Alexander were frustrated by his early death, and by the destructive civil wars which arose between his successors. They were partially revived by Ptolemy the son of Lagus, who had taken a leading part in the Indian expedition, and who obtained Egypt for his share in the partition of the Macedonian empire. The Seleucidæ might have more effectually carried out the schemes of the great conqueror, had they not been driven from Upper Asia by the Parthians, whose empire soon intervened between the Greeks of Bactria and Europe, thus cutting off the Bactrians from all communication with the western world. The erection of the city of Alexandria on the Nile, and the establishment of the port of Berenice on the Red Sea, made Egypt the high road of communication between India and Europe. From Berenice, Indian goods were brought overland to Coptos, on the Nile, and thence down that river to Alexandria. This became the principal route for Indian commerce, and so continued, during the two hundred and fifty years that Egypt flourished as an independent kingdom, under the paternal government of the Ptolemies.

Two other routes deserve to be noticed; goods destined for northern regions, were sent up the Indus, and thence through the passes of the Hindu Koosh to the river Oxus; they were conveyed down that river, which then flowed into the Caspian, and either by rivers or by land-carriage, distributed among the populous and opulent nations which then possessed the countries between the Euxine and the Caspian. The commodities of India, intended for the southern and interior provinces of western Asia, proceeded by land from the Caspian gates to some of the great rivers, by which they were circulated through every part of the country. This was probably the chief route of trade when Persia was governed by its native princes; and it has not been quite abandoned, even in the present day.

An overland communication between the Syrian coasts and the great rivers of Mesopotamia, appears to have existed from very remote antiquity; it was probably established before the time of Abraham. The journey through the intervening desert, was facilitated by its affording one station abounding with water and capable of cultivation. Solomon appears to have been the first who appreciated the commercial advantages of this favoured spot: he erected there a city, called by the Syrians *Tadmor*, and

by the Greeks *Palmyra*, both names, in their respective languages, being descriptive of the Palm-trees, which afford its inhabitants food and shelter. For many centuries this oasis was tenanted by a flourishing and independent community, until 100—1000. its last ruler, the gallant queen Zenobia, was conquered by the emperor Aurelian, and its prosperity blighted for ever by the withering influence of Roman despotism.

CHAPTER  
IV.  
A.D.  
100—1000.

The trade between Egypt and India was diminished but not ruined by the Roman conquest ; and it soon revived when the increasing taste for luxuries in Italy produced a demand for the spiccs, precious stones, pearls, silks, and muslins of the East. An ambassador from the island of Ceylon presented himself at Ceylon the court of the emperor Claudius, and the Chinese records contain an account of an embassy sent to their remote regions from Rome in the reign of the Antonines. When the seat of government was removed from Rome to Constantinople, the intercourse between the empire and the East was necessarily extended ; but the Byzantines soon found formidable rivals in the Persians, when they were liberated from the Parthian yoke, and the independence of their country established under the native dynasty of the Sassanides. The Persians, with the usual rapacity of monopolists, raised the price of all Indian and Chinese commodities, particularly silk ; and, like all monopolists, they were soon punished for their cupidity. The eggs of the silk-worm were brought into Europe, concealed in a hollow cane, by two monks ; and the rapidity with which the insects were propagated in Greece, and subsequently in Italy, soon rendered the European states independent of the East for the supply of this valuable material.

The conquests of the enterprising Saracens gave an immense stimulus to Eastern commerce. They established commercial navies on the Persian Gulph ; and the city of Bussorah, founded by the Kaliph Omar, at the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, soon became a place of trade hardly inferior to Alexandria. The Egyptian trade through the Red Sea was at the same time revived ; and the hardy Arabs, not contented with following in the track of their predecessors, pushed forward their discoveries until they had accurately explored the greater part of the coastline of south-eastern Asia. It is all but demonstrated that they obtained a knowledge of the mariner's compass from the Chinese, and that through them this vast improvement in the art of navigation was made known to Europe.

The Crusaders were non-trading enthusiasts ; yet the capture of Jerusalem was a signal triumph for the Saracens.

**CHAPTER IV.** of the two flourishing cities, Antioch and Tyre, pointed out to them the pleasures of Oriental luxuries, and the advantages of

**A.D.** 1100—1400 Oriental commerce. Both were appreciated by the rising republics of Italy, where the arts and industry, the usual concomitants of freedom, had made considerable progress. The Italian States supplied the means of transport to the fanatical soldiers

of the Cross, receiving, in return, valuable immunities and privileges in the several cities they subdued. At this time the glory of the Saracens was gone ; they had been trampled down under the feet of their Turkish mercenaries and slaves, who sold or leased out to the spirited merchants of Italy commercial advantages, which they were too proud or too stupid to use themselves. Other revolutions followed, which gave to the Genoese the monopoly of all the Eastern trade, which centred

**Venetians.** in Constantinople—and, to the Venetians, the command of all the commerce which passed through Egypt. Travellers from these States penetrated into the remotest parts of Central Asia ; their observations led men to reflect on the geographical consequences resulting from the spherical figure of the earth, for, though the true shape of the globe had been long known, little attention had been paid to the inferences which necessarily followed. By a fortunate blunder, the eastern longitude of Asia

**Columbus.** had been increased far beyond the reality, and this error led Columbus to conclude that India might be reached by a voyage undertaken in a westerly direction. He proposed this scheme to the Genoese, and afterwards to the King of Portugal, without success ; but, undaunted by these failures, he applied to the court of Spain, and obtained the means of equipping the little

**A.D. 1492.** armament which discovered a new world.

**America discovered.** Ptolemy's undetected error led to the discovery of America ; the exposure of another of his mistakes was the chief cause of the first opening of a passage to India round the Cape of Good Hope. The ancient geographer asserted that Africa, towards the south, extended its breadth westwards to some unknown and

**The Portuguese discoveries.** enormous distance. The Portugueſe, on the contrary, as they pursued their discoveries along the western coast, not only refuted the prevalent opinion—that the country beyond the tropic of Cancer was uninhabitable, on account of the excessive heat, but also found, as they advanced, that the continent seemed to contract itself and tend towards the east. Following out this

**Round the Cape, 1488.** important observation, Bartholomew Diaz, in 1486, actually rounded the southern point of the African continent ; but suffering severely by a tempest, he was compelled to return home.

after having named the great promontory which he had passed "The Cape of Storms." John II, king of Portugal, with a more just appreciation of the important discovery which had been made, commanded that it should be called "The Cape of Good Hope." His cousin and successor, Manuel, resolved to follow out the important discovery which Diaz had made, and on the 8th of July, 1497, an exploring expedition sailed from the Tagus for this purpose, under the command of Vasco de Gama. On the 22nd of the following May, the bold navigators reached the port of Calicut, on the coast of Malabar. After escaping many plots formed for his destruction by the Zamoree, or monarch of Calicut, Gama returned to Europe, after having freighted his ship with the commodities peculiar to the Malabar coast, and with many of the rich productions of the eastern parts of India.

The hopes and fears of all Europe were roused by this brilliant discovery. It was at once seen that the Venetians, and their agents the Mohammedans and Turks must lose their lucrative monopoly of Indian commerce; and they entered into a treaty with the Sultan of Egypt, to prevent the establishment of Portuguese settlements in the eastern seas. Timber was supplied to him from the forests in Dalmatia to equip a fleet in the Red Sea, where twelve ships of war were soon built, and manned by a gallant body of Mamelukes, under the command of experienced officers. The Portuguese encountered their new enemies with undaunted courage; and after some conflicts they entirely ruined their squadron, and remained masters of the Indian Ocean.

After the overthrow of the dynasty of the Mameluke Sultans by the Turks, the Venetians easily induced the conquerors of Egypt to join them in a new league for the overthrow of the Portuguese power in India. But the Turks had not the skill and enterprize necessary for undertaking the perilous navigation of the Red Sea, and soon after the power of Venice was irretrievably ruined by the fatal league of Cambray. The Indian trade was consequently transferred from the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic Ocean; and Lisbon for a time was in possession of that commerce which had been the source of the wealth and of the glory of Venice.

The lovers of poetry will find a magnificent description of the discovery of India by Vasco de Gama, in Camoens' Lusiad.

The Portuguese were the first dealers in slaves. In 1503, they sent negroes from Africa to the Spanish dominions in America. At that time the Christians, when taken by the Mohammedans, were sold as slaves—and the negroes were treated in the same manner by their captors.

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CHAPTER  
IV.

A.D. 1497.  
"The Cape  
of Storms"  
called "the  
Cape of  
Good Hope"

Vasco de  
Gama  
reached  
India, May,  
1498.

Intrigues  
of the  
Moors and  
Venetians.

The Turks  
send ex-  
peditions to  
ruin the  
Portuguese  
trade.

## CHAPTER V.

## PROGRESS AND DECLINE OF THE PORTUGUESE IN INDIA.

*Expedition of Cabral, 1501.—Discovers the Brasils.—Reaches India and treats with the Zamoree.—The Mohammedans oppose the trade.—Cabral takes an Indian ship.—Restores it.—Duplicity of the Zamoree discovered.—Attack on Calicut.—Success of the Portuguese.—Cabral returns to Lisbon.—Vasco de Gama's Second Expedition.—Albuquerque founds the Portuguese Empire.—Goa, an excellent Station, selected, 1510.—The Island Ormuz, at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, occupied.—Excellent government of Albuquerque.—His Death and dying Requests.—His Successors are corrupt, and peculate.—Soarez recalled to Lisbon.—Siqueyra a bad Governor.—Vasco de Gama's Third Expedition.—His Wisdom, Zeal, and Activity.—His Death causes Confusion, 1525.—Quarrels between Sampayo and Mascarenhas.—Nunho d'Acunha restores Prosperity.—Possession of Diu received as a Recompence.—Bahadur of Guzerat tries to retake it.—His Treachery is discovered, and he jumps over-board.—The Turks send an Expedition to India.—The Siege of Diu.—Gallant Defence.—The Siege raised.—The Portuguese triumph.—Noronha forms various Alliances.—Dies.—Estevao de Gama sails up the Red Sea.—He sends his Brother into Abyssinia.—The Brother loses his Life there.—Souza supersedes Gama, and persecutes the Natives.—Second Siege of Diu.—Joao de Castro adds lustre to the Portuguese Name.—His Exploits.—St. Francis Xavier converts many Natives.—The Portuguese Soldiers become corrupt.—Goa beleaguered.—Chaul besieged.—The Settlement at Ternate lost, 1598.—Mesquita's Conduct produces an Insurrection.—Death of Dom Sebastian, 1578.—The Spaniards take possession of Portugal and its Dependencies.—The Dutch learn to trade with the East.—The English send Ships.—The Portuguese Monopoly destroyed.—A Dutch Squadron enters Goa Harbour, 1632.—The Power and Trade of Portugal decline.*

CHAPTER  
V.

MANUEL, king of Portugal, was well aware that the Moslems would soon make preparations to dispute with him the empire of the

A.D. 1501.

Indian Seas ; they had indeed, from the first, exerted themselves to drive out the European intruders, and menaced them with a formidable war. A fleet therefore of thirteen sail and fifteen hundred men, was fitted out for India, and the command of it given to an experienced officer, Pedro Alvarez de Cabral. His Cabral. instructions were to enter into a treaty with the Zamoree (the sovereign of Calicut), and obtain leave to build a fort in the vicinity. On his voyage he was driven to the coast of South America, where he made the first discovery of Brazil. He lost several of his sloops in doubling the Cape, but still his forces appeared so imposing at Calicut, that the reluctant Zamoree deemed it prudent to conclude a commercial treaty with the Portuguese, and assign them a house for their factory in the city. Correa, with seventy men, took immediate possession of this new acquisition.

Cabral's fleet was to be laden with spicery ; the Mohammedan merchants used every effort to retard the collection of the freight, and in the mean time, the Zamoree requested the admiral to take for him a large vessel belonging to the king of Cochin, with whom he pretended to be at war. Aware of the Indian ship. great importance of producing an impression of European superiority, Cabral sent one of the smallest of his ships against this vessel. The Indians, exulting in their superiority of force, laughed the Portuguese to scorn ; but when the battle had once begun, they were unable to endure the sustained fire of the European guns, and were brought in triumph into Calicut. This circumstance not only established the character of the Portuguese for bravery, but gave them a favourable opportunity to display their integrity and honour. When Cabral conversed with the captives, he found that he had been completely deceived by the Zamoree ; he therefore restored the sloop to the king of Cochin, and paid for the damage she had sustained. Restores it. A.D. 1502. Some other circumstances created dissensions between the new allies, until at length the Zamoree, instigated by the Mohammedans, attacked the Portuguese factory and slaughtered Correa, with most of the garrison. Cabral immediately attacked the Mohammedan vessels in the harbour, ten of which he plundered and burned ; he then bombarded Calicut, and after having slain six hundred of the inhabitants, forced the Zamoree to submit to new conditions of peace. The intelligence of these events brought ambassadors to Cabral from all the neighbouring powers ; and he entered into very close alliances with the native princes. Treats with

**CHAPTER V.**  
**A.D. 1502.** some of the principal ports, he returned to Europe, and brought Manuel such information, as shewed that there was a necessity for great and continued exertion, in order to establish a Portuguese empire in India.

Vasco de  
Gama.

The Portuguese monarch, in consequence of the information brought by Cabral, fitted out a fleet of twenty ships, the command of which was given to Vasco de Gama. On his arrival in India, Gama, disgusted with the treachery of the Zamoree, proceeded to trade with other states, upon which the sovereign of Calicut, sent out several armed cruizers, to intercept the Portuguese vessels ; his ships, however, were all destroyed, and Gama returned home, having left a squadron to protect the ruler of Cochin, whose favours to the Europeans had provoked the resentment of the Zamoree of Calicut. Loche, who had been left in command of the squadron, abandoned his duty, in the hope of obtaining prizes in another quarter. The Zamoree advanced against Cochin, and captured the city. Fortunately, the death of Loche, left the fleet at liberty to return ; the brothers

**Albu-**  
**querque the**  
**great leader**  
**of the**  
**Portuguese.** Albuquerque arrived nearly at the same time, and Cochin was recovered for its former master.

**A.D. 1510.** The command of the Portuguese now devolved upon Pacheco, under whose guidance, the forces of the king of Cochin, though inferior in number, defeated the undisciplined hordes of Calicut in several engagements. But the papal bull, by which all the East was bestowed on the Portuguese, began now to produce its injurious effects. The Portuguese claimed, as matter of right, the submission of the native princes, while they were utterly unable to conceive how an old prelate residing in Rome, could acquire a claim to deprive them of the authority and independence which they had inherited from their ancestors. Almost every port now opposed the entrance of the Portuguese, and the cargo of almost every ship they loaded, was purchased with blood. It was at this time, that Albuquerque was placed at the head of the Portuguese in India, and entered on the career of victory, which has immortalized his name. One of his first visits was to the island of Ormuz, an island barren by nature, but which commerce soon raised to a temporary celebrity, such as has rarely been rivalled. The king of the island prepared for defence and assembled an army, said to exceed thirty thousand men ; yet these were totally defeated, by the discipline and skill of less than five hundred Europeans ; and the king of Ormuz submitted to vassalage.

Takes the  
island of  
Ormuz.

The foundation of the Portuguese empire in the East, may be

said to date from the occupation of Goa, by Albuquerque. He fortified it in the best manner, so as to render it impregnable against any attack of the Hindus, or Mohammedans ; and having thus discovered the great advantage to be derived from the occupation of cities and harbours, he began to direct his whole course of policy to territorial acquisitions. One of his first conquests was Malacca. He afterwards attempted to storm Aden, but was repulsed. From Malacca to the island of Ormuz, the coast-line of India was studded with forts and commercial marts, occupied by Portuguese garrisons, or dependent on their power. The financial talents of the governor, were even greater than his military prowess ; he raised the revenue by lowering the rate of duties, trade naturally flowing towards those places where it was least exposed to taxation and vexatious interference. After a brilliant regency of five years, he died at the entrance of the harbour of Goa, on his return from the island of Ormuz, which he had rescued from the dangers to which it was exposed by a sudden attack of the Persians. "The princes of India," says an eminent historian, "who viewed Albuquerque as their father, clothed themselves in mourning on his death, for they had experienced the happiness and protection which his friendship gave them ; and the sincerity of their grief showed Manuel what a subject he had lost. He was buried at Goa, and it became customary for the Mohammedan and Gentoo inhabitants of that city, when injured by the Portuguese, to come and weep at his tomb, utter their complaints to his manes, and call upon his God to revenge his wrongs."\*

Under Soarez, the successor of Albuquerque, a system of His peculation and corruption was introduced ; "the period," say successors the Portuguese authors, "commenced when the soldier no more peculated. followed the dictates of honour, when those who had been captains became traders, and rapacious plunderers of the innocent natives." Many quitted the military service, and became private adventurers ; and many who yearly arrived from Portugal, in place of entering into the king's service, followed this

\* A little before his death, (December 16, 1515) he wrote this manly letter to the King of Portugal. "Under the pangs of death, in the difficult breathing of the last hour, I write this my last letter to your highness ; the last of many I have written to you, full of life, for I was then employed in your service. I have a son, Blas de Albuquerque ; I entreat your highness to make him as great as my services deserve. The affairs of India will answer for themselves and for me."

CHAPTER  
V.  
A.D. 1510.  
Occupies  
Goa.  
Nov. 1510.

- CHAPTER V.** example. The courts established by Albuquerque, were either corrupted, or without power, and the petty governor of every petty fort, was arbitrary in his own harbour. After a regency of three years, Soarez was recalled. He left the affairs of his government in a state of the greatest confusion, and the power of the Portuguese perceptibly on the decline ! nor was the administration of his successor Siqueyra more beneficial. Unmeaning slaughter on the coasts of Madagascar, the Red Sea, India and the Moluccas, comprise the whole history of his regency.
- A.D. 1521.** The death of King Manuel, produced a change in the Portuguese councils. One of the first acts of the new reign, was to remedy the disorders of India ; and for this purpose the government of the Eastern colonies was entrusted to Vasco de Gama, who had been raised to the dignity of Count de Vidigueyra. Though a very old man, Gama displayed equal wisdom, zeal and activity. He delivered Cochin from a siege, with which it was menaced by the Zamoree ; his detached squadrons cleared the seas of the Moorish pirates that invested them, and he made preparations for restoring the wise and liberal policy of Albuquerque. His death at the end of three months, soon followed by that of his successor Menezes, again threw affairs into confusion. Sampayo and Mascarenhas, paying little attention to the edicts of the distant court of Lisbon, contested the office of chief governor by force of arms. The contest terminated in favour of the former. No sooner had he triumphed over his rival, than he entered on a career of sanguinary conquest, in the midst of which he was arrested by Nunho d'Acunha, who had been commissioned to supersede him, and was sent home a close prisoner to Lisbon.
- Vasco de Gama goes to India and dies.**
- A.D. 1525.** Nunho d'Acunha soothed and relieved the wrongs of the various princes, whom his predecessors had injured ; innocence and industry were again protected ; prosperity began to revive. Taking advantage of the war between Bahadur, sultan of Guzerat and Humayoon, emperor of Delhi, the Portuguese, by a promise of aid to the sultan, obtained possession of Diu, which had been long the object of their ambition. When the war was over, Bahadur wished to resume his gift, and a desultory war ensued. At length the sultan proposed that all differences should be arranged at a personal interview, to which the Portuguese commanders assented. Suspicions of treachery were entertained ; they led to a squabble in the boats, which ended in the death of the sultan. The resolution of the Portuguese may be learned from the fact, that a soldier, being among some ruins, with
- Contest for the rule.**
- Diu taken.**
- Turks in India.**

abundance of powder, but not balls, pulled out his own tooth and fired it off against the Turkish assailants. Another soldier carried a barrel of powder with a lighted torch into the midst of the enemy, and then blew himself and forty Turks to pieces. Selim, the Turkish sultan, sent an immense armament to the relief of his Mohammedan brethren in India; Diu was closely invested, and the succours which Nunho d'Acunha had prepared for its relief, were delayed by Noronha, his unworthy successor. The desperate valour of the garrison daunted the Turks. Even the women took arms; and the officers' ladies went from rampart to rampart, upbraiding the least appearance of languor. The Turks at length raised the siege, though there were not more than forty men, out of the original garrison of six hundred, who were in a condition to bear arms for the defence of the place.

Although Noronha had made no effort to relieve Diu, he profited by the impression which its brave defence had produced on the princes of India; several of them, including the Zamoree, entered into alliance with Portugal, and thus afforded the governor leisure for extending the limits of the colony in Ceylon. Ceylon. Noronha's administration was sullied by much cruelty and oppression, so that his death gave equal joy to the natives and the settlers.

Estevao de Gama, the son of the great Vasco, succeeded to the administration; he sailed up the Red Sea and took the town of Tor, near which he found the monks of St. Catherine, not far from Mount Sinai. Gama came within two leagues of Suez; but finding difficulties, he returned to Tor, where he received an agent of the king of Abyssinia (nicknamed Prester John), who besought him for aid against invaders from Zeyla. Gama sent his brother Christopher with 400 men. Several battles ensued—Christopher was wounded and taken prisoner, and then beheaded by the Mohammedans. Estevao returned to Goa in 1541, and was there met by ambassadors from Persia, Cumbay, and Calicut. The sultan of Guzerat, aided by large bodies of Turkish and Moorish auxiliaries, again laid siege to Diu. The city was as bravely defended as it had been on the former occasion; but it would most probably have fallen, had not the gallant Joao de Castro been sent to take the place of the imbecile Joao de Souza. Castro not only relieved Diu, but he attacked the enemy in their fortified trenches, and routed them with great slaughter. He then carried the war into the hostile country, and so humbled the monarchs of Guzerat and the Deccan, that they were

CHAPTER  
V.  
A.D. 1538.

**CHAPTER V.** glad to submit to the terms of peace dictated by the conqueror.

A.D. 1545. The civil government of Castro merited even greater praise than his military exploits ; under his sway, justice was fairly administered and commerce protected, so that Camoens was justified in saying, \*

“O'er Indus' banks, o'er Ganges' smiling vales,  
No more the hind his plunder'd field bewails ;  
O'er every field, O Peace, thy blossoms glow,  
The golden blossoms of thy olive bough ;  
Firm based on wisdom's laws great Castro crowns,  
And the wide East the Lusian empire owns.”

**St. Francis Xavier.** Under the administration of Castro, the Portuguese settlements in India reached the highest point of all their greatness.

He was succeeded by Gabriel de Sa, whose brief rule is chiefly remarkable for the establishment of the Jesuit missions in the East, under St. Francis Xavier. The Jesuit was respected as an apostle ; and many thousands, on his preaching, assumed the Christian faith. As a politician, Xavier was minute and comprehensive ; every offer of religious instruction, was attended

**Results of his labours.** with the most flattering proposals of alliances ;—of alliances, however, which were calculated to render the natives dependent on the Portuguese, and in fact mere tributaries. In this plan of operations, the great abilities of Xavier were crowned with rapid success ; kings and kingdoms, won by his preaching, sued for the friendship of the Portuguese. But while the olive of peace seemed ready to spread its boughs over India, the unrelenting villainy of the Portuguese soldiers and merchants, counteracted the labours of Xavier ; and several of the newly baptized princes, in resentment of the injuries they received, returned to paganism and hostility. Xavier, who became acquainted with the military and civil government of those princes, not only from time to time laid these abuses before the king of Portugal, but also interested himself greatly, both in the civil and military councils of Portuguese India. He was the intimate friend and counsellor of the great Castro ; and his political efforts were only baffled by the hardened corruption of the Portuguese manners.

A.D. 1552.

In 1569, Goa was beleaguered for nine months by Aid-ul-Khan,

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\* A singular trait of Castro's character was shown in his cutting off his beard, and pawning it for a sum of money which he wanted to complete the fortifications of Diu, which still remains a Portuguese settlement at the southern point of Guzerat.

a native rajah, at the head of a large army. The inhabitants <sup>CHAPTER</sup>  
defended themselves valiantly, and repulsed the enemy. In 1570 <sup>V.</sup>  
Chaul, another Portuguese settlement, was attacked by Nizam <sup>A. D. 1570.</sup>  
Malek, and for nearly a year the inhabitants displayed great  
valour, and drove the Indians off. Chaul is now a ruin. The  
Portuguese established a settlement at Ternate, in the Moluccas,  
where they carried on a furious contest with the inhabitants of  
the neighbouring islands for fifty years. In 1571, the murder of  
the king caused a bloody war, in which the Portuguese lost many  
men. Some years afterwards the Dutch joined the natives, and  
expelled the other Europeans.

The misconduct of Mesquita provoked one of the most des- <sup>Insurrec-</sup>  
perate insurrections that ever occurred in India. Mesquita was <sup>tion against</sup>  
sent to obtain satisfaction for an insult offered to a Portuguese  
ship ; he scoured the coast of Malabar, seized all the native  
vessels he could find, and murdered the crews, generally sewing  
them up in their own sail-cloths and hurling them into the sea.  
The friends of Mesquita's victims went from place to place  
among their countrymen, exhorting them to revenge ; thousands  
flew to arms, vowing never to relax in their efforts until they had  
extirpated the Portuguese. A body of the insurgents beset the <sup>Loss to the</sup>  
fort of Cannanore, and burned above thirty ships that lay at <sup>Portuguese</sup>  
anchor under its cannon. The natives of Ceylon were driven to  
arms by similar outrages, and the people of Amboyna expelled  
the Portuguese from the island. In the midst of these perilous <sup>A. D. 1578.</sup>  
wars, the death of Dom Sebastian, king of Portugal, enabled  
Philip II to annex that country to Spain.

Houtman, a Dutch merchant, while confined for debt in the <sup>The Dutch</sup>  
jail of Lisbon, acquired some valuable information respecting <sup>learn to</sup>  
India. He sent an account of it to his countrymen, then engaged <sup>trade with</sup>  
in their glorious struggle against the tyranny of Spain ; a sub-  
scription was made to pay his debts, and on his return to Holland, the <sup>A. D. 1600.</sup>  
Dutch East India Company was formed. The first  
appearance of a Dutch fleet in the Indian Seas gave as much <sup>The Eng-</sup>  
alarm to the Portuguese as their own arrival had to the Moslems.  
No art was left untried by the Jesuits, to stimulate the Hindus  
against the Dutch intruders ; but the name of the Portuguese  
was detested in the East, and the machinations of the Jesuits  
recoiled on their own heads. The English soon appeared, to <sup>lish come.</sup>  
claim a share in the lucrative commerce of India, where they  
erected several factories ; and the Portuguese became every day  
less able to compete with their enterprising rivals. The English  
were, however, fettered in their operations by the senseless

## CHAPTER

V.

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A.D. 1573—  
1632.The Dutch  
injure the  
Portuguese.A. D. 1617.  
Solemn  
fasts at Goa.

A.D. 1632.

A.D. 1642.

policy of their imbecile monarch, James I, who was not inaptly described as "the wisest fool in Europe;" he sacrificed the interests of his own subjects to conciliate the court of Spain. But the Hollanders, who were under a better government, defied the powers of King Philip ; they gained nearly the whole of the spice trade, and annually interrupted the Portuguese commerce with China. To complete the ruin of the Portuguese colonies, an order was sent from the court of Madrid to the governor-general Azevedo, commanding him to dispose of every employment and office, civil or military, by public sale, in order that money might be raised to support his government. Shipwrecks and dreadful tempests added to the miseries of the Portuguese ; and the most remarkable events of the government of the Count de Redondo, who in 1617 superseded Azevedo, were the solemn fasts held at Goa. In some of these the citizens lay day and night on the floors of the churches, imploring the divine mercy, in the deepest and most awful silence, while not a sound was to be heard in the mournful streets.

In 1632, under the viceroyalty of the Count de Linharez, "our European enemies," says the Portuguese historian, "roved over the seas without opposition, took away many of our ships, and ruined our trade. They also everywhere incensed the Indian princes against us ; for we had no agents at any of their courts to vindicate our cause." Yet, deep as such declension appears, Linharez, on his return to Europe, presented the king of Spain with a hat-band, and the queen with a pair of pendants, valued at one hundred thousand crowns. In 1632, while the Archbishop of Goa was governor, a squadron of nine Dutch vessels rode triumphant in the river of Goa, and burned three galleons in the harbour without opposition ; "for the fort," says Faria, "was destitute of both ammunition and men." In 1640, the kingdom of Portugal, by one of the noblest efforts on record, threw off the yoke of Spain, and the Portuguese in India acknowledged the Duke of Braganza as their sovereign. And in 1642 a viceroy was sent to India by John IV. ; but though the new monarch paid attention to India, and though the English, during their civil wars, abandoned the commerce of the East, the Dutch were now so formidable, and their operations so well conducted and continued, that every exertion to recover the dominion of India was fruitless and lost. Soon after the civil wars, the English arose to more power and consequence than even the Dutch in India, and many of the Portuguese became their agents and naval carriers. Towards the end of the seventeenth century the

court of Lisbon turned its attention to the Brazils, and neglected India. A succession of viceroys was, however, continued ; but, of numerous settlements on every coast of the Eastern world, few remained in possession of the Portuguese. Such was the fall of that power, which once commanded the commerce of Africa and Asia—from the Straits of Gibraltar to the eastern side of Japan !

CHAPTER  
V.

A.D. 1642.

The decline of the Portuguese rule in the East dates from the period of their conjunction with Spain, under Philip II. This monarch was remarkable for his religious enthusiasm, and he loved fanaticism and cruelty more than freedom and commerce. The clergy sought to make converts in India, and did make many ; but the government neglected to make soldiers. The rule of the Portuguese was a continued warfare with Mohammedanism and Hinduism. Against the former they had established settlements at the entrances of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. They still retain Goa, Diu, Macao, and Timor but their power and trade have fallen into insignificance. Their ecclesiastical heads lay claim to extensive patronage over the Roman Catholics in the East ; and disputes continue between them and the British vicars apostolic, which ought, for the sake of pure Christianity, to be settled by the proper authorities.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### THE ENGLISH INTERCOURSE WITH INDIA, 1500—1754.

*Trade carried on through the Levant.—Venetian Carrack lost off the Isle of Wight.—Thorne's Northern expedition, 1576.—Frobisher sails to try the Northern Passage.—Sir Francis Drake's Voyage.—Cavendish's Voyages. 1588.—The first Charter granted.—Five Ships, sent out under Captain Lancaster, reach Achen, 1602.—The English beat their Rivals in the Indian Seas.—Sir T. Roe sent as Ambassador to Delhi, 1614.—James I. sacrifices the English Merchants to the Dutch for Money.—A bad Treaty made with the Dutch.—Massacre at Amboyna, 1623.—Cromwell obtains Redress.—Madras founded, 1639.—Calcutta founded, 1656.—Charles II. cedes Bombay to the Company, 1668.—An English Armament stopped by Charles II., to please the Dutch.—James II. favors the East India Company, 1686.—Sir J. Child a bad Governor at Bombay, 1687.—Proposals made in the Convention-Parliament to open the Trade with India and China, 1688.—The Proposal neutralized.—The Company forfeits its Charter.—Much money spent in "Gratifications."—A new Company started, 1698.—After three Years of Disputes, it coalesces with the old one, 1702.—The complete Amalgamation of both, 1708.—A British Embassy sent to Delhi: Grant of Privileges, 1715.—The French Trade at Pondicherry.—Becomes a Cause of Jealousy, 1720.—A Fleet sent to India, 1743.—Captain Barnett gains a Victory.—The English Fleet, under Peyton, flees from before the French Fleet.—Labourdonnaïs attacks Madras, and takes it in a Week, 1746.—It is restored by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1749.—Admiral Boscowen besieges Pondicherry; but is obliged to leave it, and perishes, 1748.—Clive distinguishes himself at Devi Cottah, 1749.—The French East India Company exert themselves to gain Power and Influence.—Confusion in the Carnatic Districts.—The Portuguese lose Bassein and Salsette to the Mahrattas, 1750.—The Mahrattas exhibit their Strength.—Intrigues and Battles in the Deccan.—Dupleix shows great Talents as a Politician, 1751.—Clive takes Arcot, and defeats Chunda.—His gallant Defence of Arcot.—The Decision of Lawrence and the Enterprise of Clive.—A tedious Campaign ensues.—Dupleix obtains great Influence.—The French Company grow tired of wasting Money, and they are abandoned by their Allies.—Dupleix recalled and Peace established in India, 1754.*

Soon after the termination of the Wars of the Roses, and the restoration of national tranquillity under the Tudors, the English people began to manifest the spirit of maritime discovery, commercial enterprise, and adventurous colonization, which they had inherited from their Saxon ancestors. This spirit had long been suppressed by the Norman aristocracy, alien to England in lineage, language, and feeling ; but in the sanguinary struggle between the rival divisions of the Plantagenet family, the Norman nobles had wasted their resources, thinned their ranks, and lost their exclusive possession of political power. Families of Saxon descent began to be raised to the peerage ; the seizure of monastic lands enabled Henry VIII. to endow the new nobility with estates ; and other branches of the same families, emulous of their greatness, sought a road to fame and fortune in the paths which the discoveries of Columbus and Gama had opened to boldness and enterprise. Among all the navigators and adventurers who suddenly appeared under the Tudors, there was scarcely one who could claim affinity with the old Norman nobility ; nearly all of them belonged to the class of country gentlemen, the descendants of the Saxon Franklins, men who preferred the paths of honourable industry to the gilded profligacy which had usurped the name of chivalry.

Previous to the accession of Elizabeth, this country was supplied with Indian commodities from Venice, by an annual ship of great value ; and as the Venetians could then charge what price they pleased, the commerce was anything but lucrative to England. The shipwreck of a rich Venetian carrack, on the Isle A.D. 1518. of Wight, excited the English merchants and mariners to attempt obtaining a share of the productive commerce of the East. Sir William Monson, who witnessed the loss of the vessel, appears to have taken an active part in urging the people of London to attempt to rival the Venetians ; and he found the citizens very ready to second his attempts. "They devised," he says, "how such commodities may come into our hands by a more direct way, than to be served, as we were, at second-hand ; and therefore resolved to make an overture, by favour of the Queen and her letters, to the Great Turk, for an immediate traffic from England to Turkey, and his dominions, and so thence again, with ships of her own subjects, without being beholden to them (the Venetians). These letters were sent by her Majesty, and received with great courtesy and friendship by the Grand Seignor, as appears by his letters yet extant. In conclusion, the articles were agreed upon, and a grant made of great privileges and immunities

CHAPTER  
VI.A.D. 1500.  
English  
commerce  
dates from  
Henry VII.The Saxon  
race became  
traders.

**CHAPTER VI.** to her Majesty's subjects, which have since continued and been  
 A. D. 1576. peacefully enjoyed. Thus the first trade between England and India was opened through the Levant, and the Turkey merchants were regarded as the true East India traders.\*

The Northern passage tried.

A. D. 1576. A London merchant, named Thorne, who had long resided in Seville, and acquired an extensive knowledge of the East India trade, on his return to England, represented to Henry VIII. the great advantages which the country might derive from Eastern commerce, and suggested that it would be possible to discover a new passage by the north-east or north-west to the Indian Seas, and avoid the tedious navigation round Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope. Some merchants of London, hoping to reap the benefits of this discovery, fitted out two ships under Captain Frobisher, who made three vigorous attempts to effect this passage, but failed, as all his successors have done. Sir Francis Drake, on returning from his voyage round the world, gave it as his opinion that the route which Thorne had suggested was impracticable. Captain Stephens went from England by the Cape of Good Hope, and sent home a very full account of his voyage from Goa. Further information was obtained from Ralph Fitch, a merchant of London, who had reached India by a different route. This gentleman, who appears to have been engaged in the Levant trade, travelled from Tripoli in Syria to Ormuz, and thence to Goa. After a short residence amongst the Portuguese, he sailed to Bengal, Pegu, Siam and Molucca, visiting the island of Ceylon, and the cities of Cochin and Calicut; he then returned to Ormuz, whence he proceeded overland to Tripoli, where embarking, he reached England A.D. 1591. The route, however, was still considered precarious until the famous Cavendish opened a certain passage to the East, in his voyage round the world A.D. 1587. Cavendish was a young

A. D. 1591.  
Cavendish sails.

A. D. 1587.

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\* It appears from Hackluyt, that there was a very considerable trade to the Levant in English bottoms, between the years 1512 and 1534. He tells us that several stout ships from London, Southampton, and Bristol had a constant trade to Candia, Rhodes, Cyprus, and Beirut in Syria. Our imports were silks, camlets, rhubarb, malmseys, muscadels, and other wines; sweet oil, cotton goods, carpets, gall, cinnamon and other spices. Our exports were fine and coarse kerseys, white western dogans, cloths called statutes, and others called cardinal whites, skins, and leather. From a cotemporary document it appears, that in this early day Manchester had already acquired some fame as a manufacturing town, particularly for the production of certain woollen cloths, which, singularly enough, were called *cottons*, a corruption of 'coatings.'

man of fortune, who had wasted his property by a life of fashion- CHAPTER VI.  
 able extravagance, and hoped to retrieve it by a voyage to the southern seas. He sailed from England, in 1586, with three small ships equipped at his own expense. After having touched at Sierra Leone and the Cape de Verd Islands, he steered for the Straits of Magellan, through which he passed in the January of 1587. Having coasted for some months along the western side of America, he crossed the Pacific to the Indian Archipelago, visited several of the islands and returned by the Cape of Good Hope to England, where he arrived in September, 1588. This voyage was highly instrumental in forwarding the Queen's design of opening a direct trade with the East Indies; the merchants of London were so impressed with the importance of the information communicated by Cavendish, that they formed themselves into a trading company, and applied to the Queen for a charter. Their request was granted, and in December, 1600, the merchant adventurers were incorporated under the title of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading to the East Indies." \* A.D. 1600.

In this charter, the first governor, Thomas Smythe, and First Charter. twenty-four directors, were nominated by the crown, but power was vested in the company of proprietors to elect a deputy governor, and also a governor and other members for the future. The privileges granted to them, their successors, their sons on attaining their legal majority, their apprentices, factors and servants who had been employed by the company for fifteen years, are thus stated in the original charter, "freely to traffic and use the trade of merchandise by sea, in and by such ways and passages already discovered or hereafter to be discovered, as they should esteem and take to be fittest, unto and from the East Indies, unto the countries and ports of Asia and Africa, and unto and from all the islands, ports, havens, cities, creeks, rivers and places of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them, beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Strait of Magellan, where any trade or traffic may be used, to or from every of them, in such order, manner, form, liberty and condition, as they themselves should from time to time agree upon and determine." They were further empowered to make bye-laws; to inflict punishments either corporal or pecuniary, provided that such

\* The subscriptions or shares in this company were at first only £50 each, and the original capital £369,891 5s. In 1676, this capital was doubled by adding the profits to the stock.

**CHAPTER VI.**  
**A.D. 1602.** punishments did not contravene the laws of England, to export goods free of duty, and afterwards to be allowed a drawback of duty on all exported goods which might be lost on the passage, or so injured as to become unsaleable.

The country had at this time made so much progress in the science of political economy, that doubts were entertained of the prudence of creating new monopolies ; and Elizabeth was afraid that the exclusive privileges granted to the new company might be unpopular, and perhaps prejudicial to trade ; she therefore inserted a proviso, that if within the space limited by the charter, this monopoly should appear in any respect detrimental to the public, it should then, upon two years' warning under the privy seal, become null and void. But if experience proved, that this new corporation promoted the weal and benefit of the nation, her majesty pledged her royal word, that she would not only renew the charter, but add such other clauses and graces, as should appear most conducive to the interest of the commerce, and of the undertakers, and the general advantage, of the kingdom.

**Lancaster's Expedition.** Five ships under the command of Captain Lancaster, were sent out by the new company ; they reached the roads of Achen on the 5th of June, 1602. A commercial treaty was concluded with the king of the country on equitable terms ; after which, in order to complete their cargo, the little squadron proceeded to Java. Another commercial treaty was concluded with the king of Bantam ; after which the ships returned home, having made a most profitable voyage. This success led to several other voyages, which were generally attended by the same prosperous results.

**English vessels attacked by the Dutch.** The rivals of the English were the Portuguese and the Dutch ; both nations had established forts and factories along the coast, and had made extensive territorial acquisitions, from which they most carefully excluded all foreign traders. The English company felt this disadvantage very severely, especially as the Dutch equipped armed vessels to attack the English shipping. The Portuguese adopted the same course of policy, and the Company was forced to send larger vessels well armed into the Indian Seas. Sir Henry Middleton was attacked by the Portuguese with a very superior force off Surat ; but he inflicted on them a very severe defeat, to the surprise and pleasure of the Indian princes, who had hitherto believed the Portuguese invincible. A second victory over the same jealous foes was obtained by Captain Best, whose valour was reported to the emperor of Delhi, and produced a most favourable impression on his court.

The governor of the Company wisely resolved to take advantage of these propitious events. In consequence of his application, Sir Thomas Roe was sent as ambassador to the court of Delhi, and nearly at the same time the Shirleys appeared as English envoys in Persia. Factories were erected at Surat, Ahmedabad, Cambay and Gogo, to the great annoyance of the Dutch, who were firmly resolved to prevent any interference with their lucrative monopoly of the spice trade. Negotiations were commenced in Europe to prevent any collision between the Hollanders and the English : but James I. who wanted money to gratify his rapacious and unprincipled favourites, deliberately sacrificed the rights of his subjects and the best interests of the nation over which he unworthily ruled, to the bribes that were offered him by the merchants of Amsterdam.

Although in a great measure deserted by their government, Treaty with the English under many disadvantages bravely maintained their the Dutch. ground, and at length a treaty was concluded between the East India Companies of England and Holland. Such, however, was the confidence of the Dutch in the mercenary stupidity of the English monarch, that the negotiations had been scarcely concluded when every article of the treaty was atrociously violated. At length, under the pretence that the English had stimulated the natives to insurrection, all the Company's agents in Amboyna were arrested, and subjected to the most horrible tortures in order to force them to confession. They were then put to death in the most barbarous manner, and their destruction was followed by a series of public rejoicings and thanksgivings.

Massacre at Amboyna.  
A.D. 1623.

When the intelligence of these atrocities arrived in Europe, the indignation of the English was extreme ; even James was roused to bestow heavy maledictions on the authors of such cruelties, but his wrath ended in execrations. His successor, Charles I., shewed himself more alive to the honour of the nation, but having been involved at the very commencement of his reign in a struggle with his own subjects, he had not leisure to bestow any attention on foreign affairs. The English trade with India rapidly declined, until the termination of the great civil war, when Oliver Cromwell, who with all his faults possessed Cromwell's a true English spirit, having declared war against the Dutch, so spirit. completely humbled them, that they were forced to submit to the terms of peace which he dictated. One of the articles in the treaty concluded April 5th, 1654, was in the following terms, A.D. 1654. "that the Lords the States General of the United Provinces, shall take care that justice be done upon those who are partakers

CHAPTER  
VI.

A.D. 1614.  
Roe, am-  
bassador.

**CHAPTER VI.** and accomplices in the massacre of the English at Amboyna,

**A.D. 1662.** as the Republic of England is pleased to term that fact, provided any of them be living." In consequence of this stipulation the Dutch had to pay a compensation of 82,000/. to the English East India Company, and also to give large sums to the families of their victims.

**Madras.** A settlement was effected at Madras, in 1639. The fortification of Armegaon was first selected as affording security for the persons and property of the English traders—but after some time experience showed that it was not a convenient spot for the sale of their piece-goods. Permission was then obtained of Sri Ranja, Rajah of Chandragheri, to erect a fort at Madraspatam. The grant is dated March 1, 1639. A fort was erected called Fort St. George, from which, as the seat of the Madras Government, all the official documents are still issued. Mr. Day, was the governor who removed from Armegaon to Madras.

**Calcutta.** In 1636, an English physician, Doctor Boughton, accompanied A.D. 1656. the British Envoy from the factory at Surat to Agra, where the emperor, Shah Jehan, was stationed. The favorite daughter of the Shah was cured of a dangerous illness by the skill of Doctor Boughton; the Shah, from gratitude, granted to him the right of free trade over the empire. This right the Doctor sold to the Company, who made use of it by establishing a new factory on the banks of the Hoogley, on a spot convenient for their shipping. This was the foundation of Calcutta. Fort William was first erected in 1697-98, and called after the king of England. It is now the official seat of the Supreme Government.

**Bombay.** Charles II., after his restoration in 1660, confirmed and extended the privileges of the Company. In 1662, he sent a fleet A.D. 1662. to take possession of the island of Bombay, which formed part of the dowry of the princess of Portugal whom he had married—but the Portuguese, who knew the value of the island, which they, from its excellent harbour, used to call *Bom-bahia*, "good bay," would not cede it. The English demanded the island of Salsette, as a dependency—but this was positively refused. Sickness prevailed amongst the troops, who were compelled to take refuge at Angediva. The commander of the English force offered to give over the king's rights to the heads of the factory at Surat—but they declined. Mr. Cooke, on whom the command of the English force devolved, made any terms he could, and got possession of Bombay island. The convention made by Cooke was refused by Charles II., who sent out Sir Gervase Lucas to take the government of the island. In 1668 the island

was ceded to the Company at an annual rent of ten pounds in <sup>CHAPTER</sup> gold. The government was removed from Surat to Bombay, in <sup>VI.</sup> 1686. "The Castle," a small fort, is the nominal seat of the <sup>A.D. 1686.</sup> Bombay government. Bombay was looked upon at first as the graveyard of Europeans; but it is now one of the most healthful places on the coast of India.

In consequence of the improved aspect of their affairs, the English merchants resolved to attempt the recovery of Bantam, which had been wrested from them by the Dutch. An armament was prepared for that purpose; but when it was on the point of sailing, the Dutch offered a large bribe to the weak and profligate Charles II who laid an embargo upon the expedition, and finally prohibited the enterprise altogether. This king ceded the island of St. Helena to the company, in 1674.

James II, the last of the Stuarts, was the best of the line, so far as trade and commerce were concerned. He afforded every encouragement to the Company, and gave them additional administrative powers. But, unfortunately, their prosperity was greatly injured by one of their own servants, Sir John Child, Governor of Bombay, whose fraud, ambition, and tyranny brought the settlement to the very verge of ruin. His folly led him to provoke a war with the Emperor of Delhi, who sent a considerable force to attack Bombay. Child's cowardice was as conspicuous as any of his other qualities, and the fort must have fallen, had not his seasonable death relieved the garrison from the greatest of dangers, an imbecile and treacherous commander. On Child's death, the emperor, Aurung-zebe, consented to make peace, and granted more favourable terms than the English had a right to expect. Child's successors were little better than himself; so great were their profligacy and rapacity, that from being a populous place, Bombay was almost rendered a desert; it would most probably have been abandoned altogether, if the Company's servants could have found means of escaping from the insolence and oppression of their governors by returning to England; but this favour was refused them, and they were detained by their tyrants without a glimmering of hope.

In consequence of this misgovernment abroad, and the peculation introduced by Sir Josiah Child into the management at home, the Company's affairs fell into sad confusion, and the merchants of London proposed either to throw open the trade with India and China, or to form a new commercial association on a wider basis. The matter was brought before the convention parliament, which was assembled on the abdication of

<sup>Charles II.</sup>  
favo<sup>r</sup>rs  
the Dutch  
St. Helena  
ceded.  
A.D. 1674.

A.D. 1685.

Bombay  
attacked.  
A.D. 1687.

A.D. 1688.  
Distress of  
the Com-  
pany.

**CHAPTER VI.** James II., and formed one of the many useful projects which the authors of the revolution sacrificed to base and mercenary motives.

**A.D. 1698.** The directors of the Company found the patriots and statesmen of the day ready to break their pledges to the nation for a share in the wages of iniquity; perhaps, indeed, there never was a parliament in which purity was more loudly professed, and venality more extensively practised, than in that

**Bribery and corruption.** which conferred the crown upon William III. Bribes deferred the danger by which the Company was threatened for three years, but at length the increasing discontent of the commercial and mercantile interests, compelled the House of Commons to interfere, and an address was presented to the king, praying that the Company might be dissolved and its charter revoked. William referred the matter to his privy council. The directors lavishly distributed bribes among its members, and an order for renewing and extending the charter was obtained. The House of Commons had under discussion a bill for imposing taxes on several joint stocks; they inserted a clause, that any company

**The charter becomes void.** not paying the tax within a specified time, should forfeit its charter. The East India directors were so infatuated as to neglect the first quarterly payment, whereby their charter became void, and new arguments for dissolving the Company were furnished to their adversaries.

**Bribery for a new charter.** The matter was again referred to the privy council. On the one side were the petitions from the merchants of London and the manufacturers of the west of England; on the other, were the ready bribes of the directors, and the latter of course prevailed. Great were the astonishment and indignation of the public. The task of enquiry was forced upon the House of Commons; and it appeared from the books of the Company, that the sum expended for secret services in one year, had amounted to about one hundred thousand pounds, which was confessed to have been spent in "gratifications." It is mortifying to add that the parliamentary investigations stopped at this point; a further prosecution of it would have involved many persons of the highest rank and influence, including the most flaming patriots of the day. The necessities of the government rendered it necessary to raise a loan of two millions: a new association of merchants offered to procure that sum; and, in consequence, they obtained a charter by which they were incorporated as a new East India Company. The two companies spent a few years in mutual attempts to damage each other; but they soon found that their common interests were thus injured, and they at length

**Another Company.**

**A.D. 1698.**

formed a coalition. Little attention was now paid to East India affairs ; the nation was involved in an arduous war with France, to restrain the unprincipled ambition of Louis XIV., and the readiness with which the united Company negotiated loans, recommended them so strongly to the ministry and the parliament, that very large additions were made to their privileges.

VI.

A.D. 1708.

The two Companies unite.

From the union of the two Companies in 1708, a great change was wrought in the management of East India affairs. The courts of directors and proprietors were regularly constituted, and their respective duties and relations clearly defined. In 1726, a charter was granted, by which the Company were permitted to establish a Mayor's Court at each of the three presidencies they had created in India, Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta, consisting of a mayor and nine aldermen, empowered to decide in civil cases of all descriptions; criminal jurisdiction over every offence, except high treason, was given to the court of quarter sessions; and the president and council were erected into a court of appeal. In 1753 this charter was extended, and the authority of European courts finally established.

A. D. 1708.

Charter of 1726.

1753.

The revolutions which followed the death of Aurung-zebe opened many favourable opportunities for the extension of the Company's power in India. In 1715, an embassy was sent to the court of Delhi to procure additional privileges and protection, and in pursuance of advice received in Calcutta, the envoys gained the favour of Khan Dowran, a nobleman high in the confidence of the emperor; but, unfortunately, for that very reason, an object of suspicion to the powerful vizir, Jaffier Khan. As the vizir Intrigues, was also viceroy of Bengal, he looked with a very unfavourable eye on the requests of the English, and it appeared probable that the objects of the embassy would be defeated. At this crisis, the emperor was attacked by a painful disease, which delayed the marriage he was anxious to conclude with the daughter of the Rája of Jodpore; he was advised to make a trial of the skill of a medical gentleman named Hamilton, who had accompanied the English embassy; and under his judicious treatment the emperor's health was soon restored. The grateful monarch desired his restorer to name his reward; Hamilton requested that the privileges solicited by the Company, including freedom of trade and some grants of territory, should be conceded. After some delay, the boon was granted; but the vizir contrived for a considerable time to prevent the Company from profiting by the imperial permission to purchase the villages round Calcutta.

Embassy to Delhi,

1715.

Intrigues.

Dr. Hamilton cures the Shah, and obtains privileges for the Company.

It was about the year 1723 that the French trade with the

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A.D. 1720.  
French  
trade with  
India, 1723.

War  
against the  
French,  
1744.

Barnet's  
success.

Peyton's  
cowardice.

Labour-  
donnais.  
A.D. 1746.

Attacks  
Madras.

Takes it.

Treated  
badly in  
Paris.

East Indies became so important as to attract notice ; and from that time the English began to look with great jealousy on the flourishing colony of Pondicherry, which their rivals had established on the Coromandel coast. When war was declared between France and England, in 1743, Lord Carteret, who had then the principal management of public affairs, proposed that a squadron should be sent to the East Indies. Three ships of the line and a frigate were accordingly despatched, under the command of Commodore Barnet, who took several rich prizes. The French East India Company proposed that a neutrality should be established in the Indian Seas ; but when their terms were rejected by the English, they made the most vigorous preparations to defend their interests, selecting for their commander Labourdonnais, an admiral of high reputation. By the death of Commodore Barnet, the command of the English squadron devolved on Captain Peyton, who wanted both the courage and the skill necessary for such an enterprise. After an indecisive engagement, he fled from the Southern Sea to the Bay of Bengal, abandoning Madras, which was in a scandalously defenceless condition, to the mercy of the enemy.

Labourdonnais made immediate preparations for the attack of this important settlement. On the 14th of September, 1746, he effected a landing about twenty miles south of Madras, and protected by his fleet, which accompanied the march of the army along the coast, advanced to invest the town. Madras was badly garrisoned, and worse defended. After a siege of less than a week the place capitulated, Labourdonnais stipulating that it should be restored on the payment of a ransom ; but this condition was not ratified by the Governor of Pondicherry. He received a strong reinforcement, and was preparing to expel the English from India, when a violent storm on the 2nd of October dispersed and destroyed his squadron. Labourdonnais behaved so generously to his prisoners, that at the conclusion of the war a large present was voted to him by the East India Company. On his return to Europe he was captured by an English cruiser ; but his conduct at Madras was remembered : all ranks vied with each other in shewing him respect, and he was liberated by the government on his simple parole. It is melancholy to add, that on his return to France he was thrown into the Bastile, and detained a prisoner for three years by the machinations of his enemies. His merits, however, were finally established ; but the unmerited treatment he received, so weakened his mind and body, that he did not long survive his liberation.

Admiral Boscowen, having arrived with a strong reinforcement to the English, it was resolved to undertake the siege of Pondicherry. Few enterprises have been worse conducted ; time was wasted when every moment was valuable ; the trenches were opened at a distance from the walls, which rendered the fire of the besiegers ineffectual ; finally, the approach of the rainy season rendered it impossible for the army to keep the field, or the fleet to remain on the coast, and Boscowen at length retired, Withdraws. after having suffered a very severe loss in men and stores. Before his efforts could be renewed, intelligence was received of peace having been concluded between France and England at Aix-la-Chapelle ; but Boscowen seemed to be still pursued by misfortune : several ships, and about twelve hundred seamen, Loses many perished miserably in a storm on the coast of Coromandel. ships.

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, by which Madras was restored to the English, was little better than a hollow truce in Europe ; in India it scarcely interrupted the operations of war. A passion for territorial acquisitions appears to have seized the French and English Companies simultaneously, and each prepared to take advantage of the political revolutions so common in all Oriental governments, to extend their dominions by hiring out their aid to rival competitors. The English were the first to draw the sword ; and from no higher inducement than the promise of a trifling fort belonging to the rajah of Tanjore, on the Coromandel coast. Tanjore was one of the petty kingdoms, into which the Mohammedans found the country divided when they first invaded India ; it occupied little more than the space enclosed and intersected by the numerous mouths of the Cavery, being about seventy miles in length, with the same extent of breadth. After several revolutions it was seized by the brother of Sivajee, the celebrated founder of the Mahratta empire, who bequeathed the throne to his posterity. Sahujee, one of his descendants, was dethroned, in 1741, by his chief minister, who transferred the title of king to Prataup Sing, notwithstanding the stain of illegitimacy attached to his birth. The new monarch reigned quietly for several years, and the English rulers at Madras not only recognised his title, but entered into amicable correspondence with him, and solicited his co-operation against the French. In 1749 the dethroned Sahujee presented himself at Fort St. David, soliciting aid for the recovery of his dominions, promising to reward the assistance of his allies by the cession of the fort of Devi-Cotah, and declaring that many, if not most, of his subjects were ready to take arms in his favour. It was supposed that

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A.D. 1748.

Boscowen  
besieges  
Pondi-  
cherry.Loses many  
ships.A.D. 1748.  
Madras  
restored.Tanjore  
disputes.

A.D. 1741.

A.D. 1749.

**CHAPTER VI.** Coleroon, the northern branch of the Cavery, on which Devi-Cotah stands, would afford the advantage of an excellent harbour, and it was therefore resolved to accept Suhajee's offer. A force of one hundred Europeans and five hundred sepoyes was sent under the command of Captain Cope, who was aided by the Nabob, to take possession of Devi-Cotah, and support any party which might be formed in favour of Suhajee. Artillery and provisions were ordered to be sent round by sea.

Cope experienced no impediment until he had passed the Coleroon, and entered a difficult country covered with wood and jungle. His forces suffered severely from ambuscades of the Tanjorines, and when he came in sight of Devi-Cotah, he was unable to procure any intelligence of the ships, though they were then anchored only four miles off, at the mouth of the river. After having thrown a few shells into the place, the English disgracefully retired ; they had found no party formed in favour of Suhajee, and, indeed, they do not appear to have taken the trouble of enquiring whether any such was in existence.

**A.D. 1749.** A second expedition was sent out from Fort St. David, under the command of Major Lawrence, to retrieve Cope's disgrace. In this army there was a young lieutenant, named Clive, destined to achieve for himself the most memorable character in the annals of British India, who had been at first employed in the civil service, but had taken the earliest opportunity of exchanging the pen for the sword. Lawrence, who was a shrewd judge of merit, appreciated the talents of this young officer, and often consulted him in the difficulties of the expedition, which were neither few nor trifling. The armament proceeded by sea, a landing was effected on the side of the river opposite to Devi-Cotah, the ground of the bank where the fort stood being so marshy that it would have been impossible to erect breaching batteries on it. Three days after the fire of the artillery had opened, a practicable breach was effected, and preparations for storming were made. It was however necessary to cross the river, a work of some difficulty, for the stream was both wide and rapid, besides which the Tanjorines kept up a smart fire from the thickets which lined the opposite shore. A ship's carpenter, named John Moore, suggested the means for overcoming these difficulties ; a raft was constructed sufficient to convey four hundred men, and Moore swam across the river at night, and fastened a rope to a tree, by which it could be pulled across. Having secured the rope and carefully concealed it in the water and bushes ; he returned undetected. Before the raft began to

Clive distinguishes himself.

move, some pieces of artillery were brought to bear on the part of the bank to which the rope was fixed, which compelled the Tanjorines to remove to some distance. The first detachment having passed over in safety, the transport of the remainder was easy. Major Lawrence resolved to storm immediately, and Clive volunteered to lead the attack. He advanced with a platoon of Europeans and seven hundred sepoys, but rashly allowing himself and the platoon to be separated from the sepoys, he narrowly escaped with his life, and the platoon was all but annihilated. Major Lawrence advanced with his whole force, the soldiers mounted the breach, and after a feeble resistance took possession of the place. A little enquiry shewed that there was no hope for Sahujee in Tanjore ; an accommodation was therefore made with Prataup Sing, and the English not only abandoned the legitimate monarch, but agreed to detain him prisoner, to prevent him giving any further molestation to the reigning sovereign. It is even asserted that but for the humanity of Boscawen, he would have been delivered into the hands of Prataup Sing.

CHAPTER  
VI.  
A.D. 1749.

Devi-  
Cottah  
taken.

In the meantime, the French East India Company had engaged in transactions of still higher moment, and a great revolution was accomplished in the Carnatic. The Carnatic is the name given to an extensive district stretching along the Coromandel coast, from the little river Gundigania to the mouths of the Cavery ; to this was sometimes added the range of country between the northern branch of the Cavery and Cape Comorin ; but this was usually distinguished as the Southern Carnatic. In extending westward from the coast, the Carnatic includes every variety, both of soil and scenery, which is to be met on the great continent of India ; that part between the first range of mountains and the sea, was called the Carnatic below the Ghauts ; the western district, between the first and second range of mountains, was called Canara or the Carnatic above the Ghauts. When southern India was annexed to the empire of Delhi, the Carnatic was included in the great Subah or vice-royalty of the Deccan, governed by the Nizam ; the great extent of the Deccan rendered the governors of districts, under the Nizam, persons of great power and influence ; they were called Nabobs or deputies, and were not unfrequently rivals of the viceroy. When Nizam-ul-Mulk was appointed viceroy of the Deccan, a chief named Sadatulla was Nabob of the Carnatic, and retained his situation under the Nizam until his death in 1732. Sadatulla's nephew and adopted son, Dost Ali, then A.D. 1732.

**CHAPTER VI.** seized the nabobship without waiting for the sanction of the viceroy ; and to strengthen himself in this position gave his four

**A.D. 1730-40** daughters in marriage to different chiefs, remarkable for their rank and power. One of these, Chanda Sahib, was appointed Dewan, or chief minister of finance to his father-in-law. Under pretence of collecting the arrears of the revenue he marched to Trichinopoly, a tributary state governed by a native Hindu. Chanda Sahib's real object was to take advantage of a disputed

**A.D. 1736.** succession. The Raja of Trichinopoly died in 1736, leaving a child to succeed him, whose mother exercised the sovereignty under the title of regent. She had to maintain a doubtful struggle against a competitor for the principality, and she therefore cheerfully accepted the proffered aid of Chanda Sahib, which ensured her the victory. Grateful for his support and confiding in his friendship, the princess gave Chanda Sahib free access to the citadel ; he abused her confidence by making himself treacherously master of the fortress, and throwing the princess into prison, where she died of grief. Dost Ali rewarded this perfidy by investing his son-in-law with the principality of Trichinopoly.

**A. D. 1740.** This ambitious treachery greatly alarmed the Hindu Rajas ; they applied to the Mahrattas, as a people of the same origin and religion, to march to their assistance, taking advantage of the struggles in Northern India, which engaged the attention of the Nizam too effectually to allow of his giving any assistance to his feudatory, the Nabob of the Carnatic. A Mahratta army, commanded by Ragojee Bonslah, advanced to the frontiers of the Carnatic in the month of May, 1740. The passes of the mountains might easily have been defended, but a Hindu officer betrayed an important post, and left a free opening to the Mahrattas. Dost Ali then resolved to hazard an engagement.

**He is slain.** He was defeated and slain ; his son, Safder Ali, who was envious of Chanda Sahib, immediately entered into negotiations, paying them a large sum of money, and promising to offer no impediment to their seizure of Trichinopoly. After some delay, the Mahrattas invested that city ; Chanda Sahib defended himself gallantly for several months, but was finally forced to surrender, and was sent prisoner to Sattara. Fortunately, he had previously secured the safety of his family by sending them to the French settlement of Pondicherry, where they were most kindly treated by the prudent governor, M. Dupleix, who foresaw that a time would come when he might avail himself of the grateful services of Chanda Sahib.

The descendants of Dost Ali filled the Carnatic with all the confusions of war, murder and assassination, the usual accompaniments of a disputed succession, whether small or great, in Asia. Nizam ul Mulk, on his return from Delhi, resolved to arrange the troubled affairs of the Carnatic ; and, after several changes, conferred the nabobship on Anwar-ud-din Khan, but nominally as regent, for the rightful heir, was a minor. In a short time, however, the young nabob was murdered by a band of Patan soldiers, as the Afghan mercenaries were usually called, who clamoured for arrears of pay due to them, or pretended to be due to them, by his father. It was generally believed that this murder was instigated by Anwar-ud-din, which, combined with the oppressive nature of his government, rendered the people of the Carnatic anxious that he should be dethroned, and the line of Sadatulla restored in the person of Chanda Sahib. M. Dupleix zealously seconded the same course of policy ; he corresponded with Chanda Sahib in his captivity, and advanced a considerable portion of the sum which the Mahrattas demanded for his ransom. On being liberated, in 1748, Chanda A.D. 1748. Sahib raised a body of partisan troops and entered into the quarrels of the petty Rajas between the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel. By this means he collected some treasure, and greatly increased his followers ; so that at the death of Nizam ul Mulk, in 1749, he was at the head of an army of 6,000 men.

A.D. 1749

Nizam ul Mulk was succeeded in the viceroyalty of the Deccan by his second son, Nazir-Jing, but as he had been in open rebellion against his father, it was affirmed that the Nizam had bequeathed his dominions to a favourite grandson, Musaffir Jing, and, after a brief parade of negotiations, an appeal was made to arms. Chanda Sahib immediately tendered his services to Musaffir Jing, and persuaded him to unite in commencing their operations in the Carnatic, where the memory and family interest of Sadatulla would afford them immense advantages. Dupleix entered into the views of the aspiring chiefs, and supplied them with a valuable auxiliary force. Thus strengthened, they marched against Anwar-ud-din, who had posted himself in an entrenched camp under the fortress of Amboor. The French offered to storm the entrenchment, and though twice beaten back, at length succeeded in forcing an entrance. Anwar-ud-din, who had attained the uncommon age of one hundred and seven, fell in the engagement ; his eldest son was taken prisoner, and his second son, Mohammed Ali, fled with the wreck of the army to Trichinopoly, of which he was governor.

CHAPTER  
VI.A.D. 1740.  
Disrutes in  
the Car·  
natic.

**CHAPTER VI.** his capital ; he at once sent his son, Rajah Sahib, with a force of four thousand men, to expel the English ; and this body was joined by one hundred and fifty Europeans from Pondicherry, and about three thousand men who had collected around the fugitive garrison of Arcot. These forces found no difficulty in entering the city. Clive, notwithstanding the enormous disparity of strength, resolved to dislodge them, and sallied from the fort with his artillery. The enemy, however, occupied the houses with their musketry, and he was compelled to retreat with the loss of fifteen men killed, and sixteen badly wounded, the latter including his only artillery officer. On the following day the enemy, reinforced by two thousand men from Vellore, commenced a regular siege of the citadel. One of Clive's eighteen-pounders was soon disabled, the other dismounted and withdrawn ; his light guns were, of course, utterly useless ; to add to these disadvantages, the enemy occupied some houses which overlooked the ditch, and swept the parapet with a heavy fire of musketry at a distance of thirty yards. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, Clive, by frequent sallies, so retarded the operations of the besiegers, that, though they were assisted by French officers, it was a fortnight before they could effect a breach. Two of very considerable extent were at length opened, and Clive prepared for their defence, though he had only eighty Europeans and one hundred and twenty Sepoys fit for duty ; but he had contrived to infuse into them a portion of his own dauntless spirit, and they resolved to hold out to the last extremity. Rajah Sahib made his assault on the 14th of November, the anniversary of the martyrdom of Ali's family, the festival most reverenced by Mohammedans of the Shiah sect. Clive had prepared for his reception by erecting some works behind the breaches, which commanded them and the traverses also. When the assailants advanced, they found themselves exposed to cross-fires, so close and well sustained that they were mowed down by entire ranks. They recoiled from the murderous discharge, but repeated their efforts and were again driven back, until at length they

The enemy abandoned the attempt, with the loss of four hundred men in  
retire,  
Nov. 14th. killed and wounded. The enemy evacuated the town that night, after having maintained the siege for fifty days. On the following morning, Clive being joined by a detachment from Madras, and a body of Mahrattas, commenced an active pursuit, and having overtaken the enemy, inflicted upon them a severe defeat, and recovered Conjeveram, which had been garrisoned by the French. Two wounded officers, who had been taken on their

road from Arcot to Madras, were prisoners in the fort, and the French governor threatened to expose them on the ramparts to the fire of their own countrymen, if Clive persevered in his attack ; but these gallant men exhorted Clive to disregard their safety. It is pleasing to add, that when Conjeveram was taken they were found uninjured.

Clive returned to Fort St. David about the end of December. The enemy took advantage of his absence to resume their operations, and he had to take the field in February to relieve Arcot, which was menaced with a siege. On his road he unexpectedly encountered the enemy, who were vastly superior in number, just as night was beginning to close with the usual rapidity of a tropical climate. A smart but irregular action was fought by moonlight, and the English seemed on the point of being routed, when Lieutenant Keene, who had been sent to attack the rear of the grove in which the enemy were posted, by a sudden charge, got possession of the French guns, and turned them on their former owners. The effect of the surprise was complete ; the enemy fled in every direction, and few of the disbanded troops ever returned to their former standards.

Clive would have made use of this success to attempt the capture of Vellore, but he was summoned back to Fort St. David in order to join Major Lawrence, who had now returned from England, in raising the siege of Trichinopoly. Law, who commanded the besiegers, would at once have retired from Trichinopoly but for the pressing and reiterated commands of M. Dupleix ; he was, however, compelled to abandon his camp and take up a new position in the island of Seringham, formed by the branches of the Cavery. Here he was closely besieged by the English, who had been strengthened by contingents from the Rajas of Tanjore and Mysore. Dupleix, aware of the danger to which Law was exposed, sent a large reinforcement to his relief under D'Auteuil, but Clive intercepted the convoy, forced D'Auteuil to retreat, attacked him in the fort to which he retired, and made him prisoner. Law was now in distress for want of provisions, his camp was cannonaded by the English, the troops of Chanda Sahib deserted in whole battalions ; and the nabob himself, despairing of escape, yielded himself a prisoner to the Raja of Tanjore. Chanda Sahib's fate was lamentable ; a dispute arose between the allies respecting the possession of so important a captive, which the Tanjorine ended by causing him to be assassinated. The French army, left without resource, was forced to capitulate, and Mohammed Ali was again recognized as nabob of the Carnatic.

CHAPTER VI.

A.D. 1751.

A.D. 1752.  
He routes  
the French  
near  
Coorepauk.

CHAPTER  
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—  
A.D. 1752.

Lawrence was anxious to recover the rest of the province, especially the strong fortress of Gingee, but he was mortified to find that Mohammed Ali was by no means eager to second his exertions. In fact, the nabob had promised to surrender Trichinopoly to the Raja of Mysore as the price of his timely assistance ; he now refused to fulfil his agreement, and the English sanctioned his breach of faith. This gave so much offence to the rest of the allies, that they returned to their own homes, while the Mysoreans and Mahrattas opened negotiations with the French.

Salabat  
gives great  
power to  
Bussy.

There were many circumstances which prevented Dupleix from being so much dispirited by these successive reverses as might have been expected ; but none was of greater weight than the influence he possessed in the court of the viceroy of the Deccan. Salabat-Jing owed his elevation to the French, and particularly to M. Bussy, by whose aid he had been enabled to defeat the machinations of his turbulent nobles. The Omrahs were so enraged against Bussy, that they insisted on his being dismissed ; a treacherous ambuscade was posted to intercept him as he returned to Pondicherry, but he defeated the assassins by his personal strength and valour. When this was told to the Nizam, he ordered Bussy to be recalled to his court, and invested him with the government of the four provinces called the Northern Circars ; "thus," says Mr. Orme, "rendering the French masters of the sea-coast of Coromandel and Orissa, in an uninterrupted line of six hundred miles, from Medapelly to the pagoda of Juggernaut." These provinces not only afforded large pecuniary resources, but furnished means of receiving reinforcements from Pondicherry and the Mauritius, so as to encourage the French to hope for the establishment of their political supremacy through the whole extent of the Deccan.

A.D. 1752. It was resolved, not very wisely, by the Madras Presidency, that the first military operation undertaken should be the reduction of Gingee. Lawrence strenuously opposed the enterprize, but, being forced by ill health to return to Fort St. David, his successor sent a detachment against the fortress ; it was intercepted by the French in the mountainous defiles, and routed with great slaughter. Soon after, a body of Swiss, sent from Madras to strengthen the garrison of Fort St. David in open boats, was met by a French ship of war and forced to surrender. Lawrence, though imperfectly recovered, would no longer remain inactive ; he hastened into the field, and on his approach, the enemy, though superior in force, retreated behind the bound-

hedge of Pondicherry. This hedge, which commonly forms a part of Indian fortifications, is formed of thorny plants, which grow very rapidly, and, twining together, soon make a fence very difficult to be penetrated. Lawrence hesitated to attack the enemy thus protected ; he feigned a retreat, and retired in apparent confusion to Bahur. Dupleix gave immediate orders for a vigorous pursuit ; Lawrence only waited until they had advanced so far as to render an action inevitable ; he then formed his troops into two lines, and charged the hostile ranks with so much impetuosity that they were at once broken. Had the nabob's cavalry done their duty not a man of the enemy would have escaped ; but these horsemen of the Carnatic turned aside from the pursuit, for the more agreeable task of plundering the camp, and the remnant of the French obtained time to shelter themselves again behind the bound-hedge of Pondicherry.

CHAPTER  
VI.A.D. 1752.  
The French  
flee to Pou-  
dicherry.

In the following campaign some new circumstances brought the hostile armies once more into the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly. Captain Dalton had been left with a garrison in Trichinopoly, but had great difficulty in defending himself from the machinations of the Mysoreans and Mahrattas, who wished to gain possession of the place as perfidiously as they had been deprived of it. Their disputes at length led to open war. Dalton was blockaded in Trichinopoly, and he had the mortification to find that the care of furnishing the magazines which he had entrusted to the Mohammedan governor, had been so grossly neglected that, instead of having provisions for six months, the supply was little more than adequate for twice that number of days. Information of his danger was conveyed to Lawrence, who immediately marched to relieve Trichinopoly ; the French army advanced in the same direction, and for more than twelve months, a series of skirmishes and indecisive engagements took place in the vicinity of Trichinopoly, which generally terminated in favour of the English.

A.D. 1753.

The French East India Company had now become weary of the expenses in which they were involved by the ambitious policy of Dupleix ; the French and English governments were also displeased that their respective companies should carry on war while they were at peace in Europe ; a conference was appointed in London, and there all parties agreed to throw the blame upon Dupleix. The enterprising governor was recalled ; Dupleix and a treaty was then concluded, which threw into the hands of the English all the advantages resulting from the revolutions of the Deccan. Soon afterwards, Bussy displeased Salabat Jing, by

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A.D. 1754.

his reluctance to carry on war against the Mahrattas, who were in close alliance with the government of Pondicherry. The Nizam was so dissatisfied, that he dismissed his French officers and auxiliaries, soliciting the Presidency of Madras to supply their place with an English detachment. Circumstances, however, occurred in a different part of India, which prevented the authorities at Madras from profiting by the favourable disposition of the Nizam, and led to events which, though threatening in the commencement, finally opened the way for establishing a British empire in India.

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## CHAPTER VII.

### BRITISH SUPREMACY IN THE CARNATIC, 1754—1761.

*Ali-verdi's rule as Viceroy of Bengal.—Suraj-ud-Dowlat succeeds him.—His vicious Conduct.—Takes Calcutta.—The Black-hole Horrors, 20th June, 1756.—Clive in England.—Appointed Deputy-Governor of Madras.—Pirates destroyed at Gheriah.—Clive obtains the Command of a Force,—Clive retakes Calcutta. The Battle of Plassey, 22nd June, 1757.—Suraj-ud-Dowlat assassinated.—Deceit practised on Omichund.—Meer Jaffier becomes Subahdar.—The French still struggle in Oude and the Carnatic. Trichinopoly besieged.—Relieved by Calliaud.—Lally sent from France to India.—His sanguine temperament.—He is badly seconded.—He takes Fort St. David, 1st June, 1758.—Bussy successful in the Deccan.—Lally wants Money.—Demands it from Tanjore.—Blows Brahmins from the cannon's mouth.—Obliged, by want of support, to raise the Siege.—Masters Arcot, and approaches Madras.—Lally routed at Wandewash, 22nd Dec., 1759.—He asks for aid from Hyder Ali.—Lally's schemes fail.—Pondicherry forced to surrender.—Lally returns to France.—Lally butchered in Paris.—The French East India Company extinct.—Surat taken by the English, 4th March, 1759.—The French send an Expedition, and take Gamboon, 15th October.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the patent rights and privileges which had been conceded to the English by the Emperor of Delhi, they were prevented from extending their power or possessions by the pertinacious opposition of Jaffier Khan, the influential Subahdar of Bengal, or Viceroy of Bengal. On his death, Shujah Khan, by the address of two brother adventurers, obtained possession of the viceroyalty, and in gratitude for their services, he bestowed the administration of the province of Bahar on the younger of the two, Ali-verdi Khan. On the death of Shujah, his son and successor, Sereffraz Khan, ill-treated the brothers to whom his father had been so largely indebted, upon which Ali-verdi Khan, having obtained a patent for the viceroyalty from the court of Delhi, marched against Sereffraz, and slew him in battle. Ali-verdi had reduced the whole country to obedience, and was rapidly increasing its prosperity by the wisdom of his adminis- CHAPTER VII.  
A.D. 1754.

**CHAPTER VII.**  
 A.D. 1756. tration, when the Mahrattas of Berar, having forced the passes of their mountain frontier, began to ravage the rich provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. During the fifteen years of his administration, or rather reign, for his obedience to the court of Delhi was merely nominal, Ali-verdi was engaged in almost incessant wars with the Mahrattas, and his own Patan or Afghan mercenaries, who seized every opportunity of attempting to coerce him into gratifying their cupidity. These circumstances prevented him from paying all the attention to the character and education of his heir which he might otherwise have bestowed. As he had no children, he selected for his heir the eldest son of his youngest nephew, on whom he bestowed the title of Suraj-ud-Dowlat. A worse choice could hardly have been made ; Suraj indulged himself in all the vices of an Oriental prince, and allowed nothing to interfere with the gratification of his passions.

**Suraj-ud-Dowlat.**

**Attacks Calcutta.** The first act of Suraj-ud-Dowlat, was to plunder his uncles and aunts of all the treasures they had accumulated under the government of Ali-verdi ; while thus employed, he learned that the finance minister of his second uncle had escaped to Calcutta, and his demand that the fugitive should be sent back, was peremptorily rejected. Suraj had always disliked the English : he knew that Calcutta was badly governed, and he believed it to be immensely rich ; to gratify, therefore, at once his rage and his avarice, he directly marched against the town, nor could all the remonstrances and submissions of the governor and council divert him from his purpose.

**Takes it.** After a hurried consultation, the governor and part of the council of Calcutta resolved that the place was untenable, and prepared to make their escape on board the shipping. This was effected with such disgraceful precipitation, that one hundred and forty-six persons, including Mr. Holwell, the second member of council, were left behind, exposed to the doubtful humanity of the Subahdar. Suraj-ud-Dowlat did not meditate cruelty, he promised the prisoners that not a hair of their heads should be touched, and then gave orders that they should be secured for the night. The Hindu guards placed them in a small, ill-ventilated chamber, called "the Black Hole," where one hundred and thirty-one of them died from heat and suffocation before the morning. Intelligence of this calamity was conveyed to Madras, where Clive and Admiral Watson were fortunately present, and the forces intended to be sent to Salabat Jing, were ordered to be got ready for the recovery of Calcutta.

**20th June, 1756.**

Clive had gone to England, where he was rewarded for his services by the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the royal army, and the appointment of deputy governor of Fort St. David. On his arrival at Bombay, where it was arranged that he should act in concert with the Mahrattas, in attacking Salabat Jing and expelling the French from the Deccan, he found that the peace of Southern India had been restored by the events recorded in the conclusion of the preceding chapter; and he therefore resolved to reduce the pirate Angria, whose depredations had inflicted severe injuries on the English trade. Watson commanded the fleet, and Clive the land forces in this expedition; they sailed to Gheriah, Angria's capital, which was situated on a rocky promontory, nearly surrounded by the sea, and defended by a fort of extraordinary strength. Notwithstanding these advantages, Gheriah was taken after a very ineffective resistance. The fort February, 1756. was retained by the English, in contravention of the terms under which they were engaged to co-operate with the Mahrattas, whom they contrived to anticipate in a mutually-projected scheme of deception.

Notwithstanding the fame which he deservedly obtained by this exploit, Clive found some difficulty in obtaining the command of the expedition designed to recover Calcutta. After two months had been spent in dispute, his appointment was finally sanctioned; his authority was declared to be independent of that of the Presidency of Calcutta, and he received strict orders to return to Madras as soon as the objects of his mission should be accomplished. Clive found little difficulty in retaking Calcutta; the garrison scarcely resisted the cannonade from the shipping for two hours, when they evacuated the place. The merchandize belonging to the Company was found mostly untouched, because it had been reserved for the Subahdar, but the houses of individuals were totally plundered. This success was followed by the capture of Hoogley, a wealthy city about twenty-five miles higher up the river, an event which so enraged the Subahdar that he returned to besiege Calcutta. Clive resolved to surprise him in his camp; and though this bold attempt failed, it produced such an effect on the mind of the Subahdar, that he concluded a treaty with the English, and, two days after, entered into an alliance with them, offensive and defensive. An attack was next made on the French settlement at Chandernagore, which was taken after a brief resistance, before the Subahdar, who had prohibited such an attempt, could effectually interfere.

CHAPTER  
VII.  
A.D. 1756.  
Clive in  
England.

retakes  
Calcutta.

**CHAPTER VII.** Clive had now effected more than what had been originally intended, and the time had come when, according to his instructions, he was bound to return with the army to Madras.

**A.D. 1757.** **Clive's plans.** But Clive had now formed plans for establishing the British influence in Bengal on a permanent basis. Meer Jaffier, who had married the sister of Ali-verdi Khan, had organized a conspiracy against Suraj-ud-Dowlat, and by a promise of immense bribes to the English generals and members of council, he secured their co-operation in his traitorous attempts. The war with the Subahdar was renewed, and Clive took the field; as he advanced, he was surprised at not being joined by Meer Jaffier, but he received a letter from that politician, stating that he could not move in consequence of the awakened suspicions of the Subahdar, but that, if the English proceeded and hazarded an engagement, he would desert to them on the day of battle.

Clive called a council of war, in which it was resolved not to hazard a battle; but after the council had separated, further reflection led him to change his mind; he crossed the river, and at about one o'clock in the morning of the 22nd of June, took up his position in the grove of Plassy.

**Battle of Plassy, 22nd June.** Clive's forces amounted to little more than three thousand men, about one-third being Europeans; his artillery consisted of eight six pounders and two small howitzers. The Subahdar advanced against this handful of men, with fifty thousand foot, eighteen thousand horse, and fifty pieces of cannon. At eight in the morning the battle commenced, and continued until five in the afternoon, but was nothing more than a distant and irregular cannonade. Meer Jaffier was seen moving off with his troops, at the moment that Clive was advancing to charge. Both events so terrified the Subahdar, that he fled from the field on a fleet camel, accompanied by his attendants: no further resistance was made, and the English took possession of the hostile camp, having lost no more than eighty men in killed and wounded. Never, perhaps, before had the fate of a mighty kingdom been decided in so feeble an engagement.

On the following morning, a message was received from Meer Jaffier, declaring that he and many of the Omrahs waited for the commands of the conqueror. Clive invited him to his quarters, whither the Meer went rather reluctantly, as he feared that the English general might reproach him, for not having joined him with the promised aid previous to the battle. His apprehensions were soon dispelled, Clive received Meer Jaffier with the greatest

kindness, and entrusted him with the charge of proceeding to the capital, in order to prevent the escape of Suraj-ud-Dowlat and the removal of his treasure.

The unfortunate Subahdar had fled from the field of battle to Moorshedabad, and sought shelter in his palace. He found no friend or partisan to join him, so that when Meer Jaffier approached, he fled in disguise from the city, hoping to make his escape to the French in Bahar. The rowers of his boat were soon worn out by fatigue ; they stopped at Raj Mahal, where the unfortunate Suraj-ud-Dowlat was recognized by a man whom he had formerly treated with great cruelty. He was seized and delivered over to Meer Jaffier, who placed him under the custody of his son. The son, a brutal and ferocious prince, caused him to be assassinated.

Clive arrived at Moorshedabad on the 25th of June : a meeting was held, to confer about the sums which Meer Jaffier had consented to pay in restitution to the Presidency, and in presents to the civil and military officers; but the chief officer of finance declared that the whole of the late Subahdar's treasures were inadequate to meet the demand. This intelligence was equally painful and unexpected ; but the most stringent enquiry only confirmed its truth. It was at last agreed that one half of the money should be paid immediately, and the remainder in three equal payments in three years. In this partition of plunder a piece of consummate, but not unmerited, trickery was practised upon a Hindu schemer, which must not be passed over without notice. One of the principal agents in the plot against Suraj-ud-Dowlat, was Omichund, the owner of a large property in Calcutta, but who had attached himself to the court of Moorshedabad. He was the principal agent in conducting the negotiations between Meer Jaffier and the English ; he was thus master of the secrets of both, and he resolved to profit by his position. When every thing was prepared for action, he waited on Mr. Watts, the Company's agent at the factory of Cossimbazar, and threatened to reveal the whole secret, unless he was assured of a donation of thirty lacs of rupees, equivalent to about 350,000/. It was necessary to promise compliance with this exorbitant demand, for the rejection of it would have been followed by the murder of all the Company's servants at Cossimbazar, the destruction of Meer Jaffier, with all his family and adherents, and the frustration of all the great projects which the English had formed. Lured by the expectation of so large a bribe, Omichund continued to divert the suspicions which the

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A.D. 1757.  
Suraj-ud-  
Dowlat  
slain.

Clive  
proceeds to  
Moorshed-  
abad.

Omichund  
deceived.

**CHAPTER VII.**  
**A.D. 1757.** unfortunate Subahdar had formed of Meer Jaffier's fidelity, and thus led him blindfold to his ruin. Omichund now claimed the stipulated reward of his treachery, but he learned to his great surprise, that two treaties with Meer Jaffier had been drawn up and signed ; one on red paper, in which satisfaction should be provided for Omichund, and which he should see ; another, and that which should be really executed, in which he was not named.\* When Omichund, at the final settlement, was informed of the trick that had been played upon him, he fainted away. It is added, that he lost his reason, and was from that moment insane ; but this statement is evidently exaggerated.

**Bahar.** After the arrangements with Meer Jaffier had been concluded, Major Coote was sent with a strong detachment to expel the French from Bahar, and to reduce the governor of that province to the obedience of the Subahdar. The troops were forwarded in boats, so wretchedly manned and equipped that their progress was both slow and hazardous ; Coote disembarked, and attempted to push forward by land ; but the European portion of his force broke out into a dangerous mutiny. The result of these delays was, that long before Coote could reach Patna, the French having been amply supplied with everything necessary to their convenience, retired to Oude, where they met a ready reception, and fresh instructions arrived from Clive, which led to an amicable arrangement with the Governor of Bahar.

**Mutiny of the Europeans.** **Embarassments at Madras.** Although Mohammed Ali, whom the English had made nabob in the Carnatic, was without a rival, he received but a very small share of its revenues, and was, consequently, unable to pay the stipulated subsidies to the government of Madras. The forces of that presidency had been greatly diminished by the sending of the armament to Calcutta ; and Clive refused to send any of the soldiers back, though war now raged between France and England, and a fleet was daily expected with reinforcements to the French in Pondicherry. Under these circumstances, the president and council of Madras adopted a general resolution to remain inactive, from which, however, they soon swerved, by directing Captain Calliaud, the governor of Trichinopoly, to attempt the reduction of Madura and Tinevelly, which were supposed to be capable of yielding large pecuniary supplies.

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\* To the honour of Admiral Watson it should be recorded, that he refused to be a party to this trick. He would not put his name to the false treaty, and the committee forged his signature. He died highly honoured in Calcutta, on the 16th of August, 1757.

Calliaud, who was a brave and enterprising officer, made the best preparation his inadequate means would admit for the reduction of both places ; but when he came before Madura, he found the place much stronger than he had anticipated, and after an ineffectual attempt to take it by storm, he resolved to wait for his battering cannon. An expedition against Nellore was similarly circumstanced ; but before artillery could be furnished, it was necessary to recall the detachment to Madras.

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A.D. 1757.

The government of Pondicherry had resolved to wait for the arrival of the forces which they expected from Europe ; but when they saw the English so largely employed, and their small army dispersed over so wide a space, they determined to avail themselves of the advantages offered them by fortune. Carefully masking their intentions, they collected all their available strength, and when they were least expected, presented themselves before Trichinopoly. The garrison, deprived of the troops which had been sent against Madura, were insufficient to guard the walls, and they had five hundred French prisoners in the fort. Intelligence of the danger to which Trichinopoly was exposed reached Calliaud before Madura. He immediately raised the siege, and marched for Trichinopoly, where an army five times the number of his own waited his approach. On one side of the town was a large plain, seven miles in extent, consisting of rice-fields covered with water, which the French had neglected, believing it to be impassable. But nothing could daunt the spirit of Calliaud's troops. Wearied as they were by their forced march from Madura, they made their way through the rice-fields, up to their knees in mud, and formed a junction with the garrison. The French commander, astonished at the news of their entrance, and despairing of success, marched away for Pondicherry on the following day.

Bold plans  
of Calliaud.

Several petty operations were undertaken by the French and English, with little advantage to either side. Colonel Aldercron was sent with a detachment against Wandewash ; he took the town, but was unable to capture the fort, before the return of the French from Trichinopoly compelled him to retreat. At his departure he set fire to the defenceless town, an outrage which the French revenged by burning Conjeveram. A third power soon appeared to claim a share in the plunder of the Carnatic : a powerful Mahratta army passed the frontiers, to claim payment of the *chout* or annual tribute, which they levied on the chief *rattas* or princes of India, and the English government found it necessary to claim *chout*.

**CHAPTER VII.**  
**A.D. 1758.** to comply with their demands. Calliaud renewed his attack on Madura ; but, finding himself unable to take it by storm, he purchased its surrender by a large bribe to the garrison. The French and English troops, without engaging in any great enterprise, continued to make incursions upon each other, and to devastate mutually the unhappy country. "These operations," says Mr. Orme, "being always levelled at defenceless villages, carried the reproach of robbery more than the reputation of war." Events, however, were in progress, which soon changed the character of the war, and rendered it, on each side, a desperate struggle for existence.

Lally sent from France.

Upon the breaking out of the war between France and England, in 1756, the French ministry resolved to strike an important blow in India. The Count de Lally was appointed to the chief command. He was descended from one of the Irish families, which had been compelled to emigrate at the revolution of 1688, in consequence of having adhered to the cause of the Stuarts ; and he was therefore animated by a bitter hatred of British ascendancy, which had crushed both his country and his creed. At the battle of Fontenoy he took several English officers prisoners with his own hand, and was raised to the rank of colonel by King Louis himself on the field of battle. He was accompanied to India by his own Irish regiments, composed of the best troops in the service of France, by fifty of the royal artillery, and by several officers of great distinction. Although he lost more than four hundred men during the voyage, by a malignant fever caught at Brest, he was so confident in his strength, that he resolved to open the campaign with the siege of Fort St. David, before which he left his fleet, while he proceeded to Pondicherry, in order to collect and bring up the land forces of the presidency. Here he found his first great difficulty in the deplorable ignorance of the French governor and council ; they could give him no information of the condition of the English, nor of the state of the towns along the coast ; they furnished him with unskilful guides, and an inadequate supply of provisions, so that his forces, when he arrived before Fort St. David, were quite worn down with hunger and fatigue. This gave them a motive and an apology for commencing a system of plunder and insubordination, from which they could not be easily recalled. A more serious interruption to his plans was the arrival of an English squadron under Admiral Pococke, which, though inferior in force, at once proceeded to attack the French ships at their station off Cuddalore. The engagement

terminated to the advantage of the English ; but, as the French ships were superior in sailing, they escaped with the exception of one, which was driven on shore.

Notwithstanding these disadvantages, Lally commenced the siege of Fort St. David, which he pushed forward with the most ardent spirit. The place was wretchedly defended ; the greater part of the ammunition was wasted in a distant cannonade, and the fleet, notwithstanding its success, made no attempt to throw in any relief. At length, after a month's siege, the English capitulated on the 1st of June, 1758. The officers and soldiers remained prisoners of war ; but the fortifications were destroyed and levelled to the ground. Lally then sent a detachment against Devi-cotah : at its approach, the garrison evacuated the place, and retired in the utmost trepidation to Trichinopoly.

In the meantime the judicious policy of Bussy had established the temporary supremacy of the French in the Deccan. After having forced the Nizam and his Omrahs to submit to his terms, by his brilliant defence of his position at Hyderabad in 1756, Bussy proceeded to the Northern Circars, for the purpose of collecting the revenues of these provinces at the point of the bayonet. Few of the Polygars, or local chiefs, ventured to resist his progress. The Polygar of Bohilee, however, defended his fort to the last extremity ; and when no further hope of protracting resistance remained, he set fire to the fortress, the garrison of which slew themselves rather than yield to the enemy. The English establishments in the Circars, including the important settlement of Vizagapatam, surrendered almost at discretion ; but it is creditable to Bussy that he treated his prisoners with the greatest kindness and consideration. From these labours he was called to protect the Nizam from the results of a revolution which threatened him in his capital. Contrary to the prudent advice of Bussy, Salabat Jing had entrusted his two brothers with the government of important provinces, and in particular had bestowed upon Nizam Ali, the younger and more dangerous of the two, Berar, the most extensive province of the Deccan. Taking advantage of a dangerous mutiny of the troops, Nizam Ali presented himself before his humbled brother, Salabat Jing, and offered to ensure his safety, provided he were recognised as heir to the government, and entrusted with the custody of the Nizam's great seal. Salabat Jing was forced to comply, and Nizam Ali transferred the seal to his brother, Bassalat Jing, having first taken security that it would be used agreeably to his directions.

On receiving intelligence of these events, Bussy made a forced

CHAPTER  
VII.  
A.D. 1758.  
Siege of  
Fort St.  
David.

**CHAPTER  
VII.**  
 A.D. 1758.  
 Bussy  
shows  
talent.

march to Aurungabad by a road which had never before been travelled by European troops. His presence disconcerted the plans which had been formed for the dethronement of Salabat Jing ; and Bussy having soon after secured himself by obtaining possession of the celebrated fortress of Dowlatabad, assumed the complete dictation of the Nizam's policy. One of the turbulent brothers was slain in a scuffle, and Nizam Ali was so alarmed that he fled northwards, leaving Salabat Jing in full possession of his recovered authority. Both the Nizam and Bussy were equally aware that the permanence of this state of things could only be ensured by the continuance of the French at Aurungabad : they were therefore equally surprised and annoyed when Lally sent an imperious order, that Bussy and his troops should immediately join him to carry out the schemes which he had formed for the complete overthrow of the British empire in India.

Lally  
wants  
money.

Lally's gigantic plans were impeded by want of money, and he adopted the most desperate courses to obtain an immediate supply. The government of Pondicherry had a dubious claim on the king of Tanjore for five millions of rupees. Lally resolved to enforce payment ; and as there were not sufficient numbers of the lower caste in Pondicherry to perform the servile operations necessary in a camp, he pressed all the citizens without distinction, or regard to Hindu prejudice, and compelled them to carry burdens and perform whatever labour might be required. Nor was he less harsh in his conduct to the Europeans. He attributed their refusal to supply his large demands for funds and supplies, to dishonesty and misconduct, displaying so little prudence as incessantly to declare these opinions in the most pointed and offensive terms which his language could supply. Such proceedings rendered him in a short time odious to every class of men in the colony, precluded all possibility of cordial co-operation, and destroyed all chance of a tolerable management of their common concerns.

Demands  
some from  
the Rajah  
of Tanjore.

From the terror of the natives, the alienation of the Europeans, and the want of money, no part of the equipment of the expedition against Tanjore, was complete in any one of its particulars. During its progress, the pagoda of Kiveloor was stormed, but none of the wealth it was reputed to contain could be found, which so enraged Lally that he ordered six of the Brahmins belonging to the temple to be seized, and, as if they had been convicted spies, to be blown to pieces from the muzzles of his cannon. The siege of Tanjore was commenced, but want

of ammunition prevented the French from making a rapid progress, and Calliaud twice relieved the place by detachments from Trichinopoly. Still a vigorous assault might have been successful ; but before it could be attempted, intelligence was received that an English fleet had arrived off Carical, whence the besiegers derived their supplies. A council of war was held, and a resolution taken to raise the siege. This was soon discovered by the garrison of Tanjore ; they sallied out, and severely harrassed the rear of the retreating French, who had great difficulty in reaching Carical, where they found the English fleet anchored at the mouth of the river. Lally's hopes now rested on the French fleet, which was numerically stronger than that of the English, but in an engagement off Carical, which lasted about an hour, the French admiral was so roughly handled, that he was forced to sheer off and make all sail for Pondicherry ; and thence, in spite of the most urgent remonstrances, he departed to the Mauritius.

Still resolved to besiege Madras, Lally made himself master of Arcot, where he failed to procure the supplies which he had

Arcot.

expected, and what was scarcely less injurious to his cause, he neglected to seize Chinglapet while it lay defenceless, thus giving his adversaries time to fortify a possession essential to the supply of the garrison. After many vexatious delays, he arrived before Madras, and took possession of the Black Town. The

Attacks  
Madras,  
12th Dec.  
1758.

unity wanting in the councils of the besiegers, was maintained in Madras by the abilities of Governor Pigot and the veteran Lawrence. Still, the weak defences might probably have yielded to the vigorous efforts of Lally, who, though opposed and impeded by his officers, was zealously supported by the soldiery, had not a reinforcement arrived from Bombay at a most critical moment, February 16th, 1759. "Words," says Lally, "are inadequate to express the effect which the appearance of these reinforcements produced. The officer who commanded in the

Reinforce-  
ments  
reach from  
Bombay,  
16th Feb.  
1759.

trenches deemed it even inexpedient to wait for the landing of the enemy, and two hours before receiving orders, retired from his post. So precipitate was the retreat, that the sick and wounded were abandoned to the English, who treated them with all the care which the laws of war and humanity imperatively prescribe.

Reinforcements to both parties arrived from Europe ; but the French fleet having escaped from an indecisive naval engagement, returned to the Mauritius. Colonel Coote, who had come out with the new armament to take the command of the English,

**CHAPTER VII.** opened the campaign with the capture of Wandewash. Lally hastened to recover this important place, and Coote permitted him to exhaust the strength of his men in constructing approaches, until everything was ready for an assault. The English then advanced by a rapid march, which gave them the great advantage of being able to choose their ground before Lally could form his lines. At the very commencement of the action, the French cavalry, after having advanced a few paces, fled as if seized by a sudden panic, without striking a blow. Lally brought up his infantry, but permitted his men to exhaust themselves by opening fire at such a distance that their shots were ineffectual. As the column approached, it was received by the opposite English regiment with a close and murderous discharge ; but pressing forward by its own weight, it broke through the opposing battalion. This apparent success was fatal ; the severed ranks of the English overlapped the flanks of the assailing column, and completely destroyed it by close and repeated volleys. A panic seized the whole French line ; their entrenchments were carried at the point of the bayonet ; Bussy, who attempted to recover them, was dismounted and made prisoner ; it was no longer a battle, but a rout. The cavalry, which had behaved so badly in the action, protected the retreat with great gallantry, so that Lally was enabled to carry off his wounded and his light baggage ; but his artillery, munitions of war, and heavy baggage, were abandoned to the victors. Had Coote immediately advanced against Pondicherry, the settlement would probably have fallen, so disheartened were the French, and so divided were their councils.

**Rout of the French.**

**22nd Dec.**

**Bussy a prisoner.**

**Arcot taken by the English.**

The English marched from Wandewash to besiege Arcot, taking Chettaput on their road. Arcot made but a feeble resistance ; it capitulated when two breaches, neither of them practicable, had been made. Gingee was abandoned at the same time, and Lally took up a position at Valdore, in order to keep open the communications of Pondicherry with the southern districts, from which alone provisions could be obtained. The French army was absolutely without equipments, stores, and provisions ; Lally repaired to Pondicherry to obtain supplies ; but the council of the presidency were unwilling, or unable, to afford him any effectual relief, and their mutual recriminations increased the distracted state of their affairs. Coote steadily pursued his victorious career. Timery surrendered after a feeble resistance ; Devi-Cotah was abandoned ; the forts of Trincomalee, Permacoil, and Alamparva, were taken

with little difficulty. It was expected that Carical, the chief naval possession of the French, would have made a very obstinate defence, but it was surrendered almost on the first summons ; Valdore, Chillambaram, and Cuddalore were taken about the same time, so that on May the 1st, 1760, the French were confined to the bounds of Pondicherry, and the English encamped within four miles of the town. Large reinforcements arrived from England, increasing the fleet to the amount of seventeen sail of the line, and adding greatly to the European part of Coote's army. Lally, as a last resource, applied for assistance to Hyder Ali, who had at this time become master of the resources of the kingdom of Mysore ; Hyder sent an auxiliary force to his aid, which defeated an English detachment that attempted to intercept their march. But the Mysoreans were soon discouraged by the wretched condition in which they found the affairs of the French, and having received information that their presence was required by an emergency at home, they quitted their camp in the night, and returned to Mysore.

Eight months had now elapsed since the total discomfiture of the French at Wandewash, during which time the intrepid Lally had contrived to deter the English from forming the siege of Pondicherry. Even now, abandoned by the Mysoreans, and thwarted by his own countrymen, he formed a plan for surprising the English which displayed great judgment and sagacity. Four bodies were formed to attack the English camp in the night, and had they acted in complete concert, the issue would have been very doubtful ; but one of the divisions fell behind its time, and disconcerted the operations of the remainder : the French were repulsed, and their condition rendered worse than ever.

At this critical moment a commission arrived from England, giving the command of the forces to Monson and superseding Coote, who was ordered to Bengal. The council of Madras wished to delay the execution of these orders, but Coote at once resigned the command to Monson, and even permitted him to retain the services of his own regiment. Monson's first operation was to force the bound-hedge of Pondicherry ; the plan was badly executed, and a considerable loss was incurred. Monson himself was so severely wounded as to be rendered incapable of active exertion, he, therefore, united with the council in soliciting Coote, who had not yet sailed for Bengal, to resume the command of the army.

CHAPTER  
VII.  
A.D. 1760.  
The French  
restricted  
to Pondi-  
cherry.

Lally tries  
various  
schemes  
but fails.

Monson  
takes the  
command,  
but being  
wounded  
resigns it.

CHAPTER  
VII.

A.D. 1760.  
Coote  
invests  
Pondi-  
cherry.

Takes it  
12th Jan.,  
1761.

The French  
empire  
annihilated

Lally  
executed  
at Paris.

Coote's return gave the greatest pleasure to the soldiers ; under his guidance they executed all the fatiguing operations necessary to complete the investment of Pondicherry, while Lally made the best use of his post, in the fort of Ariancopang, to annoy the besiegers and obtain provisions for the town. The blockade was rigidly maintained during the rainy season, at the termination of which, batteries were erected for an active siege. On the night of the 30th of December, all the labours of the English were nearly frustrated by one of the most terrific hurricanes remembered in India. Three ships of war foundered, by which eleven hundred lives were lost ; the tents were rent to fragments, the works blown down, and the whole camp thrown into confusion. Fortunately the tempest was accompanied by an inundation, which prevented the French from profiting by the disasters of the English ; and Coote used such diligence in repairing the works, that the trenches were opened on the 12th of January, 1761. Two days afterwards, the place capitulated, the whole garrison and civil establishment remaining prisoners of war. The English were so much astonished at their own success, that they did not well know what to do with their new acquisition ; Coote and the military officers claimed Pondicherry for the crown ; Governor Pigot asserted that it belonged of right to the Company, and declared that no money should be advanced for the troops, until the Company's officers received possession of it. Coote, after solemnly protesting against the measure, gave way ; possession was taken of Pondicherry in the names of the Directors ; and, according to the orders previously received from home, all its fortifications were destroyed.

The capture of Theagur, Gingee, and Mahe, completed the total annihilation of the French empire in India ; the intelligence excited great commotion in France, and the Directors had the art to turn the whole of the popular indignation against the brave, but unfortunate, Lally. On his arrival in Europe, he was seized and thrown into the Bastille, from whence, as a place too honourable for him, he was removed to the common prison. He was granted the mockery of a trial before the parliament of Paris, convicted, and sentenced to an ignominious death. With indecent precipitation he was executed that very day. He was dragged through the streets of Paris in a common dung-cart ; and, to prevent him from addressing the people, a gag was forced into his mouth, so large that it projected beyond his lips. At a later period, full justice was

done to the memory of this calumniated victim ; his persecutors derived little advantage from the crime,—the French East India Company did not long survive this last display of imbecility and injustice.

CHAPTER  
VII.

A.D. 1761.

Two facts may be mentioned here as belonging in some measure to the Bombay presidency. One is that Surat was taken by Captain Maitland, on the 4th of March, 1759 ; and the other relates to the capture by the French of Gombroon,\* an old English settlement in a large sea-port of Persia, on the 15th of October of that year. This port, which like Ormus, was once remarkable for commerce, was soon after abandoned by the Europeans, on account of its insalubrity.

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\* Now better known as Bunder-abbas.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE ENGLISH RULE ESTABLISHED IN BENGAL, 1757—1767.

*Meer Jaffer in pecuniary Difficulties.—Seeks to oppress the Hindus, but prevented by Clive.—Change of the Calcutta Government.—Clive becomes President.—Discontent of the Polygar Rajah with the French.—He asks Aid from Clive, who sends Colonel Forde.—Forde defeats Conflans.—He takes Masulipatam by Assault.—This brilliant Success produces a good Effect.—The Emperor Alum Ghir menaces Bengal.—The Expedition fails.—Clive receives a splendid Grant from the Viceroy.—The Dutch land in Bengal, and are defeated by Forde.—Shah Alum threatens Patna ; is beaten by Calliaud.—Knox routs the Imperialists.—Pecuniary Difficulties at Calcutta.—The English treat their Prisoners well.—Meer Cassim butchers some of the Hindus.—Disputes in the Council at Calcutta.—The Natives lose Confidence.—Mr. Amyatt murdered.—Campaign against Meer Cassim.—Sumroo appears in the Meer's Army.—He is routed and flees, 1763.—A Mutiny breaks out in the Bengal Army.—Munro quells it.—Munro marches against the Nabob of Oude.—He routs the Nabob's Troops.—A Treaty concluded with the Emperor of Delhi.—He recognises the Sovereignty of the Company.—Appoints the Company to the Office of Devanee (Revenue Collectors) in Bengal.—Clive sent from England as Governor of Bengal.—He reforms some abuses and creates others.—Great Monopolies established.—The Nabob Vizir of Oude yields.—Officers dismissed on Account of Butta.—Disaffection in the Army.—Clive quits India for England.—His Successes raise the Price of India Stock.—Verelst Governor.—Cartier Governor.—They do little, from want of Money.*

CHAPTER  
VIII.A.D. 1757.  
Bengal.Difficulties  
of Meer  
Jaffer,  
1757.

WHEN Meer Jaffer had obtained the great object of his ambition, the viceroyalty of Bengal, he found that he was in a far more difficult and unpleasant position than that which he had occupied before his elevation : his treasury was exhausted ; he had promised immense sums to the English, which he was altogether unable to pay ; the chiefs, whom he had seduced from their allegiance to Suraj-ud-Dowlat, were indignant because their rebellion had not produced such rich fruits as they had expected ;

and the pay of his troops was in arrear. Under such circumstances, it was impossible for any man to give perfect satisfaction to all parties ; and Meer Jaffier's character was not the best suited to the difficult circumstances in which he was placed. In fact, had it not been for the guiding influence of Clive's superior mind, and the judicious manner in which he employed the authority which Meer Jaffier's failure to pay his debts had placed in the hands of the president and council, the viceroy must soon have effected his own ruin. In nothing was Clive's sagacity Clive more clearly displayed, than in his preventing the viceroy from upholds the effecting the destruction of the Hindu agents of his government, Hindus. who were the best ministers he could have procured, though he viewed them with jealousy and suspicion.

Ali-verdi Khan, aware of the turbulent spirit of the adventurers from Persia and Afghanistan, who were usually the chief ministers and officers under the Mohammedan princes of India, adopted the wise policy of promoting the Hindus, who, though less enterprising, were also less dangerous. He entrusted Ram Narryin, one of this race, with the important government of Berar ; another Hindu, Dooloob Ram, held the office of Dewan, or superintendent of the finances ; while the celebrated family of the Setts of Moorshedabad, who by merchandise and banking had acquired the wealth of princes, shared in his councils, and influenced the operations of his government. Meer Jaffier resolved to change this policy ; and though he had been under the deepest obligations to Dooloob Ram, he resolved to commence with the destruction of that minister. His preliminary steps, Meer Jaffier tries to get rid of his minister. however, provoked insurrections on every side, and he had no means of averting the danger with which he was threatened but by invoking the aid of the English. On his arrival at Moorshe-dabad, Clive effected at least a formal reconciliation between Meer Jaffier and Dooloob Ram ; the insurgents were reduced to obedience, and the viceroy hoped that he might be able to remove Ram Narryin from the government of Berar. Clive did not directly oppose this project ; but he accompanied the viceroy's army into Berar, and prevented the commission of any act of hostility. And of his governor. The Subahdar of Oude, a French auxiliary force under M. Law The French in Oude. and a body of Mahratta marauders, being about to invade the province, Clive convinced the viceroy that a reconciliation with Ram Narryin was essential to his safety, and induced him, though very reluctantly, to abandon his machinations against that chieftain. At the same time he obtained for the English a lease of the saltpetre monopoly, which formed a principal part of the

**CHAPTER VIII.** commerce of Bengal. He offered, indeed, the highest rent which the government had ever yet received ; but Meer Jaffier was very unwilling to lose his chance of extorting presents from a tenant placed at his mercy, and would not have signed the lease, but for the pressing necessity of his circumstances.

**A.D. 1758.** Clive chosen president. On his return to Moorshedabad, Clive received intelligence of the indecisive engagement between the English and French fleets on the Coast of Coromandel, and the investment of Fort St. David. Concealing the latter circumstance, he spread a report that the English had won a decisive victory, and then hastened to Calcutta, where the critical state of affairs required his presence.

**A.D. 1758.** He found there that a new instrument of government had arrived, nominating a council of ten, and appointing four governors, each to preside three months in rotation. Clive's name was not mentioned in the new arrangements ; but the gentlemen appointed to conduct the administration unanimously resolved that he alone had sufficient authority to compel Meer Jaffier to perform his obligations. They invited Clive to accept the office of president, and soon found that by so doing they only anticipated the fresh instructions which were sent out when intelligence of the battle of Plassy reached England.

The intrigues of Meer Jaffier and his son Meeran, for the destruction of Dooloob Ram were renewed ; they were seconded by Nuncomar, a Hindu, who had risen into high employments under the government of the Subahdars, and at length Clive was obliged to give Dooloob Ram shelter in Calcutta to save him from destruction. More active interference in behalf of the injured minister was prevented by intelligence of the disasters which the English had met in the Carnatic, where Fort St. David was taken, and Madras threatened with a siege. Clive resolved not to send any of his forces to Madras ; but, at the same time, he engaged in an enterprise likely to effect a diversion in favour of that presidency, and, at the same time, highly advantageous to the government of Bengal.

**The Polygars.** Rajah Anumderaz, one of the Polygars in the northern Circars, was greatly displeased at the conditions on which Bussy had granted him the investiture of his government ; and, on the departure of that gentleman to support Salabat Jing against his rebellious relatives, the rajah attacked and took the French settlement at Vizigapatam. He then sent to the presidency of Madras, offering to surrender his new acquisition to the English, provided that they would send him a body of troops to aid in the reduction of the Circars. The authorities of Madras were, at the

Clive's decision.

time, too seriously alarmed by the progress of Lally to undertake any distant enterprise, and the rajah next made application to Clive. In spite of the unanimous opposition of the council, Clive at once concluded a treaty with Anunderaz, and despatched a large armament under Colonel Forde to his assistance. The Colonel rajah was in the condition of most Indian princes at the time ; he was believed by the Europeans to be immensely rich, but, in reality, was miserably poor. Forde's operations were, therefore, much retarded by want of money, and he found great difficulty in obtaining a moderate supply. Being joined by the rajah, Forde advanced against the French, who, with superior forces under M. Conflans, occupied a strong position at Rajamundri. Forde, who was worthy to be joined with Clive, gave orders for an immediate attack ; and though he was deserted by Anunderaz, who remained during the battle cowering in a hollow tank, protected from shot, he defeated the French completely, took possession of their camp, and drove them from Rajamundri. The reluctance of the rajah to fulfil his pecuniary engagements prevented Forde from immediately profiting by his distinguished success. After a long and vexatious delay, the English again began to move ; and M. Conflans, afraid to meet him in the open field, threw himself into the strong fort of Masulipatam. Forde summoned the place ; but the French treated his pretensions with ridicule. The defenders within were more numerous than the besiegers, both in their European and native force ; a considerable army of observation was left in the field ; Salabat Jing was on his march to their aid with the grand army of the Deccan ; and a large reinforcement was expected from Pondicherry. Under all these disadvantages, Forde resolved to attempt a siege, though his troops were in mutiny for want of pay, and his store of ammunition very scanty. He kept up a hot fire from the 25th of March to the 6th of April, 1759, when his engineers reported that there was not enough of ammunition left to supply the batteries for two days ; and, at the same time, intelligence was received that the French army of observation was on the point of effecting a junction with the approaching forces of the Deccan. Under these apparently desperate circumstances, Forde resolved to hazard an assault. The batteries were directed to keep up as hot a fire as they possibly could during the entire of the day, and the troops were directed to be under arms at ten that night. Forde divided his little force into three divisions, and led them at midnight under the walls of the fort. As no such enterprise had been expected, the assailants gained the

CHAPTER  
VIII.

A.D. 1759.

Forde sent  
to aid  
AnunderazRouts the  
French.25th March  
6th April.Masulipa-  
tam taken.

**CHAPTER VIII.**  
 A.D. 1759.  
 palisades of the ditch before they were discovered. A heavy fire was then opened on them, which sadly thinned their ranks ; but they pressed forward with undaunted energy, until they reached the ramparts, when, wheeling to the right and left, they stormed bastion after bastion with an impetuosity which bore down all opposition. Surprised, confused, and terrified by the sound of firing in different and opposite quarters, the French surrendered at discretion just as dawn began to appear. When the sun rose they found, to their mortification, that in Europeans and disciplined Sepoys they considerably outnumbered their captors.

**The French banished.** The effect of this, the most brilliant achievement of the war, was great and immediate. Salabat Jing at once entered into a treaty with Forde, ceding Masulipatam to the English, and consenting to banish the French for ever from his dominions ; the reinforcement from Pondicherry arrived too late, and having vainly endeavoured to perform some useful service, returned back, after having endured very severe privations.

**Ram Narayain tem- orizes.** A new danger in the mean time menaced Bengal ; Alumghir II. Emperor of Delhi, instigated by those who were dissatisfied with the government of Meer Jaffier, granted to his son the investiture of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and the young prince assembled a powerful army to assert his rights. Had Ram Narayain, the crafty ruler of Berar, joined the imperial forces, the power of Meer Jaffier and of the English would have been greatly endangered ; but the cunning Hindu temporized until he could discover which party had the fairer chance of success ; a visit to the imperial camp convinced him that the prince was not suited to the struggle he had undertaken ; and he therefore closed the gates of Patna. The imperial forces besieged the place ; Clive hastened to its assistance, but before he arrived, the prince's allies had turned their arms against each other ; the Subahdar of Oude having seized the fortress of Allahabad, and afterwards murdered its rightful owner, whom he had invited to trust himself to his generosity. The desertion of one ally and the murder of another, reduced the heir of the once mighty empire of Delhi to such distress, that he was induced to write a letter to Clive, requesting a sum of money for his subsistence, and promising in requital to withdraw from the province. The terms were granted, and all danger was removed. Meer Jaffier was so grateful for his deliverance, that he conferred upon Clive the rank of a chief Omrah of the empire, and bestowed upon him, as a jaghire or estate, the rent which the Company was bound to pay for the lands round Calcutta. This splendid grant

**Clive's jaghire.**

amounted to the enormous sum of thirty thousand pounds a year.

Clive returned to Calcutta, where he was joined by Forde just in time to meet the danger of another emergency. Although there was peace between England and Holland, the Dutch were exceedingly jealous of the progress which the English had made in Bengal; an armament was prepared in Batavia, destined to form a counterpoise to the English power in that province. It consisted of seven ships, having on board seven hundred Europeans and eight hundred Malays. Clive obtained an order from Meer Jaffier, that the Dutch should not land, but this they disregarded; they entered the Hoogley, and put their forces on shore within a few miles of Calcutta, to commence their march to the Dutch settlement of Chinsura. Forde received orders to intercept their progress, and three of the Company's ships were prepared to attack the Dutch East Indiamen. It was not without some hesitation that Forde attacked the troops of a nation in amity with England,\* but he, nevertheless, acted with such dexterity and promptness, that only fourteen of the Europeans ever reached Chinsura, the rest being either slain or taken prisoners. The seven Dutch ships were forced to surrender to the Company's cruisers, and thus the entire armament was destroyed; and, to complete the matter, the Dutch, in order to avert their total expulsion from Bengal, were forced to pay the expenses of the war. After this exploit, Clive and Forde returned to Europe, leaving the command of the army to Colonel Calliaud, who had just arrived with reinforcements from the Carnatic.

Calliaud was not long permitted to remain idle; the emperor's son again attempted to dethrone Meer Jaffier. Scarcely had he commenced operations, when he received intelligence of his father's murder, and he immediately caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, under the title of Shah Alum. The reverence which still attached to the imperial majesty, and the influence of the Nabob of Oude, whom he wisely appointed his vizir, procured him large additions to his forces, and he advanced to besiege Patna. Contrary to the advice of his most prudent counsellors, Ram Narryain resolved to hazard a battle; he was

\* He wrote for more explicit instructions; Clive received the letter while playing a game of whist, he tore a slip from it, and wrote with a pencil,  
“ Dear Forde,  
“ Fight them immediately, and I will send an order of council to-morrow.”

A.D. 1760.  
The Dutch  
invade  
Bengal.

They are  
defeated.

**CHAPTER VIII.**  
**A.D. 1760.**

completely defeated, and the small English detachment which had been left for his protection, was cut to pieces. Calliaud immediately marched to save Patna, accompanied by Meer Jaffier's son, Meeran, whose cowardice, incapacity, and treachery nearly frustrated every arrangement made by the English leader. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, Calliaud gained a signal victory over the imperialists, which would have put an end to the war, had not Meeran refused to countenance a vigorous pursuit, preferring to enjoy an interval of ease and pleasure at Patna. This neglect suggested to Shah Alum an enterprize of great promise, to push forward to Moorshedabad and secure the person of Meer Jaffier. Had he shown the same promptitude in the execution of the plan, as there was vigour in its conception, he would assuredly have succeeded, but he delayed until Calliaud and Meeran arrived. On their approach to attack him he set fire to his camp and fled. The imbecile Meeran again prohibited pursuit, and the emperor, having been joined by Mr. Law, with his small body of Frenchmen, renewed his attack on Patna. Law twice attempted to storm the town, and was with very great difficulty repulsed. A third assault was expected, and scarcely a hope entertained of its being withheld, when Captain Knox, who had performed the journey from Moorshedabad to Patna in thirteen days, entered the walls with a strong reinforcement. Knox belonged to the same class of officers as Clive and Forde. Scarcely allowing his soldiers any time for rest and refreshment, he attacked the imperial camp during the hour of afternoon's repose, surprised his enemies in their sleep, and drove them from their works, to which they never returned.

Knox's  
bravery.

This victory had scarcely been achieved, when intelligence arrived that the Naib, or deputy-governor of Poorania, was approaching to join the emperor with twelve thousand men and thirty pieces of cannon. Knox, whose forces consisted only of two hundred Europeans, one battalion of sepoys, five field-pieces, and about three hundred irregular horse, perfectly astounded the people of Patna, by declaring his resolution to cross the river and give battle to the Naib. Ram Narrayin's soldiers unanimously declared that they would have nothing to say to such an act of madness; an auxiliary rajah, who had about three hundred men in his pay, was, however, so charmed with Knox's valour that he volunteered his aid, which was accepted. Knox's first design was to surprise the enemy's camp at night; but his guide missed his way, and this plan was abandoned. His troops were preparing to take a little repose, when the Naib's army was seen

approaching. Knox promptly took his ground, and, though surrounded by his enemies, defeated them at every point, drove them from the field, and pursued them until his men were sinking from sheer exhaustion. Colonel Calliaud and his precious ally, Meeran, soon got on the track of the retreating Naib, and continued the pursuit for several days. At length, on the night of the 6th of July, 1760, Meeran's tent was struck by lightning, 6th July. and that prince with all his attendants perished. The death of their leader, is to an Indian army the signal to disband ; and Calliaud, aware of this danger, returned with the English forces to Patna.

CHAPTER  
VIII.  
A.D. 1760.

Clive's departure for England produced injurious changes in the government of Calcutta. According to the usual routine, the government should have devolved on the senior member of council ; but the court of directors conferred it upon Mr. Vansittart, who had acquired an unmerited reputation for financial talents, and who possessed an imposing gravity of demeanour, which some believed to indicate steadiness of purpose, and others supposed to be the result of obstinate stupidity. His appointment gave great and not unjust offence to many of the members of the Calcutta council ; parties were formed at the board, and state affairs were discussed with a heat and violence which led to very disgraceful results. Vansittart found the Pecuniary treasury at Calcutta empty, the troops at Patna ready to mutiny difficulties. for want of pay, Meer Jaffier's allowance to his auxiliaries several months in arrear, and very little hope of obtaining either that or the large balance due to the Company from his first arrangement. Mr. Vansittart instead of consulting the council, discussed his plans with a secret and select committee ; the result of their deliberations was a determination to compel Meer Jaffier Meer Jaffier to place the entire administration of his affairs in the hands of deposed. his son-in-law, Meer Cassim, and a detachment of troops was sent to Moorshedabad, to enforce the viceroy's compliance. Meer Jaffier acted with unexpected spirit, he refused to yield to any thing but force, and when he found he had no reasonable chance of defending himself, he refused to retain an empty title, and came to reside as a private individual in Calcutta. Men remembered the high price which Meer Jaffier had paid for his elevation ; it was reported and believed, that Meer Cassim had similarly purchased the viceroyalty from Vansittart and his select committee, and many condemned the impolicy of the transaction, because they despaired of obtaining any share of the bribes.

CHAPTER  
VIII.

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A.D. 1761.
Carnac
defeats the
Shah.

Meer
Cassim
plunders
Ram
Narrayin.

Confidence
in the Eng-
lish lost.

Change in
the Council.

Meer Cassim exerted himself to pay the sums for which he had contracted, as the price of his elevation, the English lending him military aid to enforce the collection of revenues in the provinces. About the same time, Major Carnac, who succeeded Calliaud in the command of the troops at Patna, defeated the imperial forces, and compelled Shah Alum to abandon the province of Bahar. In this battle M. Law was taken prisoner, and the respect with which the English officers treated their gallant enemy, produced a very favourable impression on the minds of the Hindus and Mohammedans.

The payments to the English and the expenses of reducing some insurgent chiefs who were aided by the Mahrattas, exhausted Meer Cassim's resources ; he resolved to recruit his finances by the plunder of Ram Narrayin, the Hindu governor of Berar. Major Carnac and his successor Colonel Coote, aware of the false pretences which were brought forward for injuring so old and faithful a friend of the English, as Ram Narrayin, steadily protected him against the artifices of Meer Cassim, but Mr. Vansittart was resolved to support the viceroy of his choice, and he recalled both Coote and Carnac from Patna. Meer Cassim made that use of his opportunity, which Mr. Vansittart was unable or unwilling to foresee. Ram Narrayin was immediately seized and thrown into prison ; his house was plundered ; his friends tortured to obtain information of hidden treasures ; and his life was only spared for the moment, lest the indignation of the English should be too strongly roused. He was eventually put to death with circumstances of great barbarity.

The intelligence of these events, excited a violent spirit of opposition against Mr. Vansittart's government, both in the presidency and the factories ; the natives of rank lost all confidence in English protection, when they saw so steady a supporter of the English interests as Ram Narrayin, sacrificed without scruple ; and many of the Europeans, both in the military and civil service, did not scruple to assert, that such partiality to Meer Cassim was the result of corruption, or of a blind determination to support the viceroy at all hazards. At this critical moment, Mr. Vansittart's chief friends in the council were recalled to Europe, for having signed, conjointly with Clive, a letter in which the policy of the court of directors was condemned in very severe, or rather very intemperate terms. The president was thus left in a minority ; and Ellis, the most violent of his opponents, was appointed resident at Patna. Ellis treated Meer Cassim with the most insulting airs of authority ; he seized

several of his collectors for interfering with the transit of goods to and from the stations, and he took forcible possession of a quantity of nitre which had been purchased for the viceroy's private use. In these acts of violence, Mr. Ellis was supported by the whole body of the Company's servants. Since the elevation of Meer Cassim, they had insisted that the Company's passport, which was only entitled to protect the goods of actual exportation, or importation, from the payment of transit duties, should protect the private trade of the Company's agents, of all descriptions, in every part of the country. Thus protected, the English were fast engrossing the entire trade of the provinces, to the ruin of the native merchants, and to the annihilation of the customs' duties, which were the chief source of the viceroy's revenues. Vansittart honourably exerted himself to check this glaring abuse ; but it afforded vast emoluments to the majority of the council ; Warren Hastings alone supported the projected system of reform. An arrangement was made with the viceroy, by which private English traders were bound to pay the same transit duties as his own subjects, and no more. These equitable conditions were instantly and ostentatiously violated by the Company's servants. Meer Cassim then published an edict abolishing all transit duties in his dominions, in order that his own merchants should participate in the spoils of their sovereign. It will scarcely be believed that peculation had rendered the majority of the council of Calcutta so dead to every feeling of justice, shame and ordinary decency, as to induce them to declare that this abolition of duties was an act of hostility against the Company, and to menace war, unless the edict was recalled. Meer Cassim paid no attention to so iniquitous a re-quisition, and both sides prepared to decide the dispute by force of arms.

Some boats, laden with muskets for the use of the troops in Patna, arrived at Mongheer ; the viceroy, aware that the resident, Mr. Ellis, meditated the seizure of that city, stopped the boats, and it was with great difficulty that Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, who had been sent to remonstrate with him by the party opposed to Vansittart, could obtain leave for the convoy to pass. After some discussion, he granted permission for Amyatt to return to Calcutta, but retained Mr. Hay as an hostage. Intelligence of Amyatt's departure having reached Ellis, he laid aside all moderation, and by a night-attack surprised and took the city of Patna. Meer Cassim, justly enraged at such an outrage, sent a party to overtake and bring back Mr. Amyatt ; that

CHAPTER VIII. gentleman resisted and was slain, with several of his attendants.

A. D. 1762. The enterprize on Patna was as unfortunate in its termination as it was unjust in its conception ; the troops after entering the town, were allowed to disperse in search of plunder ; the governor, who had only retreated a few miles, when he was joined by a reinforcement from Mongheer, returned and attacked them unexpectedly ; the English were driven into their factory, which after a feeble defence, they evacuated and attempted to make their escape in boats. They were intercepted, forced to surrender and sent prisoners to Mongheer ; and their fate was shared by the English belonging to the factory of Cassimbazar, which was stormed and plundered by the natives.

Sumroo. When the news of these unexpected events reached Calcutta, the council was thrown into the utmost confusion. After much angry crimination and recrimination, it was resolved, in opposition to Vansittart and Hastings, that no proposals of accommodation should be received from Meer Cassim, and that the imbecile Meer Jaffier should be invited to resume the authority of which he had been recently deprived. Meer Cassim's administration had been, on the whole, beneficial to the provinces ; he paid off the heavy arrears due from his predecessor to the English. Availing himself of the services of Sumroo, a German adventurer, who had been a sergeant in the French army, he trained several battalions of sepoys in European discipline, and he had adopted many wise plans to encourage the industry and trade of his native subjects. Such merits were, in the East, sufficient to counterbalance the original crime of usurpation ; but, in the view of the council of Calcutta, his very virtues afforded sufficient ground for his dethronement.

A.D. 1763. On the 2nd of July, 1763, the English army commenced the campaign. Their first engagement was with the van of the viceroy's army, which had taken up a strong position to protect Moorshedabad ; the Indians were defeated, but they fell back upon Gheriah, where they were joined by Meer Cassim himself with all his forces. On the 2nd of August he was attacked, and after a fierce engagement, which lasted four hours, totally routed, with the loss of all his cannon, baggage, and one hundred and fifty boats laden with provisions. The beaten army then entrenched itself in the strong ground supplied by the range of hills at Oodiwa Nala. The English were detained nearly a month before the lines ; but on the 5th of September they made a successful assault on the viceroy's position, and drove the viceroy's troops from their entrenchments in the utmost confusion. They

**Meer
Cassim
routed,
2nd Aug.**

then laid siege to Mongheer, which the viceroy had made his capital ; a practicable breach was made, and the garrison amounting to two thousand sepoys, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Each successive defeat inflamed the fears and rage of Cassim to renewed acts of cruelty ; when routed at Gheriah, he commanded the execution of Ram Narrayin, with several chiefs and persons of distinction ; after the rout of Oodiwa, he put to death two of the Setts of Moorshedabad ; and now, driven almost to insanity by the loss of his capital, he commanded all his European prisoners to be butchered, with the single exception of Dr. Fullarton, who had won his favour by the exercise of his professional skill. The execution of this barbarous command was entrusted to the renegade Sumroo, who fulfilled it to the very letter. Patna was taken by storm on the 6th of November, and Meer Cassim, losing all hopes, fled to Oude, where he placed himself under the protection of the Nabob-vizir. Though unable to compete with the English, his disciplined sepoys enabled the vizir to gain an easy victory over the revolted inhabitants of Bundelcund, who had refused to pay their quota of taxation.

The English remained in cantonments on the frontiers of Oude, partly in hope that the Nabob-vizir could be induced to surrender Meer Cassim, Sumroo, and the other deserters, but principally in consequence of the mutinous dispositions of the troops, three hundred of whom, principally French and Germans, marched off in a body to Benares. Sumroo, aware of the insurrectionary spirit in the English camp, suddenly attacked it near Patna, May 3rd, 1764, but was repulsed with great loss. Carnac, the English commander, was too weak to follow up his advantages, and the war lingered until the arrival of Major, afterwards Sir Hector Monro, with a strong reinforcement from Bombay.

Monro had hardly taken the command when the spirit of mutiny raged fiercer than ever ; a whole battalion of sepoys, Mutiny. with their arms and accoutrements, went off to join the enemy. They were, however, overtaken and captured by some troops which remained faithful, and twenty-four of the ring-leaders were sentenced by a court-martial to be blown from the mouths of cannon. The whole army was drawn out to witness this fearful execution ; four of the unhappy men were blown away, when the officers of the sepoys came to the Major, and declared that their men would not allow the execution of any more. Monro at once ordered his field-pieces to be loaded with grape, and the Europeans to form in line, having the guns at proper intervals ;

CHAPTER
VIII.
A.D. 1763.

Patna
taken,
6th Nov.

CHAPTER VIII.
 A.D. 1764. he then directed the sepoy officers to return to their men and command them to ground their arms, declaring that if a single man stirred he would give immediate orders to fire. The sepoys, daunted by his firmness, instantly obeyed, and the execution proceeded.

Routs the Nabob-vizir,
22nd Oct.

Meer Cassim escapes.

Meer Jaffier dies.
A.D. 1765.

His son appointed viceroy by the Company.

Clive becomes a peer and Governor of Bengal.

After this exhibition of resolute determination, Monro marched against the Nabob-vizir of Oude, and completely routed his army near Buxar. The emperor Shah Alum himself now sought the protection of the English, declaring that he had been held in captivity by his ambitious vizir. Meer Cassim fled to the Rohillas, believing that he was no longer safe in Oude, and the emperor concluded a peace on terms which left the English supreme in Bengal. These advantages were counterbalanced by the dilapidated condition of the finances in Calcutta. It was utterly impossible for Meer Jaffier to pay the sums due to the Company, and, at the same time, to gratify the rapacity of individuals who claimed exorbitant compensations "for losses sustained, or said to be sustained, in an illicit monopoly of the necessaries of life, carried on against the orders of the Company, and to the utter ruin of many thousands of the Indian merchants." These demands were urged, too, at a time when half of his provincial revenues had been ceded to the Company, and when the abuses of private trade had completely deprived him of the income derived from transit duties. His embarrassments proved too much for his feeble health, and he died a victim to care and vexation in January, 1765.

The Company's servants, without even going through the form of consulting the emperor or his vizir, took upon themselves to invest Meer Jaffier's second son with the viceroyalty, stipulating at the same time that the military defence of the country should be placed in their hands. They also appointed Rez-Khan to be the viceroy's prime minister and deputy—a wise choice, though one which was far from being acceptable to the new potentate. Vansittart, finding that he was in every instance overborne by the majority of the council, resigned his office, and was succeeded by Mr. Spencer, under whose auspices the treaty with the new viceroy was completed.

The East India proprietors in England had been hitherto inactive spectators of the proceedings of their servants in India; but, alarmed at the intelligence of renewed wars in India, of the mutinous spirit of their troops, and the disturbed condition of their finances, they proposed to the court of directors that Clive, who had been elevated to the peerage, should be appointed

governor, as the only man capable of retrieving their disorded and almost desperate affairs. This was far from an agreeable proposal to the directors. Clive's last act, before leaving India, ^{CHAPTER VIII.} _{A.D. 1764.} had been a direct insult to their authority. He had commenced a Chancery suit, to recover from them the proceeds of his jaghire, which they attempted to withhold ; and he undisguisedly was the strenuous opponent of Mr. Sullivan, the deputy-chairman, and the most influential member of the court. After a violent contest, thirteen of the directors voted for his appointment, which was resisted by eleven. The high powers which he demanded were given with less difficulty. He was invested with the autho-^{Great powers} _{to him.} rity of Commander-in-Chief, President, and Governor of Bengal ; and, together with a committee of four, nominated by the direc-^{granted} tors, empowered to act without consulting the council, or being subject to its control.

Bengal was not the only part of India whose condition excited The uneasiness ; the capture of Pondicherry enabled the English to Carnatic secure the sovereignty of the Carnatic for their creature, Mo-^{asked for} hammed Ali, and they soon began to show the Nabob that they money. expected him to rule for their profit. He was forced to raise large sums at a usurious interest to defray the expenses of the late war, and was, at the same time, defrauded of his share of the stores which had been taken from the French. Assistance was given him to reduce his revolted vassal at Vellore ; but they refused to aid him in the subjugation of Tanjore, and took upon themselves to act as mediators in the contest. They compelled the rajah of Tanjore to pay a large sum to the Nabob as a com-^{The rajah of Tanjore pays large} position for arrears ; but, in return, they obtained for him per-suma. mission to repair the mound of the Cavery, an embankment which, by preventing the chief branch of that river from re-uniting with the Coleroon, supplies Tanjore with the means of irrigation, and thus contributes to the fertility of the country. They also joined him in the no very justifiable attack on the governor of Madura, who made so obstinate a resistance, that his capture, which was The Company finally effected by treachery, is said to have cost a million sterling. Finally, the English resolved to take the entire administration of the revenues of the Carnatic into their own hands. The Nabob of the Carnatic. was very unwilling to consent to such an arrangement, but resistance was useless, and he submitted.

Lord Clive had two monstrous evils to correct : the custom of Clive sup-^{the admin-} receiving presents, which were, in fact, arbitrary extortions ; and presses two great evils. the abuses of the private trade. To remedy the first, he insisted that the servants of the Company, both civil and military, should

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A.D. 1765.

sign certain covenants, in which it was stipulated that they should not accept presents from the native princes under any pretence whatever. General Carnac delayed signing these regulations until he had received two lacs of rupees from the emperor ; but this present was fairly earned, and was subsequently sanctioned by the East Indian authorities. The subject of trade presented far greater difficulties ; Clive knew very little about commercial principles, and he felt strongly the necessity of giving some emoluments to the servants of the Company, as a compensation for the miserable and inadequate amount of their salaries. Instead of abolishing the private trade, he created a monopoly of the trade in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, to be carried on exclusively for the benefit of the superior servants of the Company ; the profits to be divided in shares proportioned to their respective ranks. No statesman in the present day would defend such an arrangement ; but a century ago, few persons understood the real nature of trade ; the East India Company was itself a monopoly, and its servants could not suspect that they were wrong in acting on the principles of their masters.

The Nabob-vizir yields. The war against the Nabob-vizir of Oude had been so vigorously prosecuted, that he was compelled to throw himself on the mercy of the English, and submit to whatever terms they were pleased to dictate. He was permitted to retain his dominions, with the exception of Korah and Allahabad, which were resigned to the emperor, and he engaged not to molest his vassal, Bulwant Sing, Rajah of Benares, who had joined the English during the war, and rendered them important services. Warned by the abuses, which under the name of free trade, the Company's servants had perpetrated in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, he refused to entertain any proposals on the subject, and the name of trade was not so much as mentioned in the treaty. The unfortunate emperor was obliged to abandon his claim to all the arrears of revenue due to him from the Bengal provinces, and on the condition of receiving twenty-six lacs of rupees annually, to assign over to the Company, the *Dewanee*, or right of receiving and collecting all the public revenues in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa.

The Company becomes Dewan of Bengal.

The Batta disputes. During the war, the Company had made an allowance to their officers, called *Batta*, to recover the heavy expenses which service in the field entails in India. When the army was sent to support Meer Jaffier, he agreed to give the officers twice the usual amount, under the name of *double batta* ; and the practice had been continued by Meer Cassim. When the revenues of Bengal were transferred to the Company, the *double batta* was found to

be a very serious charge, which the finances could ill bear, but no party had courage to propose, much less enforce a reduction. Lord Clive resolved to remedy the evil, and having first established a new system for regimenting the troops, he issued an order, that from and after January the 1st, 1766, double batta should cease, and that, with some few exceptions in favour of distant and expensive stations, officers in the field should receive single batta only, and when in garrison or cantonments, that they should have no allowance in addition to their pay.

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VIII.
A.D. 1766.

The officers entered into a conspiracy to resign their commissions in a body on a certain day, unless the double batta was restored, at a time when the province was menaced by an invasion of the Mahrattas. Clive received early intelligence of the danger ; he sent expresses to Calcutta and Madras for a supply of fresh officers, arrested the chief movers of the conspiracy, and took effectual care to prevent them from debauching the minds of the men. A number of the ringleaders, and among others, General, Sir Robert Fletcher, were tried, convicted of mutiny, and dismissed the service. This leniency was probably caused by some doubt of the Company's power to punish Europeans capitally ; but Clive would doubtless have gone much farther, could he have foreseen that, by family interest and political intrigue, Sir Robert Fletcher would not only be restored to his rank, but appointed at no distant period to the command of the forces in the presidency of Madras.

The court of directors repeatedly disallowed the trading company which Clive had formed for the monopoly of salt, betel-nut, and tobacco ; finding their remonstrances disregarded, they sent out orders so direct and positive, as to leave no room for disobedience, and it was arranged that the company should be dissolved, so soon as existing contracts were fulfilled and accounts settled. With this event Clive's administration terminated ; he left his authority in the hands of a committee, at the head of which was Mr. Verelst.

The intelligence of the great acquisitions which Clive had made, raised the most extravagant expectations in the minds of the proprietors of East India stock ; forgetting the vast expense incurred in making these conquests, and the heavy charge which their retention involved, they carried, in opposition to the directors, a vote that the dividends should be increased to twelve-and-a-half per cent. ; as this could not be done without borrowing money at a ruinous rate of interest, the interference of the British ministry and parliament was invoked, and thus, to

Clive re-signs, 1767.

Verelst at
settled.

the head of
a com-

mittee.

which was Mr. Verelst.

CHAPTER the annoyance of both parties, the question was brought before
VIII.

A.D. 1767. the public, of permitting a trading company to exercise sovereignty over a great and extending empire. The delusion of the enormous riches to be obtained from India, continued during the successive administrations of Mr. Verelst and Mr. Cartier, though even under their peaceful rule the revenues were scarcely adequate to meet the ordinary expenses of the government, and an expedition undertaken to restore the Raja of Nepaul, who had been dethroned by his neighbour, the Ghoorka, was abandoned for want of funds, it being necessary to husband all the resources which British India could afford, in order to meet the imminent dangers which menaced the presidency of Madras.

Verelst and
Cartier do
little.

Lord Clive was received with honour in England ; but he was subsequently harassed by motions in parliament, calling on him to explain his acts while in India. With a fiery temperament and a diseased liver, he bore those attacks badly ; and at length in a fit of desperation, promoted by the abuse of opium, he put an end to his life on the 22nd of November, 1774, having then completed his forty-ninth year.

CHAPTER IX.

THE COMPANY BECOMES A SOVEREIGN POWER, 1767—1788.

The Company becomes a Sovereign Power.—The Nizam of the Deccan intrigues.—He is aided by French Agents, and by Hyder Ali.—He suffers some Defeats and changes Sides.—The Madras Council send Colonel Wood to aid him.—Wood from Ignorance of Indian Warfare is defeated.—Hyder marches 120 Miles in three Days.—His Approach frightens the Madras Council.—A hasty Treaty of Peace is concluded, 1769.—Mr. Cartier becomes Governor of Bengal.—Famine, 1770.—The British Legislature organizes the Indian Government.—Warren Hastings becomes a Governor General of India, 1772.—The Emperor Shah Alum applies for Aid, but is disregarded.—He forms an Alliance with the Mahrattas.—The Rohillas being defeated, seek aid from Oude.—The Mahrattas quarrel with Shah Alum.—They enter Delhi and take him Prisoner.—Warren Hastings concludes a Treaty with Oude.—Colonel Champion defeats the Rohillas.—The Rohillas butchered by the Subahdar.—The New Constitution established in India.—Warren Hastings tries to favour the Nabob of Oude.—His Policy is opposed in India and at Home.—The Mahrattas dispute about their Peishwa.—The Bombay Government support Ragoba.—Ragoba yields several Portions of his Territory.—A Treaty made between him and the Bombay Government.—The Directors at Home interfere and reject the Treaty.—Warren Hastings accused of Corruption and Peculation.—Nuncomar is the chief Witness.—Nuncomar is charged with Forgery, tried, and hanged.—Disputes in Council at Calcutta between Hastings and Francis.—A new Governor named, who introduces various Changes.—Warren Hastings disregards the Orders of the Directors.—Bombay Expeditions; mismanaged.—The disgraceful Capitulation at Worgaum.—Goddard routs the Mahrattas.—Popham distinguishes himself by his Gallantry.—He takes the stupendous Fortress of Gwalior.—Duel between Warren Hastings and Philip Francis.—Philip Francis returns to England.

THE East India Company was transformed from a trading association into a sovereign power, without its consent, and almost without its knowledge. Hence it happened that many advantages, which could have been obtained with little difficulty

CHAPTER
IX.

A.D. 1767.

**CHAPTER
IX.**

A. D. 1767.
The Company's sovereignty.

Invoked in
the Deccan.

Nizam Ali
esi. Lit. he
English.

They buy
him off.

Hyder Ali
rises.

at critical moments, were abandoned, to be afterwards recovered with no small expenditure of blood and treasure. Many writers have assailed the Company and its servants for acts of questionable prudence, and still more questionable morality, in utter forgetfulness that Asia is not Europe, and that in the period when such an extensive empire as that of Delhi is crumbling into ruins, and when its fragments are offered to reward the cupidity of the first daring adventurer who can muster sufficient strength to proclaim his independence, it is impossible to adopt any uniform and consistent course of conduct. The most perfect beings that ever existed, must have been obliged to regulate their conduct by existing circumstances, which they could neither command nor control. When the conquest of Pondicherry gave the English the supremacy in the Carnatic, they little imagined that they would be involved in the complicated politics of the entire Deccan, and that their efforts to obtain the tranquil possession of the Circars, would lead to the most perilous war in which they had ever been engaged in India.

The Subahdar of the Deccan, Salabat Jing, had not been mistaken in his belief that the departure of Bussy and the French, would compromise his safety; he was murdered in September, 1760, by command of his brother, Nizam Ali, who resolved to assert the rights of his viceroyalty over the Deccan, with greater stringency than his victim, and particularly to establish the ancient supremacy of his viceroyalty over the Carnatic. He invaded the country, and devastated it with more than the usual barbarity of Indian warfare, but on the approach of the English army, made a precipitate retreat. When the English obtained from the emperor the investiture of the northern Circars, which had been always considered part of the viceroyalty of the Deccan, Nizam Ali resisted their attempts to take possession of the country, until they purchased his permission by stipulating to pay an annual tribute, and to assist him when necessary by the aid of an auxiliary force. The latter stipulation involved the presidency in hostile relations with Hyder Ali, the Governor of Mysore.

Hyder Ali, during the wars between the French and English in the Carnatic, had risen from being the captain of a petty band of marauders to the rank of commander of the army of Mysore, by prudently watching opportunities to sell his services at the moment when they were most wanting, and would bring the highest price. At the same time he acquired an independent principality for himself, by the conquest of the Nairs in Malabar

and by seizing several small districts, which in the distracted condition of Southern India, seemed to be left without a master. The English had joined with the Nizam, pursuant to their unwise stipulation in the invasion of his acquisitions ; Hyder made peace with that faithless prince, and prepared to attack the allies whom he had abandoned.

Colonel Smith having received intimation that it was the intention of the Nizam to betray the English to Hyder, retreated to Trincomalee, after having sustained a smart action against the forces of his faithless ally and open enemy. In several engagements of little moment, the English maintained their wonted superiority over Indian troops ; and the Nizam, alarmed at his danger, hastily broke off his connection with Hyder, and renewed the treaty with the Presidency of Madras.

This change of policy on the part of the Nizam, filled the minds of the council of Madras with perilous dreams of conquest ; they looked upon Mysore as an easy acquisition, and actually conferred upon Mohammed Ali the title of its sovereignty ; they recalled Colonel Smith, who was too experienced an officer not to understand the danger which was thus wantonly provoked, and conferred the chief command upon Colonel Wood, who was devoid of experience in Indian warfare.

Hyder defeated Wood, who was unable to save his baggage, and then by a pretended show of timidity drew the English army to a distance from Madras. He then made a rapid march of one hundred and twenty miles in three days. At the head of six thousand horse, he appeared suddenly on the Mount of St. Thomas, in the immediate vicinity of the English capital. The Presidency were filled with consternation. The fort might undoubtedly have held out till the arrival of Smith ; but the open town, with its riches, the adjacent country and the garden-houses of the President and Council, would have been ravaged and destroyed. Peace was therefore made with Hyder on his own terms ; a mutual restitution of conquests, and a treaty of mutual alliance in defensive wars.

Mr. Cartier assumed the Government of Bengal, in 1770 : that year was distinguished by a dreadful famine in India. In 1771 Famine. the revenue was decreased to an extraordinary amount.

In the meantime, the British government was compelled to interfere in the concerns of the Company ; a bill was introduced into parliament, vesting the government of Bengal in a governor-general and four councillors, whose authority extended over the two other Presidencies, and establishing at Calcutta a supreme

CHAPTER
IX.
A.D. 1767.

The
Nizam's
treachery.
Sept 1768.

The
Madras
Govern-
ment
removes
Col. Smith.

Wood
is routed
by Hyder.

Hyder's
rapid move-
ments.

Peace with
Hyder.

A.D. 1769.

New
system of
govern-
ment.

CHAPTER IX. court of judicature, consisting of one chief and three puisne judges. The patronage of these officers was placed in the court of directors, subject to the approbation of the crown ; the Company's correspondence of every kind, was obliged to be laid before the ministry ; presents were strictly prohibited ; and the governor-general, the councillors and judges, were excluded from all commercial profits and presents. Finally, the qualification for a vote in the court of proprietors was raised to one thousand pounds, and instead of an annual election of the whole of the directors, it was enacted "that only one-fourth of the number should go out every year." These changes were strenuously resisted by the Company, but the ministerial projects were supported by large parliamentary majorities, and in due course of time became law.

A.D. 1772. Warren Hastings succeeded Mr. Cartier, in the government of Bengal, early in 1772 ; great expectations were formed of his financial and administrative powers, from the improvements which he had effected when employed in a subordinate station on the coast of Coromandel. The directors had been sadly disappointed in the amount of treasure derived from Bengal ; they first blamed their European servants, and then turned their wrath against the native agents ; orders were issued for the arrest of Mohammed Reza Khan, whom the English had themselves appointed chief minister to the viceroy of Bengal ; and Rajah Shitab Roy, who held the same office in the court of Patna, was similarly treated. After a long detention both were acquitted, but they were not restored to their offices. That portion of Reza Khan's duty, which consisted in the guardianship of the Rajah's family, was conferred on Munny Begum, a second wife, or rather concubine of Meer Jaffier, and the administration of the finances was entrusted to Rajah Goordass, the son of Rajah Nuncomar.

Shah Alum asks aid, but is disregarded. Allies himself with the Mahrattas.

In the meantime, Shah Alum became impatient to be restored to his throne in Delhi, and urged the English to fulfil the promises they had made of assisting him in effecting that object. His requests and remonstrances being disregarded, he entered into an alliance with the Mahrattas ; an army of these adventurers easily opened for the monarch a way to his capital, but they insisted that their services should be rewarded by the plunder of the country of the Rohillas. The emperor joined them in an expedition against Zabita Khan, whom he had deprived of the government of Delhi, and whom he therefore suspected of hostile designs. Zabita Khan made a spirited defence, but was

unable to withstand the united forces of the imperialists and the CHAPTER
IX. Mahrattas ; he was completely defeated, his wife and children fell into the hands of the enemy, and his country, which had long flourished under a beneficent government, was laid waste by the Mahrattas, in spite of the remonstrances of the emperor. A.D. 1772.
Attacks
Zabita
Khan. The other Rohilla chiefs were filled with alarm ; in their terror they applied for aid to their old enemy, the Subahdar of Oude, who was exposed to equal danger with themselves from the Mahrattas, and they entered into a treaty, by which they engaged to pay him thirty lacs of rupees, on condition of his expelling the Mahrattas from the Rohilla country. In the meantime, the The
Mahrattas
quarrel with
the Shah. Mahrattas, having quarrelled with the emperor, returned to Delhi, forced an entrance into that capital, and made Shah Alum in all but name a prisoner. Having extorted from their captive a grant of the districts of Korah and Allahabad, in which he had been established by the English, they returned to the banks of the Ganges, which they made preparations to cross. The Rohillas urgently requested the Subahdar of Oude to lend them effective assistance ; he evaded their applications, but, when the Mahrattas retired in consequence of events in their own country, he demanded payment of the promised subsidy, though he had never granted the stipulated protection.

A meeting took place between the Subahdar and Mr. Warren Hastings at Benares, in the beginning of September, 1773, and it led to a treaty in which the emperor of Delhi and the Rohillas were deliberately sold and sacrificed to the ruler of Oude. From the time that Shah Alum had thrown himself into the arms of the Mahrattas, the English had made his conduct a pretext for withholding the stipulated tribute from Bengal, though it was their refusal of their promised aid which had caused the unfortunate sovereign to take this course. Mr. Hastings now went farther : he sold to the Subahdar of Oude, for the sum of fifty lacs of rupees, the districts of Korah and Allahabad, which the English occupied under pretence of preserving them for the emperor. Still more indefensible was the conduct pursued towards the Rohillas. Mr. Hastings agreed to aid the ambitious ruler of Oude in the "extermination" of this innocent people, on condition of his paying forty lacs of rupees into the Company's treasury, and defraying the expenses of the corps employed in his service. Sells two
districts.

No opposition appears to have been made to the withholding of the stipulated payment from Shah Alum, and the alienation of the territories which had been placed under the guardianship of The
Rohillas
attacked.

CHAPTER IX. English honour ; but the destruction of the Rohillas was so inconsistent with the plainest dictates of common justice, and even sound policy, that Mr. Hastings for some time concealed this part of the treaty of Benares from his council. The Subahdar, however, demanded the promised aid ; and an English brigade, under the command of Colonel Champion, was sent to join in the projected invasion. The brunt of the war fell upon the English, who totally routed the Rohillas and slew their gallant leader, Hafiz Rahmet Khan ; but all the advantages of the victory were seized by the cruel and rapacious followers of the Subahdar. Never was triumph more fearfully abused ; every one who bore the name of Rohilla was either butchered or forced to seek safety in flight and exile. The emperor of Delhi had been induced to favour this enterprise by a promise of a share in the conquered territory ; but, as his troops arrived too late to take an active part in the war, Suraj-ud-Dowlat refused to fulfil his engagements, and was supported in his breach of faith by the English. In the end, the Subahdar acquired possession of the whole of Rohilkund, with the exception of a small district, which, at the entreaty of the English, he assigned to one of the Rohilla chiefs, named Fyzollah Khan, after receiving full assurance of his fidelity and allegiance.

A.D. 1774. On the 1st of August, 1774, the new constitution, which the New constitution, British parliament had framed for the government of India, came into operation, and, on the 19th of the following October, three new councillors arrived from England, who, together with Messrs. Hastings and Barwell, were to form the board of administration. The subject of the Rohilla war was the first discussed by the council, and the three councillors who had just arrived severely censured its justice and its policy. They also complained that the correspondence of Mr. Middleton, whom the Governor-General had sent as political agent to the court of Oude, was withheld from them ; and, in their indignation, they voted that the agent should be recalled, that the British forces should be withdrawn from the Subahdar, and that immediate payment should be demanded of the sums stipulated for their services. At this crisis **Extortions.** Suraj-ud-Dowlat died, and the council insisted that his son and successor should not only fulfil his engagement, but cede to the Company the territory of the rajah Cheyte Sing, Zemindar of Benares, and raise the allowance for the service of the European brigade. Mr. Hastings protested against this extortion to no purpose ; the policy of his opponents in the council was warmly approved by the court of directors at home.

While the territories of the Company in Bengal and the Carnatic had been gradually enlarged, little or no addition had been made to their possessions in Western India. Bassein and Salsette, which commanded the entrance into the harbour of Bombay, remained in the possession of the Portuguese until the year 1750, when they were occupied by the Mahrattas, by whom they were highly valued. An opportunity of acquiring these important posts appeared to be offered by a cruel war among the Mahrattas, arising out of a disputed succession to the office of Peishwa, which, though nominally a subordinate dignity, had for some time included all the real sovereignty of the state. A similar dispute at the same time distracted Guzerat, which had been Guzerat. wrested from the empire of Delhi by Pilagee Guicowar, or "the herdsman," who rendered the sovereignty hereditary in his family, and gave to the epithet, by which he was distinguished, the title of royalty. The presidency of Bombay supported Ragoba Rao, or, as he is more commonly called, Ragoba, as lawful claimant of the office of Peishwa, stipulating to receive Salsette, Bassein, and some other cessions as the price of their services. After some delay these terms were ratified, and these important stations were occupied by English garrisons. An army was at the same time sent to put Ragoba in possession of Poonah, the Mahratta capital, which would, no doubt, have succeeded had not orders arrived from the Supreme Council of Calcutta, disapproving the entire course of policy pursued by the presidency of Bombay, and peremptorily commanding that the cause of Ragoba should be abandoned. A treaty was concluded with that chieftain's rivals, which deprived the English of Bassein and all their acquisitions in Guzerat, but which, at the same time, secured them the possession of Salsette and the adjacent islands. To complete the confusion, this arrangement had scarcely been made when letters arrived from the court of directors, approving, in the strongest terms, the previous proceedings of the presidency of Bombay, which had just been condemned and overthrown by the council of Calcutta.

In the meantime, the majority of the council had begun to receive grave charges of corruption and peculation against Mr. Warren Hastings, while he exerted all his authority and influence as Governor-General to stifle enquiry. The principal witness on the and most serious charge was the Brahmin Nuncomar, who exhibited the particulars of a sum amounting to 354,105 rupees, which he asserted that his son Goordass and Munny Begum had paid for

CHAPTER
IX.
A.D. 1750.
Bombay.
Bassein and
Salsette.

Ragoba
treats with
the Bombay
governor.

It is dis-
approved
at Calcutta.

CHAPTER IX. their elevation to the offices mentioned in a preceding page. So great was the effect produced on the council by this evidence, that Mr. Hastings was commanded to refund the money which he had thus illegally received. But he refused to acknowledge the majority as a council, and returned no answer.

A.D. 1775. **Nuncomar hanged.** A suit was instituted against Nuncomar, for conspiring with others to get up a petition against the parties to the prosecution ; but it proved a complete failure. An obscure native was brought forward to indict Nuncomar for forgery, and on this charge he was arrested and thrown into prison. He was then tried before the supreme court, by a jury of Englishmen, convicted and hanged.

5th August. The crime for which he was made to suffer was not capital by the laws of Hindustan, whether Mohammedan or Hindu ; the date of its alleged commission was 1770, while the law which gave jurisdiction to the supreme court was not passed until 1774. It had been expressly declared, that all civil disputes between native and native should be decided in their own courts, and it was the obvious design of the framers of the statute to extend the same regulation to penal cases ; finally, there were said to have been marks of precipitancy and unfairness on the part of the judge, which shewed that Nuncomar was a predestined victim. The impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey, the judge who tried the case, subsequently failed, and the execution cannot, therefore, be fairly stigmatised as a judicial murder ; but there can be no doubt that it was a case in which the rigours of the law were extended to their very utmost range, in order to remove an individual whose inconvenient disclosures rendered him dangerous to persons in power.

Dissatisfaction with the judge and the Governor-General. **A.D. 1776.** The necessity of new arrangements for collecting the revenues, led to fresh disputes between Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis ; the former proposed that the districts should be farmed to the Zemindars on leases for life ; the latter recommended that the Zemindars should be recognized as proprietors of the soil. After a long dispute, both projects were rejected by the court of directors, who ordered that the settlements should be made only from year to year, on an average of the collection raised during the three years preceding. The death, in November, of Colonel Monson, an opponent, gave Mr. Hastings a majority in the council ; but he had previously deputed an officer of the name of Macleane, to propose his resignation in England, where it had been accepted by the court of directors. Mr. Wheler was named as his successor, presented to the king for his approbation, and accepted.

General Clavering, as senior member of the council, was empowered to administer the government until Mr. Wheler should arrive.

CHAPTER
IX.
A.D. 1777.

When this intelligence arrived in Bengal, it produced a scene of confusion which nearly led to fatal consequences. Hastings disavowed the proceedings of his agent, and refused to resign. Clavering insisted that he should be recognized as governor. An appeal to arms seemed inevitable. Hastings was ready to abide the result; but Clavering fortunately had either less courage or more prudence; and the matter was referred to the courts of law, which decided in favour of Hastings. No sooner was his authority thus recognized, than he began to reverse the proceedings of the former majority of the council. Mr. Bristow was recalled from Oude, and the governor's creature Mr. Middleton was sent to take his place. Mr. Fowke was deprived of his office in Benares, under the pretence that the purposes of his mission were accomplished; but, in a few days after, another resident was appointed. Both these transactions were condemned by the court of directors; but Hastings paid no regard to their remonstrances. General Clavering died in August.

The interference of the supreme council in the affairs of the Bombay Mahrattas, had left the minds of the rulers of Poonah and those of the presidency of Bengal, in a state of mutual jealousy and dissatisfaction. Certain French emissaries made their appearance in Poonah, and there was reason to fear that they would obtain from the Mahrattas, permission for their countrymen to establish a station on the coast of Malabar. Some of the council proposed to conciliate the Mahratta chiefs by yielding up Ra-
goba; but Mr. Hastings espoused the policy of the Bombay presidency, which had been so recently condemned, and ordered forces to be prepared to aid in restoring Ragoba to his office as Peishwa. Six battalions of Sepoys, one company of artillery, and a corps of cavalry, marched from the station of Calpee, under the command of Colonel Leslie, to act in concert with the Bombay army, which was entrusted to Colonels Egerton and Cockburn, and Mr. Carnac, a civilian, who acted as field deputies. Never, perhaps, was any expedition worse managed: Egerton contrived, after wasting much precious time, to reach a post within sixteen miles of Poonah, where he found the Mahrattas prepared to dispute his progress. He and the other deputies lost what little sense or courage they possessed. In spite of the remonstrances of the military men, who felt assured of an easy victory, orders were given for an immediate retreat. It was as

A.D. 1778.

favours
Ragoba.

A.D. 1779.
Leslie sent
to aid
the Bombay
troops, who
retreat.

CHAPTER IX. wretchedly conducted as it had been imprudently commenced. The Mahrattas overtook the retiring soldiers, and harassed them very severely. The cowardly committee then proposed to enter into a convention, and concluded a bargain for their own safety on the most humiliating terms, at Worgaum. Egerton and Cockburn were afterwards dismissed the service, and Carnac was degraded.

A.D. 1779. Leslie's conduct disgraceful. Colonel Leslie's conduct was equally disgraceful ; he advanced very slowly, wasting his time in negotiations and transactions with various local chiefs, which exposed him to the suspicion of selfish and dishonourable motives. The supreme council, finding that he disregarded their urgent commands to accelerate his march, sent orders that he should be deprived of his command ; but he escaped this disgrace by death : he was succeeded by

Goddard redeems the character of the army. Colonel Goddard, an officer of a very different character. Goddard advanced into the very heart of the Mahratta country, in the hope of being able to co-operate with the Bombay army ; fortunately, he received timely notice of the disgraceful convention which had been concluded ; he peremptorily refused to accede to its terms, and led his forces to Surat, after having marched three hundred miles in nineteen days, and baffled the efforts of twenty thousand Mahratta horse, sent to interrupt his advance. Here he was joined by Ragoba, who had contrived to make his escape from Poonah.

A.D. 1780. Goddard storms Ahmedabad. 15th Feb. The supreme council disavowed the convention which the committee had concluded, and appointed Goddard to the command of the army. It required all that officer's firmness and prudence to overcome the paltry jealousy of the Bombay authorities ; but he finally succeeded, and took the field in the beginning of January, 1780. With little difficulty he obtained possession of Dubhoy, and carried Ahmedabad by storm. The Mahrattas attempted to overreach him in diplomacy, by opening protracted discussions which would have detained him until the season for operations was past ; but he refused to listen to their proposals, and on the morning of April 3rd, surprised Scindiah and Holkar in their camp, routing their numerous forces with the utmost facility, and almost without loss.

Defeats Scindiah and Holkar. 3rd April. Sir Eyre Coote arrives in India. Sir Eyre Coote, who had been appointed to the vacancy in the supreme council produced by the death of General Clavering, arrived in Bengal just as a treaty had been concluded with a Rajpoot prince, called the Rana, who possessed a hilly country of considerable extent, lying on the Jumna, between the territories of the Mahratta chieftain, Scindiah, and the kingdom of Oude.

Intelligence arrived that the territory of the Rana had been invaded by a body of Mahrattas, which his want of resources made it impossible for him to resist. A small body of troops which had been prepared, under Captain Popham, to reinforce the Goddard, was sent to the assistance of the Rana. Though he had only a single battalion under his command, Popham greatly distinguished himself by his enterprise and talents. He expelled the Mahrattas from Gohud, pursued them into their own territories, where he took the fortress of Lahar. But a much more memorable exploit was the capture of Gwalior, which had always been regarded as impregnable by the princes of Hindustan. This fortress is built on the summit of a stupendous rock, scarped round to the height of about twenty feet, having a precipitous ascent of about one hundred feet from the scarp to the wall ; the rampart wall itself being thirty feet high. It was garrisoned by a thousand picked men ; yet Popham attacked it by escalade on the 3rd of August, and carried it by sheer valour. This brilliant exploit struck so much terror into the Mahrattas, that they abandoned the surrounding country, and conveyed the alarm to Scindiah in his capital.

Out of this war arose a new series of disputes in the supreme council. Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis mutually accused each other of profligate fraud and falsehood : their disputes at last led to a duel, in which Mr. Francis was wounded, upon which he quitted the council, and returned to Europe.

Mr. Francis is considered to have been the secret promoter of the celebrated impeachment of Hastings. He is also said to have been the amanuensis, whose pen Burke and others used, to copy for the printer the celebrated letters of Junius. Hence his intimacy with Burke, etc. He was born in Dublin, October 22, 1740, and died on the 22nd of December, 1818, in St. James's Square, London, of extreme debility, caused by an excruciating disease to which he had long been subject.

CHAPTER
IX.

A.D. 1780.

Aid to the

Rana.

Popham

distin-

guishes

himself.

Takes

Gwalior.

3rd August.

CHAPTER X.

NABOB OF THE CARNATIC ; SECOND WAR WITH HYDER. 1770—1784.

Financial and military Difficulties at Madras.—Admiral Lindsay's Interference as the King's Agent.—Hyder Ali applies for Aid against the Mahrattas.—The Madras Council withhold it.—Admiral Lindsay supports the Nabob against Hyder.—Admiral Lindsay is recalled.—Admiral Sir R. Harland advocates the Mahratta Cause.—The Nabob negotiates, and a Peace is patched up.—The Madras Council and the Nabob attack Tanjore.—The Nabob's Son makes Terms without the English.—The Nabob treats the Mahrattas with Gross Injustice.—The English abet him, and take Prisoner the Rajah of Tanjore.—Lord Pigot, a New Governor, restores the Rajah.—Benfield's extraordinary Demands.—Lord Pigot protects the Rajah.—Lord Pigot is arrested and dies.—The Madras Councillors engaged in Concussion.—Several of them are dismissed.—War with the French in India ; Pondicherry taken.—The French lose all their Indian Possessions.—Hyder, the Mahrattas, and the Nizam league together.—Their Object is to expel the English.—Hyder begins the War under the Guidance of Lally.—He attacks Arcot, and captures Baillie.—Munro retreats, Hyder follows, and is defeated.—Coote pursues him, and drives him into the Passes.—Battle of Porto Novo, 1st of July, 1781.—Battle at Perambau-cum, 27th of July, 1781.—The Dutch expelled from the Indian Seas.—Discussions between Lord Macartney and Sir Eyre Coote.—The Bombay Troops take several Places on the Malabar Coast.—The French Admiral Suffrein brings Reinforcements.—Tippoo Saib forces the Bombay Troops to retreat.—Admiral Hughes fights well but manages badly.—Fearful Hurricane on the Carnatic Coast.—General Goddard in the Concan ; takes Bassein.—Battle of Doogaur, 11th and 12th of December, 1780.—General Goddard moves on Poonah.—Camac storms Scindiah's Camp, 24th March, 1781.—Colonel Muir treats with Scindiah, 1782.—Death of the gallant Humberstone.—The

Bombay Troops retreat at Paulgautcherry.—They are nearly cut to Pieces, but saved by the Death of Hyder.—Tippoo succeeds Hyder.—General Matthews commands the Bombay Troops, but behaves badly.—He is taken Prisoner at Bednore, and subjected to horrible Treatment.—General Stuart arrested at Madras and sent to England.—Colonel Fullarton sustains the English Reputation.—Tippoo refuses Peace.—He takes Mangalore.—Humiliating Treaty concluded with him.—Sir Eyre Coote dies of Fatigue.—Lord Macartney resigns and returns to England.

THE position of the Company's affairs in the Carnatic, was very different from their relations to the country in Bengal. By the avowed possession of the Dewanee in the latter province, they obtained for themselves and their officers, the direct discharge of the principal offices of internal government; but in the Carnatic, they had recognized the Nabob, Mohammed Ali, as the undoubtedly sovereign of the country, and the rightful possessor both of military and financial power. On account of the Nabob's notorious imbecility, the presidency of Madras found it necessary to employ a British force for the protection of the country, and to insist that Mohammed Ali should defray the expenses of its maintenance out of his revenues. It was soon found that his income was inadequate to his expenditure; he was forced to have recourse to loans; money was advanced to him at exorbitant interest by the servants of the Company, secured by mortgages on the revenues of particular districts, which they were entitled to draw direct from the collectors. By this course, the Nabob's embarrassments were greatly increased, while the exactions of the English merchants, his creditors, became more proportionately severe. It was the obvious interest of the Company to check the Nabob in his pernicious career, and particularly to prevent his alienating his revenues to rapacious usurers; but these money-lenders were able to represent such interference as an unwarrantable restriction on the freedom of an independent prince, and to excite angry feelings against the prudent conduct of the Madras presidency, both in the parliament and cabinet of England.

At this crisis, Admiral Sir John Lindsay arrived at Madras, July 26th, 1770, invested with the power of a king's minister plenipotentiary, to maintain the arrangements which had been made in India, by the eleventh article of the treaty of Paris. He at once adopted a course of policy directly contrary to that which had been pursued by the presidency of Madras, and sanctioned

CHAPTER
X.A.D. 1769.
The Nabob
called on to
defray
expenses.

CHAPTER

X.

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 A. D. 1770.  
 Causes  
 embarrass-  
 ments.

by the court of directors ; and he formally recognized the Nabob as a fellow-sovereign with the king of Great Britain, declaring that he had come to afford him the protection of the British monarch against all his enemies. The Nabob at once described the president and council of Madras as his worst enemies, averring that they had deprived him of the greatest part of his revenues.

Hyder asks  
 for English  
 aid.

At this moment the presidency was on the brink of a dangerous war, arising out of the following circumstance. At the conclusion of the treaty with Hyder Ali in 1769, it was agreed "That in case either of the contracting parties shall be attacked, they shall mutually assist each other to drive the enemy out from their respective countries." Hyder soon applied to the English to unite with him in supporting the insurrection of a Mahratta chief against the Peishwa; but this proposal was prudently declined. Early, however, in 1770, the Mahrattas invaded Mysore, and Hyder again applied for aid, pursuant to the conditions of the treaty, proffering to pay three lacs of rupees, if he could obtain effectual assistance. It was not easy for the English to find any pretext for a refusal; but they evaded, procrastinated and withheld, resolving not to take arms until the last extremity. The Nabob, on the other hand, was anxious to enter into an alliance with the Mahrattas : he had a personal dislike to Hyder ; the Mahrattas stimulated his ambition by the promise of splendid gifts of territory ; and finally, he believed that his alliance with them would render his government independent of the English. Sir John Lindsay warmly adopted the Nabob's views, with respect to the Mahratta alliance, and spared neither reproach, exhortation, nor threat, to compel the presidency to embrace the same course of policy. Intelligence of these disputes reached England ; Sir John Lindsay was recalled, and Sir Robert Harland, with an additional naval force, was sent to exercise the same powers in his stead.

Lindsay  
 recalled.

A. D. 1771.  
 Peace with  
 the Mah-  
 rattas by  
 Hyder.

Sir Robert Harland warmly advocated the expediency of a Mahratta confederacy ; but the presidency of Madras firmly refused to form such an alliance. The Nabob was thus obliged to content himself with mediating between the belligerents ; a peace was concluded with the Mahrattas, on terms extremely unfavourable to Hyder, who thenceforth began to detest the English, for not only abandoning him in the hour of his need, but also for listening to projects which menaced his very existence.

But though the president and council refused to gratify the Nabob's desire for the Mahratta alliance, they tendered him

ready aid to subdue the Rajah of Tanjore. This petty sovereign had furnished a smaller contingent, both of money and troops, during the late war with Hyder, than he had been expected to supply, and had even opened secret communications with the enemy. Both the Nabob and the English were eager to punish him whenever an opportunity offered ; a pretence for war was afforded by the Rajah's attack on the Polygars or chieftains of the districts called the Marawars, whom the Nabob claimed as his subjects, and he demanded that the Tanjore prince should not attack his vassals. This remonstrance was disregarded ; an appeal was made to the English, and an army was assembled at Trichinopoly, under the command of General Smith, to combine with the forces of the Carnatic, headed by the Nabob's son, Omrat-al-Omrab. Having captured several strong intervening places, the allies advanced to the capital of Tanjore, which they immediately invested. A practicable breach was effected and preparations for an assault were made, when on the very eve of the attack, General Smith was informed that Omrat-al-Omrab had concluded a treaty with the Rajah, and that the war was at an end. Great was the indignation of the English authorities at this unexpected termination of the expedition, but rightly foreseeing that this accommodation was not likely to be lasting, they retained possession of the frontier town of Tanjore, and left their forces in the service of the Nabob.

The Nabob immediately requested the service of the English to aid him in subduing those very Polygars of the Marawars, for whose protection he had ostensibly declared war against Tanjore. Notwithstanding the obvious inconsistency in the pretexts of the Nabob, the presidency, without hesitation, consented to undertake the expedition. The Marawars were conquered, and the innocent inhabitants of the district treated with the most signal barbarity and injustice ; and when this was accomplished, the Nabob resolved to renew his attack on the kingdom of Tanjore, under the false pretence that the conditions of the late treaty had not been fulfilled. The council of Madras having solemnly recognized the injustice of the war, resolved, nevertheless, to assist the Nabob on the ground of policy and expediency. On the 20th of August, 1773, the siege of Tanjore was renewed ; on the 16th of September a practicable breach was made, and entered by storm in the heat of the day, when the garrison did not expect an assault, and was unprepared for resistance. The assailants scarcely encountered any resistance ; the Rajah of Tanjore and

CHAPTER  
X.  
A. D. 1771.  
The Madras govern-  
ment gives aid against  
Tanjore.

**CHAPTER X.** his family remained prisoners. Immediately after this victory, the Dutch were summoned to evacuate Nagore, which they had purchased from the Rajah ; and as they were unable to maintain themselves, they were forced to comply.

**A.D. 1773.** Lord Pigot. The deposition of the Rajah of Tanjore was disapproved by the court of directors; and Lord Pigot, who was appointed Governor of Madras, where he had formerly ruled previous to his elevation to an Irish peerage, brought out orders for the restoration of the deposed sovereign. He was also directed to effect some desirable changes in the financial administration of the Northern Circars. Lord Pigot proceeded at once to the restoration of the Rajah, in spite of the remonstrances of the Nabob and the opposition of Sir Robert Fletcher, who, after having been cashiered for mutiny in Bengal, had been appointed to the chief command of the army of Madras.

**A.D. 1775.** Restores the Rajah. Lord Pigot proceeded at once to the restoration of the Rajah, in spite of the remonstrances of the Nabob and the opposition of Sir Robert Fletcher, who, after having been cashiered for mutiny in Bengal, had been appointed to the chief command of the army of Madras.

**Paul Benfield's demands.** Paul Benfield's demands. When this restoration was effected, a claim was made by Mr. Paul Benfield to a large share of the revenues of Tanjore, which, he asserted, had been assigned to him by the Nabob of the Carnatic, in payment of a debt amounting to a quarter of a million of money. Two circumstances of suspicion naturally presented themselves—Benfield was a junior servant of the Company ; his salary was small, and the extravagance of his habits great : it was, therefore, in the highest degree improbable that this enormous debt really existed ; and, supposing that it did exist, there was a great doubt of the Nabob's right to pay his own debts out of the property of the restored Rajah of Tanjore. In fact, there was every reason to suspect that the whole was a collusion between Benfield and the Nabob, to defraud the Company and the Rajah. Benfield's claims were discussed in the council and rejected, but, after the lapse of a few days, it was voted that they should be reconsidered, and this was followed by

**Lord Pigot refuses to admit them.** a decision in favour of their validity. Lord Pigot, finding himself opposed by the majority, resolved to exert his powers as president, to protect the Rajah of Tanjore from the demands which he declared to be iniquitous. The disputes between the hostile parties increased in bitterness, until at length the majority of the

**Is arrested. 2<sup>nd</sup> Aug.** council took the extraordinary step of arresting Lord Pigot and placing him in close confinement. Sir R. Fletcher being ill, the arrest was effected at night by Colonel Stuart, who had breakfasted and dined with his Lordship. This insult so preyed upon his high spirit, that his health, which was never very strong, sunk under the shock ; he died after a confinement of eight months, and a coroner's jury recorded a verdict which indirectly accused

**Dies.**

his persecutors of murder. A compromise was effected with the CHAPTER  
X. Rajah of Tanjore, but Benfield's exorbitant claims were never realized.

When the intelligence of these events reached England, great indignation was excited, not only in the body of East India proprietors, but in the nation at large. The court of proprietors voted by a large majority, that Lord Pigot should be restored, and that a rigid enquiry should be made into the conduct of the principal actors in the imprisonment. The court of directors sanctioned these resolutions by the casting vote of the chairman. But the influence of the ministry was exerted to neutralize these votes, and it was finally resolved that both parties should be recalled for the purpose of an enquiry into the whole affair. The death of Lord Pigot, and the important public events which soon followed, diverted attention from this unexampled proceeding; four of the most active members of the council were, indeed, Four of the  
parties pro-  
secuted.  
A.D. 1777. prosecuted by the attorney-general, at the instigation of the House of Commons, after their return to England; they were convicted of a misdemeanour, and sentenced to pay a fine of one thousand pounds each, which, in their case, was but a nominal punishment.

On the death of Lord Pigot, the government of the presidency Peculation  
at Madras. devolved on Sir Thomas Rumbold, Mr. Whitehill, and General Sir Hector Munro. A committee of circuit had been formed to regulate the collection of the revenues in the Northern Circars. Rumbold's first measure was to suspend the proceedings of the committee, and to command the Zemindars, or chiefs who farmed the Revenues, to appear personally at Madras and enter into new arrangements. It was asserted that this measure was adopted for the purpose of giving Rumbold and his supporters an opportunity of making a corrupt personal bargain with each of the chiefs; and, in one instance at least, there was abundant evidence to justify such suspicions. Vizeram Raz, the Rajah of Vizanagaram, was compelled to assign over the management of his affairs to his brother, Sitteram Raz, and at the same time agreed to receive from this favoured individual, not more than one half the amount of tribute which ought to have been obtained for the Company. It subsequently appeared that Sitteram Raz had paid very large sums in Madras which never found their way into the Company's treasury, and that Sir Thomas Rumbold and his secretary, Mr. Redhead, had forwarded to Europe more than six times the amount of their respective salaries.

## CHAPTER

X.

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 A.D. 1776.
 Disputes
 with the
 Nizam.

A.D. 1777.

When the arrangements had been made with the Nizam, in 1776, it had been agreed that his brother, Basalat Jing, should hold the Circar of Guntoor in jaghire during life, or so long as the Subahdar should remain in friendship with the Company. Some alarm was excited at Madras, by intelligence that Basalat Jing, had taken a French force into his service; a negociation was commenced with this prince, which ended in his agreeing to cede Guntoor to the Company for a certain annual payment, and his engaging to dismiss his French auxiliaries on condition of his receiving an English force for the protection of his country. His offers were accepted, and a body of troops, under General Harper, was sent to garrison his dominions. The French, however, were only dismissed to pass into the service of the Nizam, who was not a little jealous of the alliance which had been formed with his brother.

His remon-
 strances
 disregarded

The Nizam's indignation was still more justly excited, by the refusal of the presidency of Madras to pay any portion of the tribute which had been stipulated for the possession of the Northern Ciroars. His claims were recognized by the supreme council at Calcutta, and this body sent a temperate letter to the council of Madras, remonstrating against the impolicy and iniquity of its proceedings. Sir Thomas Rumbold made an angry and most intemperate reply. In order to evince further his disdain of control, he granted a lease of Guntoor for ten years to the Nabob of Arcot, though he was well aware that the court of directors had every reason to be displeased with his exactions in their jaghire and in his own dominions. The patience of the directors was at length exhausted; in their letter of the 10th of January, 1781, after severely censuring the transactions just described, they dismissed Sir Thomas Rumbold and two of his council from their service, deprived two more of their seat in the council, and expressed the strongest displeasure against the commander of their forces, Sir Hector Munro.

Hyder
 aided by
 the French.

But before Sir Thomas Rumbold and his associates were deprived of power, they had been guilty of greater political crimes than those already recorded, the consequences of which were long and severely felt throughout the whole of British India. Hyder Ali had not been unjustly displeased with the treatment which he had received from the government of Madras. He resolved to form a connection with the French, who were on the brink of a new war with the English; and his advances were eagerly met by the governor of Pondicherry, who furnished him with arms, ammunition, and other warlike supplies, through the

French settlement of Mahe, on the coast of Malabar. Information of these transactions was conveyed to Rumbold, but he did not pay them any attention ; on the contrary, he continued to treat Hyder with studied disrespect, while he permitted the military and pecuniary resources of Madras to fall into a state of the greatest confusion.

CHAPTER
X.
A.D. 1778.

In the beginning of July, 1778, intelligence was received in French Bengal which, though somewhat premature, was acted upon as certain, that war had commenced between England and France. A resolution was immediately formed to take possession of all the French settlements in India. Chandernagore, Masulipatam, and Carical surrendered without resistance ; and it was resolved to lose no time in the reduction of Pondicherry. Sir Hector Munro, to whom the conduct of the siege was entrusted, proceeded with a culpable negligence and slowness, for which it is not easy to account, as he was certainly a man of unquestionable courage. Sir Edward Vernon, who commanded the British naval force, displayed great energies ; he defeated a French squadron so severely that its commander at once abandoned the Indian Seas. The marines and a body of sailors were then landed to aid in the assault. The governor of Pondicherry, after a gallant defence, proposed terms of capitulation, which were cheerfully granted ; the garrison marched out with all the honours of war, and one regiment was permitted to retain its colours. The defences of Pondicherry were then dismantled, and the fortifications destroyed.

Admiral Vernon defeats the French.
10th Aug.

The only place now left to the French in India was the small Mahe fort and settlement of Mahe, on the coast of Malabar. Hyder had formerly intimated to the Madras government, that he would oppose any attack on Mahe, and retaliate by an invasion of the Carnatic ; but, notwithstanding this threat, and the disheartening intelligence of the reverses which the Bombay army, as already mentioned, had suffered in the Mahratta country, the presidency of Madras pursued its designs. Mahe was captured, without firing a shot, by Colonel Braithwaite, on the 19th of March, 1779, and retained until the 29th of the following November, when Braithwaite, being ordered to join General Goddard at Surat, levelled the fort with the ground.

A.D. 1779.
19th March

Before Braithwaite's arrangements for going to Surat could be completed, he received a requisition from the chief and factory at Tellicherry, which was exposed to considerable danger. Hyder enraged at the protection granted to a Nair chief, who had incurred his displeasure, stimulated the neighbouring chieftains to

League formed against the English.

CHAPTER X.
A.D. 1780. attack the settlement, which would have been exposed to the most imminent danger, had not Braithwaite moved with his whole detachment to its support. These elements of dissension daily assumed a more threatening aspect, until at length, in November, 1779, the Nabob of the Carnatic sent certain information to Madras, that a league, for the total expulsion of the English from India, had been formed by Hyder, the Mahrattas, and the Nizam. Notwithstanding this warning, no measures were taken which had a reference to the war until the following June, when orders were given that the detachment which had been sent to protect Basalat Jing, the command of which had been transferred from Colonel Harper to Colonel Baillie, should cross the Kistna, to be more in readiness "in case of any disturbance in the Carnatic."

Hyder's army.

The people tired of their oppression.

Munro wishes to resign the command.

On the 21st of July, intelligence was received that Hyder had crossed the frontier with an army of one hundred thousand men, including twenty thousand trained infantry, thirty thousand cavalry, and four hundred Europeans who had been in the service of the Nizam. He had more than one hundred pieces of cannon, managed by Europeans and natives trained to the practice of artillery, and he was assisted by the councils of M. Lally, the leader of the French force, who was an officer of high reputation. To oppose this force, the English could only muster six thousand infantry, one hundred trained cavalry, in addition to the Nabob's irregular horse, and a few pieces of cannon, for which there were scarcely any means of equipment. To this must be added, the total alienation of the people of the country, who were justly weary of the joint government of the Company and the Nabob.

At this crisis Sir Hector Munro exhibited the greatest reluctance to assume the command of the troops ; he wished to entrust the management of the campaign to Lord Macleod, who had just arrived in India at the head of a Highland regiment ; but Lord Macleod did not approve of Munro's plans, and he therefore refused to stake his reputation in executing military movements of which he more than doubted the wisdom. So fierce were the debates on the subject in the council, that Munro actually challenged one of the members. Much precious time was thus lost ; but, at length, Munro marched from St. Thomas's Mount, after having sent Baillie orders to join him at Conjeveram. Although cattle could with difficulty be procured for the transport of provisions, Munro persisted in encumbering his march with heavy artillery, the use of which, as he had no fortifications to attack, it is not easy to conjecture.

Hyder had now laid siege to Arcot, and Munro was eager to

be joined by Baillie, in order to attempt the relief of the place ; but, on the 31st of August, he learned that Baillie, who was remarkably deficient in promptitude and decision, had been stopped by the swelling of a small river, about five miles north of Tre-passore. On the same day he learned that Hyder had left Arcot, and was moving on Conjeveram. Baillie had reached Perambau-cum, within fifteen miles of the main army, when he was attacked by Tippoo Saib, Hyder's son, with a prodigious superiority of force. After a desperate conflict of several hours, the English repulsed their assailants ; but Baillie was so weakened, that he declared any onward movement was beyond the strength of his detachment, and urgently requested Munro to push forward to his relief with the main body of the army. Instead of doing so, Baillie and Munro lose ground.

Munro sent a detachment to his aid, under the command of Colonel Fletcher. This brave body effected a junction with Baillie, who quitted his ground on the 9th of September, in the full belief that his progress would be facilitated by some movement on the part of the main body. Such also was the persuasion of the Europeans in Hyder's service ; they urged that chieftain to retreat, and when his spies brought word that there were no preparations for a movement in the camp at Conjeveram, they insisted that the spies must have been bribed, for that such folly and blindness on the part of the English general were utterly incredible.

In spite of the opposition made by Tippoo's forces, Baillie continued his march during the night of the 9th, but early on the morning of the 10th he was informed that the entire host of Hyder was approaching to overwhelm him. Nothing ever exceeded the steadiness and determination with which Baillie's handful of men sustained the attack of their enemies. Had Munro made the slightest exertion to create a diversion in their favour, by attacking the enemy in the rear, Hyder's hosts would have been irretrievably defeated ; but he did not move until late in the day, and he then returned after a short march, under the mistaken notion that Baillie was victorious. Strange to say, the gallant band would probably have achieved a triumph had not two of their tumbrils blown up in the midst of the action, by which accident they were at once deprived of ammunition, and their lines were thrown into confusion. Though exposed to a heavy fire of rockets and cannon, charged home by masses of cavalry, and pressed by close volleys of musketry from bodies of infantry on their flanks and in their front, the Europeans maintained the fight after the sepoys had been annihilated, and still

Baillie
defeated
and taken
prisoner,
9th Sept.

CHAPTER X. demanded to be led on, and to cut their way through the enemy. But Baillie, perceiving that his forces were reduced to about four hundred men, and despairing of receiving any assistance from Munro, held up a flag of truce. Quarter was promised on condition of an immediate surrender ; but no sooner had they laid down their arms than the savages rushed upon them with unbridled fury, and they would all have been massacred, but for the prompt and generous interference of Lally and the French officers. About two hundred Europeans were spared, but they were reserved for the horrors of a captivity which was worse than death.

Warren Hastings sends aid to Madras.

Munro, who had advanced within two miles of Baillie, was now forced to make a speedy retreat ; he reached St. Thomas's Mount on the evening of the 13th of September, with an army thoroughly dispirited and exhausted. The presidency began to tremble for Madras itself ; the place was destitute, not only of provisions, but of supplies of every kind ; and had Hyder followed the English with his usual impetuosity, he would probably have overthrown their sovereignty in the Carnatic. At this calamitous period, the Governor-General of India, Warren Hastings, acted with a promptitude and wisdom which might well atone for many delinquencies. He at once proposed that fifteen lacs of rupees, and a large detachment of European infantry and artillery should be sent to Madras ; that Sir Eyre Coote should have the command of the army, and the sole management of the money transmitted ; and that the governor of Fort St. George should be suspended until further orders. To these mandates the presidency of Madras very reluctantly submitted. On the 7th of November Sir Eyre Coote took his seat in the council at Madras, produced the decree deposing the governor, and had the satisfaction of finding it sanctioned by the majority of the members.

Sir Eyre Coote takes the command.

A.D. 1781.

Arcot had by this time fallen ; the first efforts of Sir Eyre Coote were therefore directed to protect Vellore and Wandewash, which were closely besieged but gallantly defended by feeble garrisons. The siege of Wandewash was abandoned on the approach of the English ; but, instead of pursuing their advantages, they were obliged to direct their course to Pondicherry, in consequence of the arrival of a French fleet on the coast. The flattering prospect of retrieving the influence of their country in India, induced the Frenchmen of Pondicherry to forget the clemency with which they had been treated by their conquerors ; they applied coercion to the English resident, enlisted sepoys,

and began to collect provisions at Carangoly. Sir Eyre Coote hasted to disarm the inhabitants, to remove the provisions from Carangoly, and to destroy the boats. He then marched to protect Cuddalore, which was menaced by Hyder, making the most strenuous exertions to bring that leader to an action. Having failed in forcing a battle, the army next moved to protect Trichinopoly, which was threatened ; and on its road attacked without success the fortified Pagoda of Chillingram. The failure was fortunate ; it gave Hyder courage to hazard a battle, at a time when want of provisions and means of transport threatened to force the English to coop themselves up in Madras. The fight was furious ; it lasted six hours, and ended in the complete defeat of the enemy. Had the English possessed cavalry and other means of active pursuit, they might have deprived Hyder of his artillery and stores, and, possibly, reduced him to the necessity of evacuating the province.

CHAPTER
X.

A. D. 1781.

Battle of
Porto Novo,
July 1st.Hyder
defeated.

In consequence of this victory, Tippoo, who had renewed the siege of Wandewash on the 22nd of June, was forced to raise it, and Coote, being joined by a body of sepoyes which had come overland from Bengal, resolved to attempt the recovery of Arcot. Hyder prepared to resist them on the ground where he had defeated Baillie. "His position," says Munro, "was such that a stronger could not have been imagined. Besides three villages which the enemies had occupied, the ground along their front, and on their flanks, was intersected in every direction by deep ditches and water-courses ; their artillery fired from embrasures cut in mounds of earth, which had been formed from the hollowing of the ditches, and the main body of the army lay behind them. The cannonade became general about ten o'clock, and continued, with little intermission, until sunset, for we found it almost impossible to advance upon the enemy, as the cannon could not be brought up without much time and labour over the broken ground in front. The enemy retired as we advanced, and always found cover in the ditches and behind the banks. They were forced from all before sunset, and, after standing a short time a cannonade on open ground, they fled in great hurry and confusion towards Conjeveram." From this account it appears that Hyder's army was only saved from a total rout by the difficulty of getting at it, and that Hyder concealed his defeat by pretending that it was only a drawn battle. Soon afterwards Hyder marched to prevent the relief of Vellore. Coote followed, surprised him in his camp, and inflicted upon him a severe defeat ; Hyder could only save his guns by the sacrifice of his

July 27th.
Battle of
Peramb-
baucum.

Aug. 27th.

CHAPTER X. cavalry, which was almost annihilated in covering his retreat.

A.D. 1781. After this exploit the army returned to St. Thomas's Mount, having lost nearly one-third of its numbers in this perilous June 22nd. campaign.

Lord Macartney had now come out as governor of Madras ; and Sir Eyre Coote, aware that his lordship was not likely to governor at Madras. allow him so much independence of command as he had previously possessed, began to exhibit a sensitive jealousy which rendered the position of all parties peculiarly painful. Lord Macartney brought out intelligence of the commencement of war between England and Holland ; in consequence of which he resolved to take possession of the Dutch settlements in India. He commenced by attacking Sadras and Pulicat, both of which surrendered with little opposition. The President next resolved on the attack of Negapatam ; but was much annoyed by the strenuous opposition of Sir Eyre Coote, who would neither march to the attack himself nor spare any of his troops for the purpose.

Lord Macartney collected the remaining forces of the presidency, and entrusted the command of the expedition to Sir Hector Munro. That officer displayed, on this occasion, more activity, zeal, and enterprise than he had manifested on former expeditions. In less than three weeks from the landing of the soldiers and marines, the Governor of Negapatam was forced to surrender, though his garrison was more numerous than the besieging force. A large quantity of warlike stores, together with a double investment of goods, no ships having arrived from Holland for the investment of the preceding year, was found in the place. Nor was this all ; a detachment was embarked and sent against the Dutch settlement of Trincomalee in Ceylon, which was added to the English conquests, so that the Dutch were expelled from every one of their stations in the Indian Seas.

Munro recovers his character. Nov. 12. **Jan. 11.** **A.D. 1782.** The fall of Negapatam, in spite of his opposition, and contrary to his predictions, did not tend to soothe the irritated feelings of Sir Eyre Coote. Lord Macartney had great difficulty in preserving even the appearance of harmony, while he conducted a difficult negociation with the Nabob, which ended in the surrender to the English of the financial administration of the Carnatic, on condition of paying the Nabob one-sixth of the revenue. Intelligence of the fall of Chittore, and of the danger to which Vellore was exposed, produced a more beneficial effect on the general than entreaties and remonstrances ; he immediately took the field, though he was so ill as to be able to travel only in a

Negociations with the Nabob. The fall of Negapatam, in spite of his opposition, and contrary to his predictions, did not tend to soothe the irritated feelings of Sir Eyre Coote. Lord Macartney had great difficulty in preserving even the appearance of harmony, while he conducted a difficult negociation with the Nabob, which ended in the surrender to the English of the financial administration of the Carnatic, on condition of paying the Nabob one-sixth of the revenue. Intelligence of the fall of Chittore, and of the danger to which Vellore was exposed, produced a more beneficial effect on the general than entreaties and remonstrances ; he immediately took the field, though he was so ill as to be able to travel only in a

palanquin, and he did not turn back though he was attacked by an apoplectic fit on the road. In spite of Hyder's opposition, which was, however, confined to a distant cannonade, supplies for three months were conveyed to Vellore, and the general then led back his army in safety to the Mount.

After the capture of Mahe, the Madras detachment remained at Tellicherry, besieged by the Nairs, until it was relieved by Major Abingdon with a force from Bombay. The fortress was again invested by one of Hyder's generals, and the Major applied to the presidency of Bombay for reinforcements. In reply, he received orders to evacuate the place ; but he concealed the letter from his soldiers, and sent such strong representations to his superiors that they supplied him with a considerable force. Thus strengthened, Abingdon resolved to confine himself no longer to defensive measures ; he sallied forth on the night of the 7th of January, 1782, suddenly attacked the enemy's camp, threw the besiegers into such confusion, that they dispersed without making any resistance, wounded their leader and made him prisoner. Having demolished the enemy's works, and improved the fortifications of Tellicherry, Abingdon marched against Calicut, which surrendered after a short siege, and was occupied by an English garrison.

In the mean time, a secret expedition was prepared in England, which occupied much of the public attention. It was generally believed that the armament was designed to act against some part of Spanish America, but its real destination was the Cape of Good Hope, and subsequently the Indian Seas. M. de Suffrein, who commanded a French squadron, which had been prepared to support the cause of France in the East, discovered the secret of the English designs. He followed in close pursuit, and found the English squadron anchored in Praya Bay, in the Cape de Verd Islands, utterly unsuspecting of the approach of an enemy. Though thus attacked at a disadvantage, the English beat off their foes, but so much time was wasted in refitting, that Suffrein reached the Cape long before them, and so strengthened its fortifications as to render an attack hopeless. Commodore Johnstone, however, made prize of the greater part of a fleet of Dutch East Indiamen, which were at anchor in Saldanha Bay ; he then returned to Europe with his prizes and most of his squadron, leaving the rest to proceed with troops to India. Why he should thus have abandoned the Indian Seas, when he knew that Suffrein had sailed thither, we are unable to explain ; but at this unhappy period of the American war, the English

CHAPTER
X.
A.D. 1782.

The
Bombay
troops aid.

They take
several
forts on the
Malabar coast.

An expedi-
tion from
England.

Fails to
attack the
Cape.

Takes some
Dutch
ships.

Returns to
Europe.

CHAPTER
X.
A.D. 1782.

arms were destined to suffer disgrace in every quarter of the globe, from the obstinacy and incapacity of those entrusted with the direction of affairs. While the principal ships of war, having on board General Meadows and Colonel Fullarton, with the chief part of the army, went in search of Admiral Hughes, on the Coast of Coromandel, the remainder sailed for Bombay with a detachment entrusted to Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie. After his arrival, Humberstone hearing of the dangers to which Madras was exposed, resolved to make a diversion on the coast of Malabar, and for this purpose joined Abingdon at Calicut, whence he made incursions into Hyder's dominions, and gained several advantages.

Admiral Hughes's conflict with the French squadron.

In the mean time, Suffrein having obtained reinforcements at the Isle of France, sailed for the coast of Coromandel, and narrowly missed intercepting the English squadron, before it could effect a junction with Admiral Hughes. Twenty-four hours after this junction was effected, Suffrein appeared in Madras roads, and Hughes immediately prepared for action. The engagement was indecisive ; after a distant cannonade, Suffrein proceeded to Porto Novo, where he landed an army of three thousand men, including a regiment of Caffres, under the command of M. Bussy. Hughes sailed for Trincomalee, to refit his ships.

Hyder's son, Tippoo, hastened to join his French auxiliaries. He had just inflicted upon the English one of the heaviest losses which they had endured in the entire course of the war, by the destruction of Colonel Braithwaite's detachment in Tanjore. Braithwaite, whose force consisted of one hundred Europeans, one thousand five hundred sepoys and three hundred cavalry, had encamped on an open plain, near the banks of the river Coleroon, believing that he was exposed to no danger from a distant enemy. In this position he was surrounded and attacked by Tippoo, at the head of ten thousand cavalry, an equal number of infantry, four hundred European troops, and twenty pieces of cannon. During twenty-six hours of incessant conflict, Braithwaite's gallant little troop repulsed the hordes brought against them by Tippoo ; at length, Lally with his Europeans advanced against them, the courage of the sepoys failed, and they fell into confusion. Lally had the utmost difficulty in obtaining quarter for these brave men ; but it must be added, that Tippoo subsequently treated his prisoners with great humanity.

18th Feb.

He is a prisoner.

The French aid Tippoo.

The arrival of such large reinforcements from France, gave alarming strength to Tippoo ; he laid siege to Cuddalore, which surrendered on the 3rd of April, and became a convenient

station, both naval and military, for the French. This loss might have been prevented by the English admiral, Sir Edward Hughes ; but the king's officers, both on sea and land, disdained to receive orders from the Company's servants ; and we shall subsequently see, that several opportunities of performing essential service, which the sagacity of Lord Macartney pointed out, were wantonly thrown away by the naval and military commanders.

CHAPTER

X.

A.D. 1782.
Admiral
Hughes's
conduct.

Sir Eyre Coote took the field on the 17th of April, having delayed the army in cantonments, partly for want of proper supplies, but principally in consequence of his disputes with the civil authorities. His object was to protect Permacoil, but on arriving at Carangoly, he found that the place had already surrendered. He then made an attempt to surprise Arnee, where Hyder's treasures were deposited ; but Hyder engaged the attention of the English with a distant cannonade, while Tippoo with a strong detachment removed the treasure, after which he retired, affording the English no opportunity of coming to a decisive engagement. On his return to Madras, after this indecisive campaign, Coote had the misfortune to lose a regiment of European cavalry, which was drawn into an ambuscade and cut to pieces.

Hyder contrived to amuse Sir Eyre Coote with pretended negotiations, while he prepared to combine with the French fleet, in recovering Negapatam. Fortunately, Sir Edward Hughes met Suffrein as he was steering towards the place, and brought him to action. The engagement was close, warm and general ; the French were beginning to fall into disorder, when a sudden change of wind enabled Suffrein to withdraw his shattered ships, with which he sailed to Cuddalore. Here he made the most vigorous and successful efforts to repair his vessels, and in a short time was again at sea in as good a condition as ever. Intelligence of this event was conveyed to Madras ; Lord Macartney sent the most pressing instances to Sir Edward Hughes, to put to sea and protect Negapatam and Trincomalee, which were both menaced, but the jealousy of the admiral rendered him obstinate ; he refused to put to sea until it pleased himself, and he delayed until the 20th of August, nearly three weeks after the departure of Suffrein from Cuddalore. The consequences of this lamentable folly may easily be anticipated ; when Hughes arrived off Trincomalee, he found that the fortress had surrendered to the French three days before. Hughes, burning to revenge this loss, engaged the French fleet on the 3rd of September, and notwithstanding the inferiority of his force, gained a victory, of which

Naval
action.

3rd July.

Hughes
loses much
time.Another
naval
action.

3rd Sept.

CHAPTER X. he did not know how to take advantage. One French ship was disabled, and two others so severely injured, that it was ten days before they could be got into harbour. Suffrein justly described these vessels as presents received from the English admiral, who made no attempt to take advantage of their defenceless condition, but returned to Madras.

A.D. 1782.

The dissensions between the English authorities were soon renewed ; Sir Edward Hughes announced his intention of abandoning the coast of Coromandel, and seeking shelter in Bombay during the season of the monsoon. He persevered in this design though information was received that Negapatam was already attacked, and that Sir Richard Bickerton was on his way to join him with five sail of the line. Bickerton arrived in Madras roads on the fourth day after the departure of Hughes, but, on learning the proceedings of the admiral, he followed him to Bombay. At the same time Sir Eyre Coote, whose health had been long declining, surrendered the command of the army to General Stuart, who inherited all the obstinacy, but few of the better qualities of his predecessor.

Coote resigns.

Famine at
Madras.
15th Oct.

No military operations of any consequence were undertaken during the winter months, but Madras suffered all the horrors of a dreadful famine. A fearful hurricane, which came on soon after the departure of the fleet, wrecked the store-vessels, which were laden with rice, no supply could be obtained from Bengal, and war had exhausted all the resources of the Carnatic. The multitude of the dead and dying superadded the horrors of pestilence ; fifteen hundred bodies were burned weekly in large trenches outside the town ; and not less than half a million of persons perished in the Carnatic.

Bombay.

Colonel
Hartley in
the Concan.Dec., 1780.
Defeats the
Mahrattas.

We must now turn our attention to the war waged against the Mahrattas by the presidencies of Bombay and Bengal. General Goddard, having received information that Holkar and Scindiah would be attacked from the upper provinces of Bengal, and thus prevented from interfering with his operations, resolved to lay siege to Bassein, while, at the same time, Colonel Hartley was sent into the Concan to secure the revenues of that country for the Bombay authorities, and also to cover the besieging army. Hartley expelled the Mahrattas from the Concan, and took up a position near the Bhore Ghaut, whence he retreated to Doogaur on the approach of an enormous hostile force. Here he was attacked on the 10th and 11th of December, 1780, by twenty thousand Mahrattas, whom he completely defeated, with the loss of their general. Bassein surrendered at discretion to General

Goddard, who then made an advance upon Poona, but soon returned, and suffered severely from the pursuit of the Mahrattas as he descended the Bhore Ghaut. On the Bengal side, Colonel Camac, who had superseded Captain Popham, was on the very brink of ruin, when he adopted the bold resolution of surprising Scindiah's camp by night. The enterprise was completely successful: the enemy dispersed and fled in disorder, leaving several guns and elephants, with a quantity of ammunition, in prize to the victors. Colonel Muir soon afterwards joined Camac, and, as senior officer, assumed the command. He opened negotiations with Scindiah, whose resources were now exhausted. A treaty was subsequently concluded with the Mahrattas at Salbye, on the 17th of May, 1782.

CHAPTER X.

A.D. 1782.

Camac's

exploit,

24th March

A.D. 1781.

Colonel Humberstone, who commanded at Calicut, having received reinforcements, took the field early in September, and captured several forts, though he was obliged to leave his heavy artillery behind, for want of draught cattle. The capture of Palgautcherry was necessary to the complete success of his operations; but finding that it would be impossible to take the place without artillery, Colonel Macleod, who had been sent by Sir Eyre Coote to take the command, resolved to occupy a camp at several miles distance, until his battering cannon should arrive. The officer entrusted with the conduct of the retreat gave wrong orders, so that the baggage and stores were thrown into the rear, an error which did not escape the notice of the watchful enemies. When the army had passed a narrow defile, with the exception of the rear-guard and baggage, the enemies suddenly made an attack, by which they obtained possession of all the provisions, and nearly all the ammunition. It now only remained for the English to make their retreat to the sea-coast with the utmost expedition, and on their road, they received information that Tippoo was hastening after them with twenty thousand men, which Hyder had detached from the army of the Carnatic. Tippoo soon appeared; the English continued their retreat, fighting at every step, and at length succeeded in occupying Paniani. Here they were assailed with desperate fury, and had great difficulty in repelling the attack. They were preparing to meet a second assault, with some misgivings as to the result, when, to their utter astonishment, they saw Tippoo's army in full retreat, and in a few hours not one man of the Mysore forces could be seen.

This unexpected movement was caused by the death of Hyder, Death of intelligence of which had been secretly communicated to Tippoo.

Tippoo pursues them.

CHAPTER X. Though great pains were taken to conceal the event, the news was conveyed to Lord Macartney, who urged General Stuart to

A.D. 1782. take advantage of the crisis, and attack the Mysorean army. Stuart peremptorily refused obedience, first pretending to disbelieve the intelligence, and then asserting that the army was deficient in equipments for marching at that season of the year.

Stuart delays. Hyder died on the 7th of December, 1782, General Stuart did not commence active operations until the 5th of the following February, when the opportunity of striking a decisive blow was irrecoverably lost. Stuart withdrew the garrisons from Wandewash and Carangoly, which it was held impossible to maintain, and blew up the fortifications of both. He then marched towards Vellore, where he received information that Tippoo was retreating from the Carnatic, and had given orders for the evacuation of Arcot.

A.D. 1783. Tippoo was recalled to the western side of India, not only by the necessity of establishing his authority in his hereditary dominions, but also for the purpose of repelling a very formidable invasion. After his departure from Panian, the English army divided, the sepoys proceeding by land to Tellicherry, and the Europeans by sea to Merjeo. Here they were joined by General Matthews, from Bombay, with a considerable army, which he increased by collecting all the troops along the coast. Thus strengthened, he forced the passes of the Ghauts, took possession of Bednore, carried Ananpore by storm, and compelled Mangalore to capitulate. It was proposed that the treasure found in these places should be applied to pay the large arrears due to the army ; but Matthews refused to listen to any such proposition.

Suspicions of his rapacity were spread, but he severely punished all refractory proceedings. Three of the principal officers, Colonel Macleod, Colonel Humberstone, and Major Shaw quitted the army to lay their complaints before the governor and council of Bombay. So flagrant did the conduct of the general appear to these authorities, that they ordered him to be superseded, transferring the command of the army to Colonel Macleod, who was next in rank. Unfortunately, Macleod, on his return to the army by sea, fell in with a Mahratta squadron, ignorant of the recent peace ; Shaw was killed, the gallant Humberstone was mortally wounded, and Macleod, who was also wounded, remained a prisoner.

7th April. While the army of Matthews was dispersed in detachments, Tippoo suddenly concentrated his forces and invested Bednore, which was unprepared for resistance. The English made a brave

Three Bombay officers taken.

30th April. While the army of Matthews was dispersed in detachments, Tippoo suddenly concentrated his forces and invested Bednore, which was unprepared for resistance. The English made a brave

defence, but were finally forced to capitulate. In this extremity, CHAPTER X. Matthews distributed the public treasure among his soldiers, and Tippoo availed himself of this breach of faith to violate the terms of the capitulation. Matthews, after having suffered the most cruel tortures, was assassinated in prison ; his unfortunate companions were subjected to the horrors of a most rigorous captivity. Tippoo, immediately after this success, proceeded to invest Mangalore, a seaport town, to the possession of which both he and his father attributed inordinate importance.

While the army of Madras remained inactive, Suffrein, whom Stuart's the English admiral had not yet returned to oppose, landed delays. Bussy with a reinforcement of French troops at Cuddalore. Urgent requests were made to General Stuart by Lord Macartney, to prevent the French from establishing themselves in this important post, but neither reproaches nor remonstrances could induce him to move for several weeks, and then he marched at less than the rate of three miles per day. In the mean time, the fleet, greatly augmented, returned to Madras, whence it was sent to aid in the operations designed for the recovery of Cuddalore.

When General Stuart arrived before Cuddalore, he found that the French had already thrown up several fortifications. He hazarded an attack upon their lines, which was partially successful, but the English suffered so severely, that they made no attempt to improve their victory. The hostile fleets arrived nearly at the same time off Cuddalore ; an engagement ensued with the usual result. Suffrein was defeated, but remained near the scene of action to repair his losses, while the victorious English admiral returned to Madras, with as much precipitation as if he had been beaten. Suffrein landed as many men as could be spared from the fleet, and Bussy, thus reinforced, made an attack upon the English lines, which was repulsed with great difficulty. It deserves to be remarked that Charles John Bernadotte, the late king of Sweden, then only an humble sergeant in the French service, was wounded and taken prisoner in this engagement. Bussy was preparing for a renewed attack, which in all human probability would have been successful, had not intelligence arrived that peace had been concluded between France and England. A cessation of arms was instantly agreed upon ; and Bussy sent an invitation to Tippoo to join in the treaty, at the same time recalling the French battalions engaged in his service. The same messenger who brought intelligence of the peace to the camp, conveyed to General Stuart a peremptory summons to appear Attacks Cuddalore, but gains nothing. Naval action. 20th June Bussy attacks the English lines. Peace in Europe saves India.

CHAPTER X. before the Governor and Council of Madras. After some delay he obeyed ; a new series of disputes followed, and, at length, the Governor and Council resolved that Stuart should be dismissed the Company's service. He refused to obey, and was supported in his refusal by Sir John Burgoyne, the second in command. Lord Macartney adopted the decisive measure of arresting Stuart and bringing him a prisoner to the Fort, whence, in a few days, he sailed for England.

A.D. 1783.

Stuart arrested and sent to England.

Tippoo threatens Mangalore.

A.D. 1784.

Renews the war.

Macleod's convention.

Campbell capitulates, 23rd Jan.

Peace with Tippoo, 11th March

Amid all these errors and disgraces, the honour of the English army was nobly maintained by Colonel Fullarton, who had the command of the force in the southern provinces. In the midst of a career of conquest he was stopped by orders from General Stuart, requiring him to join the troops at Cuddalore, and when he resumed his march he received information that an armistice had been concluded. Learning, however, that Tippoo had renewed hostilities against Mangalore, he pushed forward to make a dash upon Seringapatam without waiting for further orders. He reduced the strong fortresses of Palgautcherry and Coimbatore, and had made every arrangement for moving on Seringapatam, when he received orders, on the 28th of November, to suspend all operations, and restore the places he had taken. Fullarton, aware of the treacherous character of Tippoo, retarded the execution of these commands, and had reason to be proud of his foresight when, on the 26th of the following January, he received directions to re-assemble his army and renew the war. Tippoo was resolved not to listen to any terms of peace until he had completed the reduction of Mangalore, which he had besieged at great loss for more than a year. General Macleod, who had been sent with a squadron to relieve the place, instead of landing, entered into a negociation with Tippoo, and agreed to return to Bombay, on condition of being allowed to throw a month's provision into the garrison. The supply was drawn from damaged stores purchased of a navy agent, and was so bad that not one in twenty of the pieces of beef and pork could be eaten even by dogs. At length the gallant Campbell, by whom and his garrison the place had been so nobly defended, proposed to capitulate. Tippoo granted them the most favourable terms, and they marched to Tellicherry with arms, accoutrements, and the honours of war.

In the negociations for peace with Tippoo, the English commissioners submitted to many humiliations, which showed that their spirit was broken by the numerous disasters of the war. A treaty was at length concluded, March 11th, 1784, on the basis

of a mutual restitution of conquests ; it was ratified by the supreme council at Calcutta, in the absence of Mr. Hastings, and an additional clause, which, contrary to every rule of equity, that gentleman, at a subsequent period, wished to introduce, was rejected by the honourable firmness of Lord Macartney.*

During the entire of this period there was an incessant struggle between the presidencies of Bengal and Madras. Hastings jealous of lost no opportunity of mortifying Lord Macartney, whom he viewed with jealousy on account of his rank as a peer, and still more for being the first person chosen from the king's service to fill one of those high offices which had been previously restricted to the Company's servants. After Sir Eyre Coote had returned to Bengal, Hastings sent him back with powers to resume the military command, exempt from dependence on the Madras government. It is probable that Lord Macartney would have resisted such a subversion of his authority, and thus the presidency might have been involved in a civil war ; but the danger was averted by the death of Coote, who expired from fatigue three days after his landing in Madras, April 26th, 1784.

* Lord Macartney resigned the governorship of Madras in May, 1785, and proceeded to Bengal, where he declined becoming Governor-General. He reached England 9th January, 1786, when he was thanked by the court of directors, and honoured with a pension. General Stuart demanded satisfaction, and a duel was fought on the 8th of June. Lord Macartney was wounded. The court of directors passed an unanimous resolution, reprobating the practice of duelling, and ordering the dismissal of any of their servants who should make a personal demand for satisfaction, on account of matters arising out of the discharge of official duties. He was afterwards raised to the rank of Viscount, and sent as ambassador to the Court of Pekin, where he met with but little success. Subsequently he was created an Earl, and went to govern the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope—whence ill health compelled him to return to England in Nov. 1798. He died on the 31st of March, 1806.

CHAPTER XI.

WARREN HASTINGS GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA, A.D. 1781—1785.

The Supreme Court at Calcutta shows its powers.—Hastings establishes the Sudder Deccanee Adawlut.—Hastings acts Despotically.—Proceeds on a Tour.—Treats the Rajah of Benares as a Zemindar.—Is in great Danger.—Oppresses the Native Princes. Plunders the Begums.—Writes to justify his Conduct.—Resigns and returns to England.

**CHAPTER
XI.**

A.D. 1781.
Bengal.
Contest
between
the council
and the
Judges at
Calcutta.

The Zemindars in
difficulties.

DURING the Mysorean and Mahratta wars the Governor-General and council were involved in other affairs of no ordinary importance. A contest arose between the council and the supreme court of judicature, which virtually involved the Company's right to sovereignty over the provinces which it had acquired, though it apparently was a mere struggle between the judicial and executive authorities. The supreme court, created by Act of Parliament in 1773, consisted of one chief and three puisne judges. Its civil jurisdiction extended to all claims against the Company and against British subjects, and to all such claims of British subjects against the natives, as the party in the contract under dispute had agreed, in case of dispute, to submit to its decision. In criminal cases its powers extended to all British subjects, and to all persons directly or indirectly in the service of the Company, or of any British subject at the time of the offence. Parliament, however, did not define what it was that constituted a British subject, and the judges adopted a wide interpretation of the phrase, which not only included all the subjects of the Company, but even the subjects of the native powers over whom the Company exercised an immediate control. The judges had not been long in the exercise of their functions, when the effects of their pretensions began to appear. Writs were issued at the suit of individuals against the Zemindars, in ordinary actions of debt; the Zemindars were ordered to Calcutta, to enter an appearance; if they neglected the writ, they were taken into custody; or if, on their arrival in Calcutta, they were unable to find bail, which, if they were strangers, and the sum more than

trifling, it was nearly impossible that they should do, they were consigned to prison for all the time which the delays of English judicature might interpose between this calamitous stage and the final termination of the suit.

It had been the immemorial practice in India, for that branch of the administration connected with the collection of the revenue to exercise a power of summary jurisdiction in all disputed matters connected with taxation. This power was vested in the provincial councils and the courts, called Dewanee Adawlut, established under their authority. The supreme court soon began to interfere with the Dewanee Adawlut; when any coercive process was issued by the latter, the defaulters were taught to sue out a writ of habeas corpus in the supreme court, where it was held competent, and was in practice customary, for the judges to set them at liberty upon bail. As the inhabitants of India are even more reluctant to pay taxes than those of England, the members of the government justly dreaded that it would become impossible to realise any revenue in India, if the payment could only be enforced by the tedious and expensive forms of English law. The Company had reserved to the Nabob of Bengal, Mobarek-ud-Dowlat, the Nizamut or administration of justice in civil cases; to this government of the Nabob the judges of the supreme, or, as they loved to call it, the King's Court, declared that they would pay no regard. "The act of parliament," said Mr. Justice Hyde, "does not consider Mobarek-ud-Dowlat as a sovereign prince; the jurisdiction of this court extends over all his dominions." Mr. Justice Le Maistre went farther: "With regard to this phantom," he said, "this man of straw, Mobarek-ud-Dowlat, it is an insult to the understanding of the court to have made the question of his sovereignty; but it comes from the Governor-General and council. I have too much respect for that body to treat it ludicrously, and I confess I cannot consider it seriously." The Chief Justice added, that "the Nabob was a mere empty name, without any real right, or the exercise of any power whatever." That the recognition of such pretensions would have transferred the entire of the government to the hands of the judges of the supreme court, is too obvious to require any illustration.

Mr. Hastings, in order to remedy this condition of affairs, instituted a new court of appeal from the provincial courts, which he named the Sudder Dewanee Adawlut, at the head of which he placed the king's chief justice, Sir Elijah Impey, with a salary

CHAPTER
XI.
A.D. 1781.

The judges
claim
jurisdiction.

Hastings
establishes
a new
court.

CHAPTER
XI.

A.D. 1781.
Sir Elijah
Impey
recalled.

of about 7000*l.* annually. As both the place and the pay were held during the pleasure of the governor and council, it appears to have been presumed that Impey would no longer set the jurisdiction of the king's courts in opposition to the Dewanee Adaw-luts, and that he would become an instrument of conciliation between the council and the court." The English House of Commons strenuously condemned these proceedings, and finally, Sir Elijah Impey was recalled to answer criminal charges founded on his conduct. Some important changes were at the same time made in financial affairs ; a board of revenue was formed at the presidency, to superintend the collection of taxes, and to lease the revenues of the Zemindars, without the aid of any intermediate agency.

A.D. 1782.
Hastings
makes a
tour.

Having completed these arrangements, Mr. Hastings set out on his celebrated tour to the Upper Provinces ; the government was distressed for money, and he resolved to obtain it from the Rajah of Benares and the Nabob of Oude. Cheyte Sing, Rajah of Benares, had been received into the protection of the Company on condition of paying a certain amount of tribute ; a large subsidy was now demanded in addition ; the Rajah paid it for one year, with a stipulation that it should not be again required. It was demanded the following year ; he remonstrated ; an army was sent to enforce compliance, and he was compelled to pay, not only the original demand, but 2000*l.* as a fine for delay, under the title of expenses for the troops employed to coerce him. In the third year the same remonstrances were repeated ; the Rajah's agent paid the Governor-general two lacs of rupees as a present, but the contribution was nevertheless enforced, and a new fine of 10,000*l.* imposed. Mr. Hastings resolved to treat the Rajah as a refractory Zemindar ; he proceeded to Benares, refused to admit Cheyte Sing into his presence, and finally gave orders that he should be arrested as a delinquent. The people of Benares rose in defence of their ruler, forced a way into the palace, and destroyed the greater part of the sepoys and officers who had him in charge. During the confusion, Cheyte Sing escaped by a wicket which opened upon the river, and with some difficulty made his way to the opposite side. An attempt to recover the palace was defeated with great loss. Mr. Hastings, destitute of men and money, was exposed to great personal danger, but he effected his escape from Benares to Chunar. The war that ensued was of brief duration ; the forces which Cheyte Sing collected, when all his offers of submission were rejected, made but a feeble

The people
of Benares
revolt
against
him.

The rajah
escapes.

Hastings
in great
danger.

resistance ; after a severe defeat, they disbanded themselves, and the Rajah fled to Bundelcund, leaving his wife and treasure in the fort of Bijygur. This place was soon captured, but the treasures were divided among the soldiers, who refused to yield any part of it up to the government, even as a loan. Cheyte Sing's deposition was formally announced, a grandson of the late Rajah Bulwant Sing, by a daughter, was selected as the new Rajah ; the amount of tribute was raised to forty lacs of rupees, and the administration of justice in Benares was subjected to the control of the Company's officers.

CHAPTER
XI.
A.D. 1782.

The attention of the Governor-general was next directed to the Hastings case of the Vizir-nabob of Oude, whose stipulated payments to goes to the Company had fallen greatly into arrear, in consequence of the heavy expenses he incurred in supporting the English brigades which he had been compelled to maintain. "It is notorious," says Mr. Francis, "that the English army had devoured his revenues and his country, under the pretence of defending it." The debt with which the Nabob stood charged, amounted to 1,400,000/. Previous to adopting the measures on which he had resolved in order to obtain payment, Mr. Hastings superseded Bristow, the resident at Lucknow, and appointed his creature, Middleton, to the vacancy, in defiance of the express orders of the court of directors. There were two princesses, known by the name of Begums, the mother of the late Nabob, and his widow, who was also the mother of the present Nabob ; they had been left in possession of large jaghires, to provide, not only for their own support, but for the maintenance of the numerous families of preceding nabobs, and Suraj-ud-Dowlat had bequeathed them at his death the greater part of the treasure which happened to be in his hands. The riches of the Begums appeared to Mr. Hastings an admirable resource ; he agreed to relieve the Nabob of the expense of maintaining the English troops and gentlemen which he was unable to bear, provided that he would strip the princesses of their treasures and jaghires, delivering the proceeds to the Governor-general. The reasons which Mr. Hastings adduced for this extraordinary proceeding were, that the Begums had endeavoured to excite insurrections in Oude in favour of Cheyte Sing, and that they had employed their power and influence to embarrass and disturb the Nabob's administration.

The resumption of the jaghires was effected with little difficulty ; after which the Nabob, accompanied by Middleton, the English

The Begums plundered.

The pre-
tence is a
bad one.

CHAPTER
XI.

A.D. 1782.
The treat-
ment of the
Begums
was infa-
mous in the
East.

A.D. 1782,
12th Jan.
They are
imprisoned
till they
give their
money.

A.D. 1784.
Hastings
receives a
large
douceur.

A.D. 1785.
Hastings
resigns,
8th Feb.

Hastings'
govern-
ment popu-
lar.

resident, with a body of English troops, proceeded towards the abode of the princesses at Fyzabad. After a short time had been spent in demands and negotiations, the English were ordered to storm the town and castle; but as no opposition was made, little blood was shed; the troops took possession of all the outer enclosure of the palace of one of the princesses, and blocked up the other.

It was deemed imprudent to shock oriental prejudices by violating the sanctity of the female apartments; Middleton, however, seized upon the principal agents and favourites of the Begums, placed them in irons, and ordered that they should be kept without food until the princesses had surrendered their treasures. By these means more than half a million of money was extorted from the Begums by the resident, for the use of the Company. More, however, was required; the prisoners were detained several months in close confinement; and, at least, menaced with torture, if corporeal punishment was not actually inflicted. At length, when it was evident that no more money could be had, the prisoners were set at liberty; and the joy which they naturally evinced at their deliverance, was actually quoted as a proof of their having had no reason to complain of the treatment which they had received.

One more circumstance connected with these transactions remains to be mentioned; Mr. Hastings accepted a present of one hundred thousand pounds from the Nabob, of which he informed the directors, and in very plain terms requested their permission, as a reward for his services, to make the money his own. But his proceedings began now to excite much dissatisfaction in England; several of his measures were reprobated by the court of directors; and, at length, on the 8th of February, 1785, he resigned his office, and embarked for England. Few rulers of any country have had to encounter more difficulties, and meet so many extraordinary temptations as Mr. Hastings during his administration in Bengal. His government was, on the whole, popular both with the English residents and natives; nor must it be forgotten, whatever may have been his defects, that he was the first, or among the first servants of the Company, who attempted to acquire the language of the natives, and who set on foot those liberal enquiries into the literature and institutions of the Hindus, which have led to the satisfactory knowledge of the present day.

Mr. Hastings, after his arrival in England, received the thanks CHAPTER
XI.
A.D. 1785. of the court of directors. They granted him an annuity of £4,000*L.* per annum, after the termination of his celebrated impeachment. He was born on the 5th of December, 1732, at Daylesford, where he died on the 22nd of August, 1818.

His impeachment produced a great benefit to India, as it obliged the Europeans to observe stricter rules of conduct than they had in general previously maintained. Hastings was a good servant to the Honourable Company, for when asked for money he obtained it, *per fas aut nefas*. His character is thus drawn by Macaulay :—“Hastings had passed many years in retirement, when, in 1813 the charter was renewed ; and much discussion took place in parliament, and witnesses were examined. Hastings was ordered to attend at the bar where he had twenty-seven years previously read his answer to the charges which Burke had laid on the table. Public feeling had undergone a change ; his faults were forgotten, and his services remembered. The Commons received him with acclamations, ordered a chair to be set for him, and, when he retired, rose and uncovered ; but there were a few of those who had managed the impeachment, and who did not sympathize. The Lords also received the old man with respect. The University of Oxford conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws, and, in the Sheldonian Theatre, the undergraduates cheered him. Hastings was sworn of the Privy Council, and was admitted to a long private audience of the Prince Regent, who afterwards presented him to the Emperor Alexander, and to King Frederic William, and declared that honours far higher were due to the man who had saved the British dominions in Asia. Hastings confidently expected a peerage ; but was disappointed. Those who look on his character without favour or malevolence, will pronounce that, in the two great elements of all social virtue, in respect for the rights of others, and in sympathy for the sufferings of others, he was deficient. His principles were somewhat lax. His heart was somewhat hard. But though we cannot with truth describe him either as a righteous or as a merciful ruler, we cannot regard without admiration the amplitude and fertility of his intellect, his rare talents for command, for administration, and for controversy, his dauntless courage, his honourable poverty, his fervent zeal for the interests of the state, his noble equanimity, tried by both extremes of fortune and never disturbed by either.”

CHAPTER XII.

GOVERNMENT OF MR. MACPHERSON AND LORD CORNWALLIS,
A.D. 1785—1792.

New Charter.—Inspection of the Despatches.—Board of Control established.—Mr. Macpherson's Government.—Lord Cornwallis appointed Governor-General.—Impeachment of Warren Hastings.—His long Trial and Acquittal.—War commenced by Tippoo.—Attack on Tellicherry.—Tippoo ravages Travancore.—Lord Cornwallis takes the Collection of the Arcot Revenue.—He assumes the Command of the Madras Army.—Storms Bangalore.—Savendroog taken.—Siege of Seringapatam.—Furious Battle.—Tippoo submits.—He gives his Sons as Hostages.—All the French Settlements taken.—Lord Cornwallis the full Governor-General.—He holds the Military and Civil Power.

CHAPTER XII.
 A.D. 1780.
 New charter.

The minister claims the sovereignty of India.

As the exclusive privileges of the East India Company were to expire on three years' notice after the 25th of March, 1780, great anxiety was created in the beginning of that year respecting the terms on which the charter should be renewed. The contests between the supreme council and the supreme court in Calcutta—the loud complaints which Mr. Francis made of the conduct of Mr. Hastings, and the intelligence of the dangers to which the Carnatic had been exposed by the irruption of Hyder Ali, created a great excitement throughout the nation, and led many to fear that the English interests in Asia were brought to the verge of ruin by the misconduct of the persons entrusted with their management. Lord North, who was then prime minister, deemed it a fixed principle of constitutional law that the crown had an absolute and indefeasible right to all territories acquired by subjects, while the Company boldly asserted that the Indian provinces they had gained belonged of right to themselves. With this abstract question another of more practical importance was joined, namely, what proportion of the proceeds from their Indian territories the Company should be compelled to pay over to the nation.

Lord North's administration was, at this period, tottering to its fall; the American war, unwisely provoked and miserably conducted, had ended in the establishment of the independence of the United States, and the consequent loss to the nation of

the most valuable colonies which had ever belonged to any empire. Ireland had taken advantage of the minister's weakness to demand freedom of trade and legislative independence ; a growing party in England began to agitate for parliamentary reform, and many who had been zealous supporters of the minister in the House of Commons went over to the ranks of opposition. These circumstances induced the Company to resist the minister's proposals for a new arrangement, and an extension of the charter was finally obtained, with only one additional condition, the recognition of the minister's right to inspect all despatches relating to financial, civil, and military affairs, received by the directors from their servants in India. Select committees of the Committees House of Commons were appointed to investigate various matters connected with the state of Indian affairs, and the valuable reports which they published put the legislature and the country in possession of a vast fund of information, illustrating the true condition of the British empire in the East.

Lord North was driven from office in 1782 ; his successor was the Marquis of Rockingham, who was the leader of a party notoriously hostile to those who at this period managed the affairs of India. A bill of pains and penalties against Sir Thomas New plans Rumbold was introduced ; but it was conducted very slowly proposed. through the several stages of legislation, and was finally abandoned. On the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, the Earl of Shelburne, afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne, became premier. This gave great offence to Mr. Fox, who not only seceded from the cabinet, but formed a coalition with his old political opponent, Lord North. To their united parliamentary strength, the Shelburne cabinet was forced to yield, and the coalition ministry was formed, to the great vexation of the king, and the secret discontent of the nation. In due time Mr. Fox introduced his plan Fox's for the better government of India. He proposed to entrust the scheme. power and patronage, possessed by the court of directors and proprietors, to seven commissioners chosen by the legislature ; and, at the same time, regulations were proposed for preventing the evils which had arisen in the local government of India. This plan was the signal for the fiercest strife of parties ever witnessed in England ; it was said that the minister aimed at engrossing all the power and patronage of India, through the means of commissioners, who would only be his nominees, and that he thus designed to make himself independent both of the king and the people. The ministerial measure, notwithstanding this clamour, passed the Lower House by large majorities ; but,

CHAPTER
XII.

A.D. 1780-84

The
East India
Company
resist.

Committees
appointed.

CHAPTER
XII.A.D. 1784.
The king
adverse.The board
of control
created,
13th Aug.

when it reached the Lords, the king empowered Earl Temple to declare that he would consider every one who supported the measure as personally his enemy ; the bill was, consequently, lost on the second reading by a majority of eighty-seven against seventy-nine. The coalition-ministry was soon after dismissed, and a new ministry formed under the auspices of William Pitt.

Parliament having been dissolved, the result of the consequent election gave Mr. Pitt's cabinet a decisive majority, and enabled him to carry, triumphantly, his bills for the government of India. The most important innovation he introduced, was the creation of

a board of control, composed of six members of the privy council, chosen by the king, with power "to check, superintend, and control all acts, operations, and concerns, which in anywise relate to the civil or military government, or revenues of the territories and possessions of the said united Company in the East Indies." This vague and indefinite phraseology left the relations between the board of control and the court of directors in a very unsettled state, and soon led to angry collision between these bodies. The power of the court of directors was increased, and that of the court of proprietors greatly decreased ; the directors were at the same time empowered to elect a committee of secrecy, which could transact business with the board of control, without making any inconvenient communications in open court. It was enacted that all servants of the Company should give an exact inventory of the amount of property which they brought from India ; and a new tribunal was constituted "for the prosecuting and bringing to speedy and condign punishment, British subjects guilty of extortion and other misdemeanours while holding offices in the service of the king or Company of India." As this tribunal has never since been called upon to act, it is not necessary to enquire into its constitution or efficacy.

Macpherson
succeeds
Hastings.
Feb. 5,
1785.

Mr. Macpherson, the senior member of council, assumed the government of India immediately after the departure of Mr. Hastings ; he made no change in the policy of his predecessor, to whom he imputed the blame of the large and dangerous accession made to the Mahratta power when Scindiah took possession of Delhi, and of the person of the unfortunate emperor. This, however, attracted less attention than the affairs of the Carnatic ; the Board of Control decided that all the debts which the Nabob of the Carnatic had contracted, or was said to have contracted with private individuals, should be recognized as legitimate claims, without any investigation or enquiry, and that means should be taken for their payment with interest. There was little doubt

that many of these debts were collusive and forged, for when similar claims were investigated in 1805, out of claims amounting to twenty millions, little more than one million of the sum was found by the commissioners to be true and lawful debt ; but the persons who now urged their claims, had acquired considerable parliamentary interest, by purchasing the representation of corrupt boroughs ; and they formed a phalanx of supporters with whose services the ministers were unwilling to dispense. Through their influence, also, it was directed that the Nabob should resume the management and collection of his revenues, which he had been induced to resign to the presidency of Madras. *

Lord Macartney strenuously resisted these proposed changes, and went to Calcutta to impress their pernicious tendency upon the minds of the supreme council. While thus engaged, he received information of his appointment to the office of Governor-general ; but, previous to his acceptance of it, he resolved to return to England for the purpose of consulting with the ministers and the Court of Directors. On coming home, he found that he was likely to encounter a very bitter opposition from the friends of Hastings and Macpherson ; he therefore asked to be raised to the British peerage, in order that his opponents might be daunted by such a signal mark of ministerial favour. No answer was vouchsafed to this request, and, three days after it was made, Lord Cornwallis was appointed Governor-general of India. This was soon after followed by the impeachment of Mr. Warren Hastings by the House of Commons, at the bar of the House of Lords. The trial commenced on the 13th of February, 1788, and ended, on the 23rd of April, 1795, in the acquittal of the accused. The circumstances connected with it belong to the history of England rather than of India ; we need only say that Mr. Hastings was mainly indebted for his escape to the eloquence of his accusers ; they over-stated their case so monstrously that they excited public sympathy for the accused, and the applause bestowed on their flights of oratory, placed them before the public in the light of very graceful actors, not as persons engaged in a grave and serious transaction.

Lord Cornwallis assumed the administration of Indian affairs in the month of September, 1786 ; his first attention was directed to the affairs of Oude, in consequence of the complaints made by the Nabob-vizir, of the heavy expenses imposed upon him for

* The Prince of Wales' Island in the straits of Malacca, was taken possession of at this time.

WAR WITH TIPPOO SULTAN.

CHAPTER XII. the maintenance of the Company's brigades. The Governor-general, however, firmly refused to remove any portion of the troops, though he granted the Nabob some alleviation of his pecuniary burthens. The Guntur Circar was obtained from his highness the Nizam, on very favourable terms; but the close alliance which was formed in consequence between the Nizam and the Company, gave great offence to Tippoo Sultan, and he showed his resentment by espousing the cause of the Rajah of Cherika, who had quarrelled with the English respecting the payment of his debts, for which they held the customs of the port of Tellicherry as a security. Some negotiations ensued, which shewed distinctly the hostile designs of the sultan of Mysore, but all doubts were removed when Tippoo blockaded Tellicherry, and led an army to invade the dominions of the Rajah of Travancore, a faithful ally of the English. The territories of Travancore were defended by a line of works about thirty miles in length; they consisted of a ditch about sixteen feet broad and twenty deep, a strong bamboo hedge, a slight parapet, and a good rampart, with bastions on rising grounds, which almost flanked each other.

Invades Travancore 1789. On the 24th of December, 1789, Tippoo appeared before the lines of Travancore, and the 29th, he turned the right flank of the works and introduced a portion of his army within the town. **Attacks the town. 24th December.** Before, however, he could open the gates, his troops were thrown into confusion by an unexpected resistance, and driven, with great slaughter, across the ditch, Tippoo himself effecting his escape with considerable difficulty.

Tippoo disavows the act. 1790. After his defeat, Tippoo as sultan of Mysore disavowed the outrage, and described it as the unauthorized act of his troops; but Lord Cornwallis was not easily deceived, and he immediately entered into treaties with the Nizam and the Mahratta authorities, at Poonah, to restrain the ambition of Tippoo. In the meantime, the sultan again assailed the lines of Travancore, and forced an entrance on the 7th of May, 1790; he then razed the lines, and spread desolation over the surrounding country. On the other hand, General Meadows, with the Madras army, advanced to invade Coimbatore, and thence penetrate into the heart of the Mysore country, while General Abercrombie, with the army of Bombay, attacked Tippoo's territories on the Malabar Coast. The first operations of the English were very successful; a line of communication was established; an enemy's country was obtained for the supply of the troops; and nothing remained but to ascend the Gujelhutty Pass, and make Tippoo contend for his throne in the centre of his dominions. Before

the attempt could be made, Tippoo descended with his army by CHAPTER
XII.
this very pass, and nearly succeeded in surprising Colonel Floyd, A.D. 1791.
who commanded a large division of the English army. By a Tippoo
defends his
dominions.
very rapid and fatiguing march, Colonel Floyd effected a junction with the main army, while Tippoo made an unsuccessful attempt to surprise another English detachment commanded by Colonel Maxwell. But though disappointed in these enterprizes, the sultan captured several of the English depots, and obtained considerable booty, both in provisions and stores. The remainder of the campaign was spent in indecisive operations ; Meadows was unable to bring Tippoo to fight a pitched battle, and from deficient intelligence, was unable to take advantage of the sultan's desultory movements.

Lord Cornwallis had not been long in India, before he became convinced of the necessity of once more taking the collection and management of the revenues of the Carnatic out of the hands of the Nabob of Arcot. The court of directors sanctioned this course of policy, which Lord Macartney had been so severely condemned for pursuing ; but it was, at the same time, declared that the arrangement was only temporary, and that the Nabob should be restored to perfect independence at the conclusion of the war. Having completed these financial arrangements, Lord Cornwallis prepared to open the second campaign in person, and successfully masking his movements, arrived at the Pass of Mooglee, before it was in the power of the enemy to offer any obstruction to his march. On the evening of the 5th of March, 1791, the English arrived before Bangalore. The following morning Colonel Floyd, with a strong detachment, unexpectedly entering Tippoo's entire army, and rashly gave orders for an immediate attack. His hardihood would, in all probability, have been crowned with success, had he not been severely wounded by a musket ball, when the soldiers, being left without orders, fell into some confusion. Fortunately, Major Gowdie covered the retreat with a body of infantry and a few guns, which effectually checked the pursuit. On the night of the 21st of March, Lord Cornwallis hazarded the assault of Bangalore, though the breaches were yet incomplete, and the sultan with his whole army lay in sight of the town. The valour of the assailants bore down all opposition ; the enemies, attempting to escape, crowded and choked the gate. A deplorable carnage ensued, and the bodies of more than one thousand of the garrison were buried after the assault. The capture of Bangalore did not bring the English all the advantages they had expected ; provisions were

CHAPTER XII. scarce ; the draught cattle were reduced to skeletons, and scarcely able to move their own weight, and the auxiliary force sent by the Nizam was utterly worthless. Notwithstanding

A.D. 1791. these disadvantages, the Governor-general advanced to besiege Seringapatam, having previously sent orders to the Bombay army to invade Mysore on the Malabar side. But though a victory was gained over Tippoo, the want of necessary supplies,

The English obliged to retreat. and the increasing sickness in the English camp, compelled Lord Cornwallis to retreat, after having sacrificed his battering train and all his heavy stores. A few days after this loss had been incurred, his lordship was joined by the Mahrattas, with a supply of provisions and draught cattle, but the season was now too late for resuming military operations, and the army continued its retreat to Bangalore.

Hill forts captured. Immense preparations were made for the ensuing campaign, and before it opened, detachments from the English army captured several of the hill-forts which protected the passes into

Savendroog stormed. Mysore. The most important of these strong fortresses was Savendroog, a name which signifies "the rock of death"; it was built on a rock computed to rise above half a mile in perpendicular height, and was surrounded by a close forest, or jungle, several miles in depth, having its natural impenetrability heightened by thickets of planted bamboos. The strength of the mountain had been increased by enormous walls and barriers, which defended every accessible point; and to these advantages was added the division of the mountain, by a great chasm, into two parts at the top, on each of which was erected a citadel; the one affording a secure retreat, though the other were taken, and, by that means, doubling the labour of reduction. Yet this formidable fortress was taken by storm on the 21st of December, with no other casualty to the assailants than one private soldier slightly wounded. Ootadroog, a fortress scarcely less important than the preceding, shared its fate a few days afterwards.

Little's gallantry. The detachment sent to aid the Mahrattas, under the command of Captain Little, performed many eminent services without obtaining any effective assistance from the allies, who were, indeed, rather an impediment. With only seven hundred men, Captain Little attacked ten thousand Mysoreans, strongly posted in a fortified camp, put them to the rout, and captured the whole of their guns. This brilliant exploit was followed by the reduction of the fortress of Simoga, which opened to the allies a portion of Tippoo's territories which had hitherto escaped the ravages of war. Instead of advancing to aid General Abercromby,

who had reached the top of the Ghauts on the Malabar side, the Mahrattas made a fruitless attempt on Bednore, tempted by the hope of its rich plunder ; and they thus materially deranged the governor's plan for the campaign, and led to the loss of Coimbatore, which was forced to capitulate to a Mysore army. The terms of the capitulation were atrociously violated, and this outrage prevented Lord Cornwallis from listening to Tippoo's overtures for peace.

Having been joined by reinforcements from Hyderabad, the Governor-general advanced to undertake the siege of Seringapatam, and, on the 5th of February, 1792, arrived within sight of that capital. Seringapatam is situated on an island formed by two branches of the river Cavery, which, after separating to a distance of about a mile and a half, again unite about four miles below the place of their separation. The fortress is erected in the western angle of the island, and the eastern part was fortified with redoubts and batteries connected by a strong entrenchment with deep ditch ; the fort and the out-works were provided with three hundred pieces of cannon, and formed a second line, on which Tippoo could retire if driven from his fortified camp. This camp was placed in an enclosure between the bound hedge and the river—it was protected in front by a large tank or canal, and was further secured by six redoubts, mounted with more than one hundred pieces of heavy artillery. The Sultan's army consisted of about six thousand cavalry and fifty thousand infantry, commanded by Tippoo in person.

On the evening of the 6th of February, the British troops, Tippoo's after having been dismissed from parade, were ordered to fall in camp again with their arms and ammunition. By eight o'clock the arrangements were completed for surprising Tippoo's fortified camp, and the army marched forward to the assault in three columns. The series of operations which followed was then most brilliant in the annals of Indian warfare. Two of the strongest redoubts were taken ; Tippoo's routed army was driven in confusion across the river into the island ; pursued thither by their assailants ; several of their batteries stormed, and a defensible position secured in the island before the morning dawned. Vast numbers of Tippoo's troops took advantage of the confusion to desert their standard, and one body, ten thousand strong, which consisted of persons forcibly enlisted in Coorg, wholly disappeared, the men having sought shelter in their native woods.

The conflict was renewed at break of day ; the guns of the fort opened a tremendous fire on the redoubts, of which the

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A.D. 1791.
Bednore
assailed.
Lord
Cornwallis
rejects
Tippoo's
overtures.

A.D. 1792.
He besieges
Seringa-
patam.
5th Feb.

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A.D. 1792.

English had gained possession, and desperate attacks were made on every part of their position. Tippoo's soldiers were, however, defeated on every point, and, on the evening of the 7th, the battle was at an end. The English loss amounted to five hundred and thirty-five in killed and wounded, but more than four thousand of the Mysoreans are calculated to have fallen. Nine days afterwards Lord Cornwallis, who had, in the meantime, narrowly escaped from a sudden attack made by the enemy's cavalry, was joined by General Abercromby with two thousand Europeans, and about double that number of native troops.

On the evening of the 18th, while a small detachment beat up the enemy's camp, and threw the entire army into confusion, ground was broken on the northern side of the fort, and the first parallel completed before daylight without the loss of a man. Everything promised a favourable termination of the siege; but on the morning of the 24th, to the great grief of the army, it was announced that Tippoo had signed the preliminaries of peace. The conditions of the treaty were, that he should cede one-half of his territories to the allies, pay three crores and two lacs of rupees to defray the expenses of the war, and give up two of his sons as hostages for the due performance of these stipulations. Such was the ascendancy gained by Lord Cornwallis over his Indian allies, that they confided the entire negociation to his discretion, declaring their willingness either to go on with the war or conclude a peace, and to agree to any terms which should meet with his approbation.

Gives his sons as hostages.

Though Tippoo had sent his sons to the English camp, where they were most honourably received, he exhibited great reluctance to complete the negotiations, particularly objecting to the article which secured the independence of the Rajah of Coorg. Some preparations were made for renewing the siege, but the Sultan finally submitted on the 19th of March, and the hostage princes performed the ceremony of delivering the definitive treaty to Lord Cornwallis and the allies. Immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, the Governor-General took possession of all the French settlements in India, the revolution in France having precipitated that country into war with England.*

* Lord Cornwallis was the first Governor-General of India under the Board of Control, who possessed fully the command not only of the Bengal, but of the Madras and Bengal armies, as well as of all the civil servants. He was raised to the rank of Marquis on his return to England.

CHAPTER XIII.

GOVERNMENT OF SIR JOHN SHORE AND LORD MORNINGTON, 1793-9.

Renewal of the Charter—Discussions with Scindiah and the Nizam.—Death of Scindiah.—The Nizam begs Peace from the Mahrattas.—Death of the Peishwa.—Tippoo's Sons restored.—Disputes in Oude settled.—Sadat Ali proclaimed Vizir.—Lord Hobart seizes the Dutch Settlements.—Lord Mornington appointed Governor-general.—Discovers the Intrigues of Tippoo.—Tippoo's Treaty with the French.—Bad State of the Madras Finances.—The French Corps dismissed by the Nizam.—Replaced by British Troops.—Preparations for attacking Tippoo.—General Harris enters the Mysore Territory.—First Appearance of the Duke of Wellington.—Tippoo attacks the Bombay Army.—Battles of Sedaseer and Mallavelly.—Tippoo at bay.—Siege of his Capital.—It is assaulted and taken.—He is slain.—His Territories partitioned.—Troubles caused by the Banditti.—Expedition against the Mauritius frustrated.—Expedition sent from Bombay to Egypt.—Alexandria capitulates.—Negociations.—Difficulties about the Difference of Pay.—The Expedition returns to India, June, 1802.—General Baird takes the Cape of Good Hope, 9th of January, 1806.—The Nizam yields several Districts.

LORD CORNWALLIS introduced many important changes in the administration of the financial and judicial affairs of India, which were not so successful as his military operations. He resolved to erect the Zemindars or collectors of the land-revenue into a body of landed proprietors, renting their Zemindaries as estates from the Company, and paying the land-tax as a species of rent. This unfortunate project, which showed utter ignorance of the peculiar tenure of land in India, brought ruin on the Zemindars, and inflicted severe injury on the ryots or cultivators of the soil. Many of the judicial reforms were inapplicable to the social condition of India, and, therefore, failed to produce the beneficial results which had been too eagerly anticipated. In 1793, the charter of the East India Company was renewed with very little opposition ; and, about the same time, Lord Cornwallis renewed

CHAPTER
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—
A.D. 1793.
Bengal.

The Ze-
minderies.

CHAPTER XIII. was succeeded by Sir John Shore, a civil servant of the Company, whose knowledge of the revenue system of India was held in particular esteem.*

A.D.1795-7.

Sir J. Shore
governor-
general.

Mahrattas
jealous.

Death of
Scindiah.

The Nizam
makes war
and is
beaten.

His army
trained
by Ray-
mond, a
French
officer.

The alliance, offensive and defensive, which had been concluded between the English, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas, included a mutual guarantee against their common enemy, the king of Mysore, but had no stipulations for the possible case of hostilities arising between two of the allies. This, however, was a contingency against which it was necessary to make some provision, for the Mahrattas were jealous of the enlarged and growing power of the English ; and they were impatient to reap the spoils of the feeble Nizam—an acquisition to which they regarded the connection of that prince with the English as the only obstruction. Scindiah, the most powerful of the Mahratta chiefs, was the foremost in proclaiming his dissatisfaction ; and he did not disguise his anxiety to see the power of Tippoo strengthened, as a counterpoise to the still more formidable power of the English. The death of Scindiah induced the Nizam to precipitate a war ; he advanced into the Mahratta territories, hoping to profit by the confusion which he believed to exist in the court of Poonah ; but the Mahrattas were on the alert, and sent a powerful army to intercept his march. The armies met near Kurdla, and a sharp engagement took place. In the very heat of the fight, the Nizam and his officers were seized with a sudden panic ; they fled from the field, and their army was totally routed. The Nizam sought shelter in the little fort of Kurdla, where he was closely besieged by the Mahrattas, and, in two days, compelled to beg a peace on whatever terms his enemies pleased to dictate. It is not wonderful that this prince should have been much displeased by the refusal of the Company to allow the British battalions which he had in his service, to accompany him in this campaign ; he dismissed them immediately after his return, and directed his attention to strengthen his own regular infantry, which had been disciplined by a French officer named Raymond, who had acquired great experience in Indian warfare. The existence of this force was viewed with great jealousy by the English, especially as some French officers, who were prisoners at Madras, were detected in a project of escape, and as some of the Madras sepoyes had actually gone over to the French. The death of the Peishwa, and the intrigues in Poonah, which ended in the eleva-

* Sir J. Shore was the friend and biographer of Sir William Jones, whose studies of Oriental literature were then highly prized.

tion of Bajee Rao, the son of Ragoba, to the supreme power, enabled the Nizam to obtain more favourable terms from the Mahrattas than he had previously expected, and particularly a relaxation of the severe conditions which had been imposed upon him by the convention of Kurdla.

When the treaty of Seringapatam had been fully executed, Sir John Shore sent back the sons of Tippoo, and took the opportunity on restoring these hostages, to make some effort for establishing friendly communications with the Sultan. But Tippoo's pride had been too severely hurt to allow of friendship, and he disdained to act the hypocrite ; he received the officer who brought back his sons with cold civility, and declined entering into any conference.

The affairs of Oude had fallen into great disorder from the extravagance and incapacity of the Nabob-vizir : his death threatened to superadd the horrors of a disputed succession, for his brother asserted that the reputed children of the late Nabob were not really his offspring. At first the Governor-General decided in favour of the young Vizir Ali, but, having subsequently visited Lucknow, he became convinced that this prince's claims were unfounded, and he therefore transferred the throne to Sadat Ali, the brother of the late Nabob. As the military force of Oude was entirely English, Vizir Ali was forced to submit and, on the 21st of January, 1798, Sadat Ali was proclaimed without any opposition.

The administration of the affairs of the Carnatic was even worse than that of Oude. Following the example of Lord Macartney, Lord Hobart, the Governor of Madras, endeavoured to obtain from the Nabob a renunciation of his powers ; but, being prevented by the Governor-General from having recourse to any effective measures of intimidation, he was unable to succeed. Some fame accrued to Lord Hobart, from his promptitude in seizing on the Dutch settlements so soon as he received intelligence of the commencement of war between England and Holland ; their establishments at the Cape of Good Hope, in Ceylon, Malacca, Banda, and Amboyna were reduced ; at Cochin a firm resistance was made. Soon afterwards Lord Clive superseded Lord Hobart as Governor of Madras ; and Sir John Shore, who had been raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Teignmouth, resigned the government of India and sailed for England.

Lord Mornington arrived in Calcutta, to assume the office of Governor-General on the 17th of May, 1798. He had been for some time previously one of the commissioners for the affairs of

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A.D. 1797.

sons re-
stored.Change of
viceroy in
Oude.

21st. Jan.

A.D. 1798.

Lord
Hobart at
Madras.Lord Clive
there.Sir J. Shore
created

Lord

Teign-

mouth.

Lord

CHAPTER XIII. made; he instantly ordered the Scotch brigade to make ready, but not to fire until the enemy came close. The troops had scarcely formed, when the three hundred horsemen, who had been infuriated by stimulating liquors, burst from the jungle. General Harris gave the word so opportunely, that about forty men and horses rolled on the ground within twenty yards of the line; one horseman was bayoneted by the grenadier company, and another cut his way through. The right wing then advanced but Tippoo's soldiers were so disheartened by the failure of the first charge, that they instantly retreated, and the English were too deficient in means of transport for their artillery and stores to attempt a pursuit. Colonel Wellesley was still more successful on the left wing; the close fire of his infantry threw the opposing column into confusion; the cavalry charged at the critical moment, destroyed great numbers of the enemy, and took their six standards. This battle cost the British army only a loss of sixty-six men killed, wounded, and missing, whilst that of Tippoo was nearly two thousand, amongst whom were many of his bravest men and best officers.

Movement on Tippoo's capital. General Harris now prepared to execute the intention he had formed of crossing the Cavery, near Soosilly, if it should appear practicable, and of attacking Seringapatam on the western side, in order to facilitate the junction of the Bombay army, and of the supplies of grain which were expected to come through the western passes. This movement was wholly unexpected by Tippoo, and when he heard that it had been successfully accomplished he was filled with despair. Having assembled the whole of his principal officers, he said to them, "We have arrived at our last stage; what is your determination?" "To die along with you," was the unanimous reply.

5th April On the 5th of April, the English army appeared before Seringapatam, and the same evening, Colonels Shaw and Wellesley were ordered to attack a watercourse, and a tope or clump of trees, in which the enemy had formed an outpost. Some confusion arose from the darkness of the night, and Colonel Wellesley was repulsed. Through some neglect of the proper officer he was nearly too late to take the command when the attack was renewed next morning, but General Harris delayed for his arrival; the tope was again assailed, and taken in less than twenty minutes.

Siege. The labours of the siege proceeded steadily until the 4th of May, which was chosen for the assault. The time fixed was one o'clock, when the Orientals usually take some repose during the

heat of the day. Syed Goffhar, Tippoo's ablest officer, sent word to the sultan that the English were about to make an attack ; but Tippoo, misled by astrological predictions, refused to credit the report, and while the Syed was deliberating on forcing the sultan to the breach, he was killed by a cannon-shot. Nearly at the same moment, Tippoo received information that his bravest general had fallen, and that the assault was commenced. At half-past one o'clock, General Baird stepped out of the trenches, drew his sword, and gave the signal to advance. In less than seven minutes after, the English colours were planted on the summit of the breach. The companies of the two storming divisions wheeled to the right and left as they ascended, fighting their way along the northern and southern ramparts, where every inch of ground was fiercely contested. Thousands fell before the victorious soldiers ; and the carnage did not cease until the two divisions met on the eastern rampart. Nothing now remained to be taken but Tippoo's palace, the surrender of which was only delayed by the uncertainty that prevailed respecting the fate of the sultan. Tippoo had fallen in the heat of the fight, severely wounded by three musket-balls. Whilst he lay on the ground, an English soldier attempted to tear off his embroidered sword-belt, but the sultan, who still retained his sabre, made a cut at the man, and wounded him in the knee. The soldier immediately shot him through the head, and his death must have been instantaneous. It was late in the evening before the sultan's body was found and recognized ; but in the mean time his family had been taken under the protection of the British officers. The body was buried the next day, with military honours, in the mausoleum of Hyder Ali ; and a violent storm of thunder and lightning, which destroyed several Europeans and natives, gave an awful interest to these last solemn rites.

The months of July and August were spent by General Harris in obtaining and securing possession of the various districts and forts belonging to Mysore, and in checking the ravages of Dhoondiah Waugh, a plundering chieftain whom Tippoo had confined, but who was incautiously released by the soldiers. With some difficulty, the banditti collected by this adventurer were dispersed, and he with a number of marauders were slain. Colonel Wellesley Some discussion was excited in the army by the appointment of Governor of Seringapatam in preference to General Baird, who had commanded the assault, and patam.

CHAPTER
XIII.
A.D. 1799.
Attack.
4th May.

CHAPTER XIII. was besides the senior officer ; but for this preference, a very sufficient and honourable reason may be assigned ; Colonel Wellesley relieved General Baird the morning after the capture of **A.D. 1799.** He prevents the place, and won the confidence of the inhabitants by his plundering. exertions to put a stop to plunder, and other military outrages.

Tippoo's dominions partitioned. The Governor-general had now to dispose of a kingdom ; he resolved that no part of it should be given to the family of the late sovereign ; but he assigned them a residence in the fort of Vellore, and made a very liberal allowance for their subsistence. Part of the kingdom of Mysore, in the immediate vicinity of its ancient capital, was erected into a principality for the family of the original Hindu Rajahs, whom Tippoo had deposed ; some rich districts were assigned to the Nizam, others of equal value were retained by the English, and finally, a small portion of the conquered territory was given to the Mahrattas, although they had taken no part in the war.

Mauritius privateers do great mischief. After the conclusion of the Mysore war, the Governor-general planned an expedition against the Isle of France ; this island had been for some years the resort of a number of armed vessels, which, with singular activity and boldness, carried on a predatory warfare against British commerce in the Eastern seas. The losses sustained by the merchants and Company from the depredations of those daring privateers, were estimated at two millions sterling ; and the existence of such a rallying point for any armament which might be equipped in France against the British possessions in India, was deemed, not unjustly, as disreputable to the national reputation as it was injurious to the national commerce. Lord Mornington took prompt measures to put an end to this evil. A military armament was prepared to be placed under the command of Colonel Wellesley, and a communication was made to Admiral Rainier, who commanded the British squadron in the Indian seas, requesting that he would proceed to Trincomalee to meet the forces and transports assembled there, and co-operate in the attack upon the Isle of France. To the surprise of everybody, the admiral peremptorily refused to take any share in such an expedition, without express orders from home. As no imputation has ever been made against Admiral Rainier's courage, we are left to conclude that he was influenced by that jealous tenacity of authority, which frequently led naval officers in the Indian seas to refuse obeying orders from the Governor-general of India ; but whatever may have been his motives, the results of his decision were most disastrous ; for the

A.D. 1800.

Admiral Rainier refuses an expedition.

privateers of the Isle of France continued, during several subsequent years of the war, to harass and plunder with impunity the commercial navigation of the Indian seas.

The Governor-general next resolved to send the troops which he had collected in Ceylon against the Dutch settlements in Batavia ; but from this project he was diverted by instructions from England, directing him to send a force from India to Egypt in order to assist in the expulsion of the French from that country. The forces assembled at Ceylon were therefore despatched to Bombay, to be joined by a body of native infantry which had been held in readiness there for foreign service. The united force, 7000 men, was placed under the command of General Baird, and was sent, on the 6th of April, 1801, by the Red Sea to Egypt.

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A.D. 1800.
Privateers
encouraged
Bombay
expedition
sent to
Egypt.

A.D. 1801.

The troops, after some delays, were landed at Cosseir, in June, June 1801. and having surmounted every difficulty in crossing the desert, proceeded by the Nile to the little island of Rhonda, opposite old Cairo, where the Nilometer is kept. On the 27th of August, they moved down the river to Rosetta, to be near General Hutchinson, who was engaged in besieging Alexandria. That city capitulated early in September. The negotiations with the Turks and Egyptians occupied much time, and no junction was effected of Baird's army with that of the commander-in-chief in Egypt. Apprehensions were then entertained of the results of such a proceeding, in consequence of the high pay and batta of the Indian force. Sickness began amongst the sepoys—even the plague broke out. General Baird moved his troops to Cairo, and marched by five easy stages across the desert to Suez, where they embarked for India, on the 5th of June, 1802. General Baird went to Calcutta, and was most honourably received by the Marquis of Wellesley. He soon returned to Europe, and afterwards commanded the expedition which took the Cape of Good Hope, on the 9th of January, 1806.

The Cape
taken.
9th Jan.

A.D. 1806.

While the expedition to Egypt was absent, the Governor-general, anticipating hostilities from the Mahrattas, and aware that the Nizam was unable to defend his territories against them without an English auxiliary force, while the vacillating politics of his court might induce him to dismiss that force as he had done before, entered into arrangements by which the Nizam ceded to the English some rich districts, the revenues of which were to be applied to the payment of the auxiliary brigade. This arrangement was, of course, inconsistent with the act of

The Nizam
cedes
territory.

CHAPTER XIII.
A.D. 1801.

parliament, which forbade the acquisition of a new territory, but its obvious policy prevented any objection being raised. Indeed, many would have rejoiced if the Nizam had been induced to surrender all his power for an adequate pension, in order that an end might be put to the corruption and profligacy of the court of Hyderabad. Dangers, however, menaced the Company from another quarter, and withdrew attention from the Nizam.

CHAPTER XIV.

GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS OF WELLESLEY.

The Nabob of Oude governs badly.—The Afghans threaten to invade India.—Shah Zeman makes various attempts.—The Sikhs are persecuted by the Mohammedans.—Embassy under Captain Malcolm sent to Persia.—Shah Zeman dethroned.—Vizir Ali murders Mr. Cherry at Benares.—He rebels and is taken Prisoner.—The Nabob of Oude wishes to resign.—He is forced to accept a British Contingent.—Mr. H. Wellesley appointed to be Head of a Board.—This Appointment produces Dissatisfaction.—Mr. H. Wellesley resigns.—Surat taken by the English.—The Nabob deposed.—The Rajah of Tanjore is mediatised.—The Nabob of Arcot grows troublesome.—He is deposed and his Cousin appointed.—Negociations with the Mahrattas.—The Peishwa Bajee Rao controlled by Scindiah.—Scindiah interferes with Holkar.—They fight with varied Success. The Peishwa escapes from Poonah.—Holkar has an Interview with the Resident.—The Death of the Guicowar causes Confusion. Baroda taken.—Kanhojee escapes, 1803.—Treaty with the Peishwa at Bassein, 31st of December.—He intrigues against it with the Muhratta Leaders.—General Wellesley insists on their Decision.—War begins.—An Army in the Upper Provinces under Lake.—Another in the Deccan under Wellesley.—Ahmednuggur taken, 12th of August.—The Battle of Assaye, 23rd of September.—Alighur stormed, 4th of September.—Perron resigns Scindiah's Service.—Battle of Delhi, 11th of September.—The City occupied. Agra taken, 17th of October.—Battle of Laswarree, 1st of November.—Battle of Argaum, 29th of November.—Storm of Gawilghur, 15th of December.—The Rajah of Berar makes Peace.—Holkar's extravagant Demands.—He is attacked.—Colonel Monson loses his Army.—Holkar assails Delhi.—General Lake takes the Field.—The Rajah of Bhurtpore breaks Faith. Battle of Deig, 13th of November.—Holkar routed.—Deig

taken, 23rd of December.—Holkar reduced.—Bhurtpore besieged.—Four Attacks made.—Terms granted to the Rajah.—Peace made with Holkar.

CHAPTER XIV. THE Governor-general had long been dissatisfied, not unreasonably, with the arrangements which Lord Teignmouth had made for administering the affairs of Oude. The Nabob-Vizir was irregular in the payment of his subsidies. The armed rabble, which constituted his military force, was calculated to invite rather than deter enemies, and his civil administration was little better than a system of legal profligacy. During the Mysore war, and for some time previously, India was menaced with an invasion of the Afghans, whose enterprising sovereign, Shah Zeman, was tempted to such an enterprize by the solicitations of Tippoo Sultan, and by a fugitive prince of the imperial family,

Shah
Zeman,
the Afghan,
threatens
India.
A.D. 1795.

A.D. 1797.

The Sikhs
persecuted
by the
Moslems.

The
Afghans
reach
Lahore.
A.D. 1797.

who persuaded him that his efforts would be supported by all the Mohammedans throughout India. His first invasion of the Punjab was commenced at the close of the year 1795, but he had not been more than a fortnight beyond the Indus when he was obliged to return home to quell a dangerous rebellion. In the January of 1797, he renewed his attempt, and advanced to Lahore, where he made some attempts not wholly unsuccessful, to reconcile the Sikh chieftains to his dominion. The Sikhs were originally a peaceful religious sect, not unlike the society of Quakers ; their creed was a strange compound of Hindu and Mohammedan doctrines ; it spread rapidly through the Punjab and the countries bordering on the tributaries of the Indus, and, at first, attracted little notice. The bigoted advisers of the emperors of Delhi persuaded these princes to commence a cruel persecution of this harmless sect. They were hunted down by a licentious soldiery, and at length took up arms in self-defence. A few years sufficed to change this patient race into hardy and independent warriors, able to defy the declining power of the empire of Delhi.

Shah Zeman's efforts to conciliate the Sikhs, were resisted by the bigoted train of Mohammedan priests, which followed with his army, by the rapacity of his vizir, and by the licentiousness of his soldiers, which he was unable to restrain. Still, he was so far successful as to have a reasonable prospect of retaining the Punjab, and thence attacking the ancient empire of Delhi. The advance of the Afghans and the occupation of Lahore, did not fail in creating a strong sensation throughout India. The weakness of the Mahrattas, the whole of whose forces were drawn to

the southward by their own dissensions ; the feebleness of the government of the Nabob-Vizir, and the disposition of the greater part of his subjects to insurrection and revolt, together with the anxiety of all the Mohammedans for the establishment of their ancient religious supremacy, prepared scenes of disorder and anarchy which would, doubtless, have opened so soon as the Shah had advanced to Delhi. Many of the Rohilla chieftains, remembering the cruel injustice with which their race had been treated by Warren Hastings, were already in arms. Fortunately, ^{CHAPTER XIV.} ^{A.D. 1797.} The Indians ^{resist.}

Zeman to return home in the summer of 1797, but not until he had announced his intention of renewing the invasion on the earliest opportunity. He came back to Lahore the next year, but was soon compelled to abandon India in order to protect his own dominions from the Persians. This induced the Governor-general to send, on the 29th of December, 1799, rather an expensive embassy, under Captain Malcolm, from Bombay, to the king ^{Embassy to Persia.} ^{A.D. 1799.}

of Persia, for the purpose of negotiating an offensive and defensive alliance with that monarch ; a treaty was concluded, but it never came into operation, for, early in 1801, Shah Zeman was dethroned by his brother Mohammed, who made him a prisoner, and deprived him of sight.

Another circumstance besides the dread of Shah Zeman, rendered Lord Wellesley anxious to accelerate his meditated reforms in Oude. Vizir Ali, after having been deposed by Sir John Shore, was permitted to reside in Benares, but as this place was

too near his former dominions, it was resolved that he should be removed to Calcutta. He viewed this change with the utmost aversion, and remonstrated against it most strenuously. On the

14th of January, 1799, he visited the resident, Mr. Cherry, and complained of the hardship of his removal in very intemperate language. Mr. Cherry remonstrated with him on his imprudence, when the young man started from his seat and struck at

the resident with his sword. This was the signal to his attendants ; they rushed upon the unfortunate gentleman, and murdered him on the floor. Four other Englishmen fell victims to these assassins ; but a fifth made so vigorous a defence, that time was given for the arrival of a body of horse, upon which Vizir Ali and his attendants took to flight. Though Saadat Ali believed that his old rival was about to make an attempt upon his throne, his timidity was too great to allow of his making

any vigorous exertion to overtake the criminals ; he pleaded an excuse, that he could rely neither on the discipline nor the fidelity

Shah
Zeman
dethroned.

Vizir Ali
murders
Mr. Cherry.
14th Jan.
A.D. 1799.

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A.D. 1800.
Vizir Ali
raises
troops but
is taken.

The Nabob
of Oude
wishes to
resign.

He is forced
to accept
English aid.

At length
consent.

A board
appointed
in Oude.

of his troops. Vizir Ali's career was, however, brief ; he at first assembled a numerous body of adventurers, but, meeting with some reverses, he was abandoned by his followers, and forced to seek refuge with a Rajput chief, by whom he was soon surrendered to the British government.

The Governor-general now insisted that the Nabob Vizir of Oude should disband, as speedily as possible, the whole of his military force, and replace it by an army exclusively British. He was, however, to retain that kind of troops which had been employed to collect taxes. Colonel Scott was entrusted with the conduct of this negociation, which the Nabob Vizir protracted with all the delays which Oriental diplomacy could suggest. At length the Nabob intimated a wish to resign the throne of Oude, a proposition which the Governor-general hesitated to accept, unless the abdication was made in favour of the Company. It soon appeared that Saadat Ali's object was merely delay ; he had great and natural objections to dismiss his own army, and entrust the defence of his dominions to the British troops, believing that his power would be thus reduced to a mere shadow, and that he would sink into an empty pageant of royalty. The vigorous measures of the Governor-general soon forced the Nabob into compliance, and on his representation that he was unable to meet the expenses of the British brigade, he was required to transfer the exclusive management of the civil as well as the military government of his country to the company, under suitable provisions for the maintenance of his court and his family ; and, at the same time, he was informed that he must surrender, in absolute sovereignty to the English, so much territory as would afford a revenue adequate to pay the subsidy stipulated with Lord Teignmouth, and defray the expenses of the military establishment besides.

Saadat Ali had again recourse to all the delays which his ingenuity could suggest ; but the Governor-General inflexibly adhered to his demands, and threatened to employ force unless they were accepted. The Nabob waited until he heard that troops were actually on the march, and then, being incapable of resistance, he yielded a reluctant consent. Lord Wellesley proceeded to execute his plans with the same promptitude which he had displayed from the beginning ; on the very day that the treaty was signed, he issued a commission for the provisional government and settlement of the ceded districts, placing his brother, Mr. Henry Wellesley, at the head of the board. During the negociations Lord Wellesley made a tour to the Upper Pro-

vinces, and visited Saadat Ali at Lucknow, where he seems to have in some degree soothed the irritation of the Nabob for the sacrifices he had been compelled to make.

The Court of Directors was far from being satisfied with these arrangements. It was whispered that the great object of the Marquis of Wellesley's policy was to provide lucrative places for his brothers and friends ; and the appointment of Mr. Henry Wellesley was particularly condemned, as he did not belong to the class of Company's servants, to whom, by Act of Parliament, the filling up of vacancies in the Civil service was limited. The Board of Control refused to sanction the order of the Court of Directors for the immediate removal of Mr. Henry Wellesley, declaring that the appointment was only temporary, and, therefore, not within the restricting rules. In the meantime, a new necessity was created for continuing Mr. Henry Wellesley's services by the conclusion of an arrangement with the subordinate Nabob of Furruckabad, similar to that which had been already made with his superior, the Nabob of Oude. A Rajah named Bugwan Sing refused to submit to the alterations which were made ; it became necessary to employ force, and his two forts, Sasnee and Bidgeghur were besieged and taken. Some other refractory Zemindars, who had profited by the anarchy which formerly prevailed in the Doab, were compelled to submit to the British government ; and, when the tranquillity of the ceded districts was established, Mr. Henry Wellesley resigned his office.

On the other side of India, misgovernment and neglect of payment afforded a pretext for adding the dominions of the Nabob of Surat to the Company's territories. Surat had been the most flourishing commercial mart in India, when first the trade of that country was opened to European enterprise ; it was the usual port of embarkation for Mecca, and was generally called by the Mohammedans, "the Gate of the Holy City." Many of the Parsees, or Persians who adhered to the ancient religion of Zoroaster, had settled in the city, and enriched it by the active trade which they conducted with the Arabian and Persian gulphs. In the decline of the Delhi empire, the Nabob of Surat, like many other of the imperial feudatories, became virtually independent, and rendered the succession to his government hereditary. Disputes arose respecting the inheritance, which were decided by the interference of the English government, and the sovereigns of Surat gave further proofs of their weakness by consenting to pay *chout*, or tribute, to the Mahrattas. A disputed succession, in 1799, afforded an opportunity for reducing the Nabob of Surat

CHAPTER
XIV.
A.D. 1800.
The di-
rectors jea-
lous of the
Governor-
General.

Subor-
dinate
Nabobs
dissatisfied.

Surat taken
by the
English.

In the same condition as the Nawab of Arcot he was induced to surrender the civil and military administration of his dominions to the English in violation of retaining a pension, and enjoying the exercise of a veto power. The great difficulty remaining was to obtain adherence to the treaty of the Marathas about the end of the year the Maratha ruler of Berar ceded the districts of Berar to augment the Company, to whom he agreed to contribute with the others which returned to him. The arrangement was not at first arranged with the Peshwa, and the party opposed to the English was at this period very influential in the court of Berar.

The Nawab of Arcot was about the same time reduced to the position of a mere nominal prince. Some time previously there had been a dispute respecting the succession to the throne of the kingdom. The Raja Tagore, as his son-in-law bequeathed his kingdom to his son after his death, he whom he entrusted to the care of the celebrated illustrious Nizam. But the validity of this act of adoption was disputed, and the British government sent an army in favour of Tagore's nephew Ambar Singh. There soon appeared many valid reasons for dividing the property of this kingdom, but they were scarcely urged at the consideration of the government when Scindia was forced to seek refuge at Berar from the territory of Ambar Singh. Finally Scindia was forced upon the throne by resolution of assigning over to the English the civil and military administration of his kingdom. However interesting this arrangement may have been to the Marathas, there is no doubt but that the better system of government which the English introduced was attended by the most unhappy results to the Razas of Tanjore.

These misfortunes had a root from the state of the relations between the government of Madras and the Nawab of Arcot; his independence had been preserved by the sinister influence of those who had led him to contract debts at exorbitant rates of interest, and had absorbed to themselves nearly all the revenues of his country. But the impoverishment produced by this drain of his resources soon exhausted the sumptuous, not only were the means of parliamentary corruption wanting to the peculators, but even the Nawab's subsidies to the Company fell heavily into arrears, and his neglect to pay the arrears a year at the commencement of the Mysore war had very nearly produced the most fatal consequences. Soon after the capture of Seringapatam documents were discovered among the secret records of the subaix containing very strong evidence of a treacherous inter-

course having been maintained by the late Nabob Wallajah and the reigning prince, Omdat-ul-Omrah, with Tippoo Sultan, for objects hostile to the interests of the Company. Preparations were made for assuming the civil and military administration of the Carnatic by force, when Omdat-ul-Omrah died, and was succeeded by his reputed son, Ali Hussein, under the guardianship of two noblemen of the court. Lord Clive went in person to conduct the negotiation with the young prince, who at first expressed his readiness to comply with the proposed terms, but, subsequently, retracted all his concessions. Not unreasonably His cousin offended at such vacillation, Lord Clive, with the concurrence of appointed. the Governor-general, resolved that Ali Hussein should be deposed, and the nabobship transferred to his cousin, Azim-ud-Dowlat. Ali Hussein protested against this change, and declared his willingness to accede to the terms offered by Lord Clive. No regard was paid to his remonstrances. He soon after fell a victim to dysentery, and Amar Sing, the deposed Raja of Tanjore, died nearly at the same time. The arrangements for the future administration of Tanjore and the Carnatic, were therefore completed without interruption.

Lord Wellesley was very eager to establish the same relations with the Mahratta states which he had completed with the Nizam, namely, to procure their assent to the establishment of an English subsidiary force in their dominions, and an assignment of a portion of territory sufficient for their support. The obvious recommendations of this plan were, that the troops of the native princes were little better than hordes of banditti, subsisting on plunder rather than pay, and that the existence of such armies was utterly inconsistent with the maintenance of peace in India. On the other hand, the presence of a subsidiary disciplined force was sure to deliver the Indian princes from the dread of insurrection, which was the only check to their habits of cruelty and oppression. Under such circumstances, the English necessarily appeared to themselves and others, little better than hireling supporters of tyranny, and thus, after having taken the military administration, they were frequently compelled, and in all cases were tempted to seize the civil government likewise.

The Governor-general commenced his negotiations with the Peishwa, who, by the Mahratta constitution, was the legal sovereign of all the Mahratta chieftains. But his authority, though nominally recognised, was virtually rejected by several of the powerful feudatories, who held under him by military tenure,

CHAPTER
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A.D. 1800.

CHAPTER XIV. and particularly by Holkar and Scindiah. The latter, indeed, held the reigning Peishwa, Bajee Rao, in such a state of control that

A.D. 1810-2. Lord Wellesley believed he would gladly embrace the proposal of receiving an English subsidiary force, in order to deliver himself from a degrading dependence upon his own vassal. Circumstances arose within the Mahratta states, which seemed to favour

Holkar and Scindiah powerful. the Governor-general's design. The powerful family of the Holkars, which had for more than three-fourths of a century been settled in the northern Mahratta states, had not only established their virtual independence, but had acquired an extent of power and dominion not inferior to that of the Peishwa himself. A disputed succession gave Scindiah a pretext for interfering in the affairs of the Holkars ; he conferred the sovereignty on Cashee

Scindiah interferes with Holkar. Rao, put his rival and brother, Mulhar Rao, to death, but preserved the posthumous son of the latter as a hostage for the fidelity of his uncle. Jesswunt Rao, the son of the late Holkar by a concubine, escaped from Scindiah's search, and soon appeared in the field at the head of a numerous army of adventurers. He was severely defeated by Scindiah, in an engagement near Indore, the capital of Holkar's dominions, on the 14th of October, 1801, and fled, with the loss of his artillery and baggage. In the course of the next year, however, he had assembled a still more considerable force, and marched to attack the united forces of Scindiah and the Peishwa, in the vicinity of Poonah. A battle

Holkar's victory. Oct. 25, A.D. 1802. was fought on the 25th of October, 1802. After a warm cannonade of about three hours, the cavalry of Holkar made a general charge. The cavalry of Scindiah gave way, when that of Holkar cutting in upon the line of infantry, put them to flight and gained a decisive victory.

The Peishwa escapes. The Peishwa, not doubting of success, had quitted his palace with some intention of joining in the action, but being frightened by the noise of the firing, he turned off to the southward of the town, in order to await the issue. When he learned the result, he fled to the fort of Singhur, having previously sent to the British resident, Colonel Close, the preliminaries of a treaty, by which he bound himself to subsidize six battalions of British sepoys, and to cede twenty-five lacs of rupees of annual revenue for their support. During the engagement, the British flag floating over the residency, ensured the respect of both parties, to which the high estimation in which Colonel Close was held by the natives not a little contributed.

On the day following the battle, Holkar sent a message requesting an interview with the resident, which was, of course,

accepted. Colonel Close found the victorious chieftain in a small tent, ankle-deep in mud, wounded by a spear in the body, and by a sabre in the head. His conversation was polite and frank, he spoke lightly of his wounds, and expressed himself in the most friendly terms towards the resident and the British government. He seemed extremely desirous of obtaining the mediation of the resident in settling with Scindiah and the Peishwa, and solicited Close, whom he detained about a month in Poonah, to act as arbitrator. Holkar's moderation, whether real or affected, was lost on the Peishwa ; he retreated from place to place, sent letters to the Bombay government, requesting that ships might be sent to convey him to that island, and actually proceeded in an English vessel to Bassein.

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XIV.
A.D. 1802.
Holkar
an inter-
view with
the British
Resident.

The Peish-
wa goes to
Bassein.

We have already mentioned that the Guicowar abandoned to the Company his share of the *chout*, which had been levied on Surat ; he also surrendered to them the district of Chourassy, and employed other means to obtain their alliance. The death of this prince, in September, 1800, exposed his country to mutinous disturbances. Anund Rao, his son and successor, was a prince of weak intellect, unable to control the intrigues of the various factions which divided the court of Baroda. These intrigues soon led to an open war between the illegitimate brother at Baroda of the Guicowar and Raojee Appajee, who had been the chief minister under the late sovereign. The English government sided with the latter, and sent him a small detachment of troops. A decisive victory was gained over Mulhar Rao, the cousin of the late Guicowar, and the most powerful enemy of the minister. Mulhar Rao supported Kanhojee, the illegitimate brother.

Raojee was thus left free to pursue the schemes of economical reform which he had intended. The most important of these was the dismissal of the Arab mercenaries in the Guicowar's service, but these fierce soldiers refused to disband until their demands of enormous sums as arrears had been complied with ; they broke out into mutiny, seized Baroda, and detained the Guicowar a prisoner in his capital. Baroda was immediately invested by the English, and forced to surrender, after a siege of ten days. Many of the garrison, contrary to the articles of capitulation, went to join the rebel Kanhojee ; but they were closely pursued by Major Holmes, who defeated them in two smart engagements, A.D. 1803. and ultimately drove Kanhojee from Guzerat.

Holkar resolved to treat Bajee Rao's flight to Bassein as a formal abdication of his sovereignty, and, in conjunction with several other Mahratta chiefs, he proclaimed Amrut Rao the

The Gui-
cowar is
imprisoned
by his
soldiers.

CHAPTER XIV. legitimate Peishwa. Thenceforth all appearance of moderation was laid aside ; the ministers of the fugitive prince were tortured with the most dreadful cruelty, to force them to reveal the secret of their treasure ; and every respectable householder of Poonah, possessed of property, was seized and forced by every wicked means to give up his wealth. At the commencement of these cruelties Colonel Close quitted Holkar's court, and proceeding to Bassein, concluded with Bajee Rao a treaty on the basis of the

Treaty with the Peishwa. Dec. 31. preliminaries which had been transmitted to him at Poonah. By this treaty the Peishwa bound himself to receive an English subsidiary force, and provide for its subsistence ; to exclude from his territories Europeans of all nations hostile to the English ; to relinquish his claims on Surat ; and to submit to the arbitration of the English all points of dispute between him and the Guicowar.

The Peishwa intrigues. It is not to be supposed that Bajee Rao very willingly signed a treaty which virtually deprived him of independence ; it was no sooner concluded, than he commenced secret intrigues with Scindiah and Raghojee Bhonsla to frustrate its execution ; and these chieftains willingly combined to prevent arrangements which threatened to destroy the power they had hitherto possessed in the court of Poonah, and over the Mahratta states generally. The Governor-general was prompt to fulfil his part of the engagement in restoring the Peishwa ; Colonel Stevenson, at the head of the Hyderabad subsidiary force, accompanied by fifteen thousand of the Nizam's troops, approached on the Peishwa's eastern frontier ; while Major-general Wellesley marched direct on Poonah, from the borders of Mysore, with a strong detachment from the Madras army. General Wellesley made a forced march on Poonah, in order to save the city, which, it was said, Amrut Rao intended to burn ; but both Holkar and he had evacuated the place previous to the arrival of the British troops. We may mention that Amrut Rao eventually entered into engagements with General Wellesley, and joined him during the progress of the war, with a body of horse. The Company rewarded his services by a liberal pension, and a residence at Benares.

Wellesley saves Poonah, April 20. The Rajah of Berar plots. After Bajee Rao's restoration, the efforts of the Governor-general were directed to obtain the acquiescence of the leading Mahratta chiefs in the treaty of Bassein. Raghojee Bhonsla, Rajah of Berar, opposed the conditions of the treaty with all his might, and laboured to reconcile Scindiah and Holkar, that they might unite in frustrating the English policy. General Wellesley having been vested with full powers as political agent of the

Governor-general, as well as military commander of the army of the Deccan, soon grew weary of the vexatious delays and protestations of the chieftains; he therefore demanded as a test of their sincerity, that Raghojee should withdraw his troops to Nagpore, and that Scindiah should cross the Nerbudda. This plain and distinct proposal, so characteristic of its author, perplexed the Mahratta chiefs; they were obliged to give a decisive answer, and that being a refusal, was regarded as a declaration of war.

An army was collected in the upper provinces, under General War begins. Lake, to act against the northern Mahrattas, where Scindiah had General Lake in large bodies of troops commanded and disciplined by French the upper adventurers. General Wellesley, assisted by Colonel Stephenson, directed the operations in the Deccan, which was the first theatre of war. Wellesley commenced by besieging Ahmednuggur, which had the reputation of being almost impregnable, but which only held out four days. He then went in pursuit of the Mahrattas, who were anxious to avoid an engagement, and on the 21st of Aug. 12. September, 1803, formed a plan, by which, he moving in one direction and Stephenson in another, should unite and attack the Mahrattas on the morning of the 24th. On the morning of the 23rd, however, having learned that the Mahratta army, amounting to more than fifty thousand men, with a hundred pieces of cannon, had encamped in his neighbourhood, the general resolved to attack them, without waiting for Colonel Stephenson, though his whole force did not exceed four thousand five hundred.

The Mahrattas were formed in a long line on the bank of the Kaitna river, near its junction with the Juah, with their infantry and guns on their left. General Wellesley, with the view of turning their left, crossed the Kaitna at Peepulgaon, and by thus placing his troops on the tongue of land between the two rivers, compelled the enemy to change their front, with their left on Assaye and their right on the Kaitna, and thus deprived them of the advantages they would have derived from their immense superiority of force.

The battle commenced with a heavy fire of round and grape from the Mahratta artillery, which did terrible execution. The English line, though destitute of artillery, still pressed forward, when a large body of Mahratta horse charged the 74th regiment, which had suffered very severely. The English cavalry, consisting of the 19th light dragoons, and the 4th Madras horse, received the order to charge with a joyous shout, to which the infantry responded, the very wounded cheering them as they passed. Their onslaught was irresistible; the enemy's first line

CHAPTER
XIV.

A.D. 1808.
Wellesley
insists.
July 14.

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A.D. 1803. fell back upon the second, and the British infantry pressing forward, drove both into the Juah at the point of the bayonet. Every attempt which the fugitives made to form beyond the river, was defeated by the headlong charges of the British cavalry ; the last body of infantry at length was broken ; the battle was completely decided, and ninety-eight pieces of cannon remained in the hands of the victors. Many of the Mahrattas, however, who had thrown themselves on the ground as if dead, when the British advanced, rose after they had passed, and turned their guns on the British rear ; after the more important parts of the victory had been secured, it was some time before the firing thus occasioned could be silenced. The loss of the victors was severe ; upwards of one-third of their forces were killed or wounded, but they had achieved one of the most splendid victories recorded in Indian history.

Oct. 24. Colonel Stephenson did not join the main army until the evening of the 24th, when he was sent in pursuit of the fugitives. He did not overtake them, but he reduced the city of Burhanpore and the strong fort of Aseerghur. At the same time, a detachment from the Guzerat army captured Broach and some other fortresses of less importance.

Alighur taken, Sept. 24. In the mean time, General Lake, who had been invested with the same powers in Hindustan, which General Wellesley possessed in the Deccan, advanced from Cawnpore against Scindiah's northern armies, which were commanded by M. Perron, a French officer of some ability, and unquestioned valour. The first operation of the campaign was the storming of Alighur, a fort which might easily have been made impregnable. The British cantonment at Shekoabad was surprised by a detachment of Mahratta cavalry, under a Frenchman named Fleury, and the garrison compelled to capitulate, the detachment which Lake sent to his assistance, arriving too late to be of any use.

Perron resigns. Perron, at this crisis, received information that Scindiah had resolved to supersede him, and transfer the command to one of his personal enemies. He therefore addressed a letter to General Lake, requesting to be allowed to pass through the Company's territories with his property, family, and the officers of his suite, to Lucknow ; by the direction of the Governor-general, the necessary safe-conduct was promptly granted.

From Alighur, General Lake advanced upon Delhi, but when within six miles of the city, his advanced guard of cavalry was suddenly exposed to a heavy and destructive fire of artillery.

Louis Bourquin, the French officer next in command to

Perron, assembled a powerful Mahratta force, and concealing his guns by high grass, completely took the English by surprise. CHAPTER XIV.
 Lake saw that it was necessary to draw the Mahrattas from their A.D. 1808. strong position ; he therefore commanded the cavalry to retire, and the enemy, mistaking the movement for a retreat, rushed after them in full assurance of victory. The cavalry, however, retired in good order, until it reached the head of the advancing column, when opening from the centre, they permitted the British infantry to pass to the front. The battalions moved forward under a tremendous fire of grape, round, and canister from the Mahratta guns, until within a distance of one hundred yards, when they fired a volley and then charged with the bayonet. Scindiah's infantry could not withstand the onslaught ; they abandoned their guns and fled. The English battalions then broke into open columns of companies, and the cavalry charging through the intervals, made dreadful havoc of the fugitives, many of whom only escaped the sabre to perish by drowning in the Jumna. The consequences of this victory, were the immediate possession of the imperial city of Delhi, and the Delhi delivery of the Emperor Shah Alum from the degrading and taken. painful captivity, in which he had long been held by the Mah- Sept. 11. rattas.

General Lake then marched against Agra, which was in a state Agra of the greatest anarchy. Before the breaking out of the war, taken. the garrison had been commanded by European officers, who had been confined by their own troops, on the commencement of hostilities. Seven battalions of Scindiah's regular infantry were encamped on the glacis ; but the garrison were afraid to admit them into the fort, lest they should plunder a rich treasury which they wished to reserve for themselves. These battalions were attacked by General Lake, and defeated with the loss of twenty- Oct. 17. six of their guns. A few days afterwards, the garrison liberated their officers, and capitulated on condition of being permitted to retire with their private property ; the treasury, the arsenal and one hundred and sixty-two pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the victors.

General Lake next marched against the battalions sent by Scindiah from the Deccan, which had been reinforced by the Laswaree. Battle at relics of Bourquin's army. After a tedious pursuit, he came up with them at sunrise on the 1st of November, and believing Nov. 1. them to be in full retreat, ordered his cavalry to intercept their flight. But the Mahrattas, instead of retreating, had taken up a very strong position ; their right resting on the fortified village

CHAPTER XIV.
A.D. 1803. of Laswaree, their left on the village of Mohaulpore, and their front lined with seventy-five pieces of cannon chained together, so as to resist the charge of horse. The cavalry were driven back, and the infantry with the brigade of guns came forward to the attack. Scindiah's horse behaved in the most cowardly manner, but the battalions which had been trained by the French officers, fought with a desperate determination, which nothing could subdue. The greater part of them refused to surrender, but fell where they stood, with arms in their hands. The battle of Laswaree cost the English more than eight hundred men in killed and wounded, but it completely destroyed Scindiah's power in Northern India ; and, at the same time, English divisions completely subdued the districts of Kuttack and Bundelcund.

Battle of
Argaum.
Nov. 29.

In the Deccan General Wellesley, after many harassing operations, arising from the celerity with which the enemy moved from place to place, succeeded in bringing the confederates to an action at Argaum on the evening of the 29th of November, and routed them with very little difficulty. This success being followed by the siege and capture of Gawilghur, terrified the confederates into peace.

Gawilghur
destroyed,
Dec. 15.

The Rajah of Berar was the first to yield ; he ceded a large portion of his territories to the English and their allies, abandoned all claims of *chout* upon the Nizam, and consented that no European should be admitted into his dominions without the permission of the British government.

Peace made
with Berar.

Accredited ministers from each of the contracting parties were to reside at the court of the other, and the Rajah very reluctantly received a resident at Nagpore. Scindiah held out a fortnight longer, but finally yielded to similar terms ; but he had to sacrifice a much larger portion both of territory and influence than his ally.

Holkar's
demands.

During the progress of hostilities, Holkar remained in Malwa, levying enormous contributions from friend and foe, scarcely crediting, or affecting to disbelieve, the accounts of the rapid victories of the English. When it was too late, he determined to make an effort for retrieving the independence of the Mahrattas ; he sent ambassadors to Scindiah, urging him to break the treaty which he had just concluded, but that chieftain was, or pretended to be, so exasperated against Holkar, that he immediately communicated the fact to the British authorities. General Lake believed that Holkar was amicably disposed ; he invited the chieftain to send ambassadors, in order that a treaty might be negotiated ; but he was mortified when the Mahratta deputies

urged the most extravagant demands, and supported them by a letter from Holkar, stating that, in case of a refusal, "his country and his property were on the saddle of his horse, and to whatever side the reins of his brave warriors should be turned, the whole of the country in that direction should come into his possession." The Governor-General having been made acquainted with Holkar's demands, resolved not to temporize any longer ; orders were issued directing General Wellesley and General Lake to attack Holkar's troops and possessions in every direction. Scindiah at the same time professing the utmost readiness to co-operate with the British.

After some trifling operations, General Lake placed his main army in cantonments, but sent Colonel Monson with a strong detachment, to co-operate with Colonel Murray, who was to attack Holkar's dominions on the side of Guzerat. Monson advanced with great spirit ; but, hearing that Holkar was coming to meet him in force, he resolved to retreat. This movement, Monson retreats. injudicious in itself, was conducted with a most lamentable want of skill, judgment, and discretion. Monson had no confidence in the sepoys, nor they in him ; the officers and men desired for nothing so much as a halt and a fair fight ; their leader's determination was to seek shelter under the guns of some fortress. But the governors of forts on his line of retreat declared against the English ; the troops, dissatisfied, weary, and starving, burst through all bonds of discipline, and fled to Agra in broken parties. In consequence of this success, Holkar's fame spread Disasters. through the country, and greatly increased the number of his followers.

General Lake immediately took the field to repair these disasters ; but, instead of making a dash on Holkar's infantry and guns, he wasted his energies in fruitless efforts to bring the Mahratta cavalry to action, and, when these failed, remained inactive at Muttra. This delay afforded Holkar an opportunity of attempting an important enterprise, the surprise of Delhi and the possession of the emperor's person, in which he very nearly succeeded. His failure must chiefly be attributed to the skill and valour of Colonels Ochterlony and Burn, who, with a small body of sepoys, made a successful sortie, repelled an assault, and, under incessant fatigue, defended a city ten miles in circumference. General Lake marched to the relief of the capital, but Holkar's infantry had gone, five days before his arrival, towards the states of the Rajah of Bhurtpore, who had broken his engagements to the English government. General Frazer undertook

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A.D. 1804.
He is
attacked.

CHAPTER
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Monson
successful,
Nov. 13.
Rout at
Deig.

the pursuit, and, on the 13th of November, came up with the Mahratta infantry strongly posted, near the fortress of Deig. Frazer headed the charging battalions in person ; he drove the enemy from their first range of guns, and was advancing on the second when he fell mortally wounded. The command now devolved on Colonel Monson, who was eager to avenge his late disastrous retreat ; under his guidance, the enemy were driven successively from each of their lines of battery until they got under the walls of the fort ; one body which attempted to make a stand was driven into the lake, and many of them drowned. Eighty-seven pieces of cannon were taken, and among them Colonel Monson had the satisfaction to find fourteen of those he had lost during his retreat.

Deig taken
Dec. 23.

Four days afterwards, General Lake, after a most persevering pursuit, overtook Holkar's cavalry at Furruckabad. The surprise would have been complete had not the accidental explosion of a tumbril, just before the onset, roused the Mahrattas to a sense of their danger. Holkar and his immediate followers escaped, but three thousand of his troopers were put to the sword. Deig was immediately invested, and stormed after a siege of ten days. Holkar now appeared on the verge of ruin ; his territory in the Deccan was reduced ; his principal forts in Malwa, including his capital, Indore, were in the possession of the English ; and the reduction of Bhurtpore was alone wanting to reduce him to the condition of a helpless fugitive.

A.D. 1805.

Holkar
reduced.Lake
besieges
Bhurtpore,
Jan. 2.Fails to
take it.

The town of Bhurtpore, eight miles in extent, was everywhere surrounded by a mud wall of great thickness and height, and a very wide and deep ditch filled with water. The fort was situated at the eastern extremity of the town ; and the walls were flanked with bastions at short distances, mounted with a numerous artillery. The Jats had crowded in from the surrounding districts to the defence of their capital, and the broken battalions of Holkar had entrenched themselves under the walls of the place. General Lake arrived before Bhurtpore, January 2nd, 1805, with a very insufficient battering train, and without taking the ordinary precaution of reconnoitring the place, commenced a siege. Four desperate assaults were made, and repulsed with dreadful slaughter ; the two first failed, from the breadth of the ditch and the depth of its waters not having been ascertained by the assailants. The two others were baffled by the unexpected strength of the defences, and the vigorous resistance of the besieged. All four were honourable to the valour of the troops, but not very creditable to the military skill of their general.

The Rajah of Bhurpore was, however, disheartened by the preparations for continuing the siege ; he made proposals for peace, and was allowed to negotiate on very favourable terms, although every one of the British authorities felt the disadvantage of leaving Bhurpore to be a monument of their failure. But it was deemed expedient to grant favourable terms to the Rajah, at a time when there was every appearance of a renewal of hostilities with Scindiah.

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A. D. 1805.

Scindiah had actually advanced towards Bhurpore with an intention of taking part in the war, and had permitted the camp of the British resident to be attacked and plundered, without making any attempt to discover and punish the offenders, when he heard that the Rajah had concluded a treaty with the British. Even then he allowed Holkar to join his camp, but could not be again induced to encounter the perils of war. His negotiations were protracted, until a change in the government of British India was followed by the adoption of a course of policy, by which most of the advantages gained in the Mahratta war were thrown away.

Peace with
Holkar.

CHAPTER XV.

GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS OF CORNWALLIS AND OF SIR G. BARLOW, 1805—1807.

Review of Lord Wellesley's Government—His Proceedings with the Mahrattas—The Directors take a harsh View—He treats the Indian Merchants fairly—Jealousy of his Conduct—The London Shipbuilders raise an Alarm—He establishes the College at Fort William—He seeks to instruct the Native Indians—His Policy to create Alliances—The Necessity of a Supreme Government in India—The Marquis Cornwallis arrives July 30, 1805—Treaties with the Rajahs violated—Lord Cornwallis moves into the Interior—Dies Oct. 5—Sir G. Barlow succeeds—His Non-interference—Intrigues of the Nizam's Government—The good Policy of the Marquis Wellesley established—The Mahratta Confederacy broken up—Holkar's Troops revolt and murder Khondee Rao—Holkar quells the Sedition—Becomes insane—A deplorable Government at Indore—Scindiah in a reduced Condition—His Troops dissatisfied—The Peishwa in a better Condition under British Protection—Sir G. Barlow's Reforms—He improves the Finances—The Mutiny at Vellore startles the British—It is suppressed by Lieutenant Colonel Gillespie—The Marquis Wellesley returns to Europe.

Results
of the
Wellesley
govern-
ment.

LORD WELLESLEY's government of India had been very brilliant, but very expensive. His system of policy aimed at placing the entire military arrangements of India under the control of the British, by inducing or compelling the principal native princes to substitute a disciplined subsidiary force for their own undisciplined and turbulent hordes, leaving them, however, the power of administering the civil government at their pleasure. Such an arrangement would clearly have given the Company an absolute control over all the foreign relations of the Indian princes, and rendered that body the guardian of general tranquillity. The subsidiary treaties with the Peishwa and the Nizam enabled the Governor-general so to dispose the forces supplied to both these powers, that they formed a complete chain of defence against

any possible attack, not only covering the frontiers of both princes, but giving permanent security and tranquillity to all the southern parts of the Peninsula. Scindiah, to whom such an abridgement of the Mahratta power, which prevented the levying of *chout* on the feeble states of the south and west, was peculiarly obnoxious, had been so humbled that there was very little fear of his venturing to renew hostilities. Holkar was little better than leader of a body of cowardly banditti ; his troops being so dispirited that they would not venture themselves within fifty miles of an English army. Great expenses, indeed, had been incurred, but it was certain that the pressure would only be temporary, for the revenues were beginning to improve, the conquered and ceded districts began to grow profitable after tranquillity had been restored, and the economic reductions, which were commenced as the war drew to a close, gave promise of a large and early surplus revenue from our possessions.

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The court of directors, from the beginning, took a very harsh view of Lord Wellesley's policy, and thwarted him in every particular where they were not checked by the interference of the Board of Control. Even the conquest of Mysore was very ungraciously recognized by the authorities in England, and sixteen years elapsed before General Harris received any public reward for his services at Seringapatam. But this hostility was mainly owing to an act of justice towards the merchants of Calcutta which was deemed injurious to the interests of positive monopolies in England, and which undoubtedly diminished the unfair profits which accrued to certain parties possessing great influence in the direction. On the renewal of the Charter, in 1793, it had been stipulated that 3,000 tons of the Company's shipping were to be allotted annually to private merchants. The rate of freight, however, was not specified, and of course the Company's agents, with the usual impolicy and injustice of monopolists, fixed so high a rate that the British merchants and manufacturers were deterred from engaging to any extent in the trade. Thus the exports to India were very limited in amount ; whilst there was an increasing amount of exports from India, which was liable to serious checks and hindrances from the uncertainty and cost of the means of conveyance. This was so strongly felt by the court of directors, that in 1798, they authorized the government of Bengal to take up ships on account of the Company, and re-let the tonnage to the merchants of Calcutta. Lord Wellesley refused to act on this notable plan, which would have superadded an immense quantity of fraud

Disputes about trade.

CHAPTER XV. and jobbing to the previous evils of expense and delay ; he,

A.D. 1805. therefore, permitted the merchants and ship-owners to make their own arrangements for the extent and rate of the freight, subject only to such regulations as would prevent any interference with the Company's privileges. Not a word need be said in favour of this policy ; it was obviously nothing more than establishing a most advantageous principle in commercial affairs, by placing the merchant and ship-owner on an equal footing. But this partial opening of the trade, however urgently advocated, was the most inconvenient thing in the world to those accustomed to exorbitant profits ; and the arrival in the port of London of Indian produce, in India-built ships, created a sensation among the monopolists, which could not have been exceeded if a hostile fleet had appeared in the Thames.

**India
shipping.**

The ship-builders of the port of London took the lead in raising the cry of alarm ; they declared that their business was on the point of ruin, and that the families of all the ship-wrights in England were certain to be reduced to starvation. The connection between ship-building and the maintenance of a rate of freight, so high as to prevent shipping from being employed, was not, indeed, very obvious, but it suited the convenience of the monopolists to keep their own delinquencies of exorbitant charge out of sight. The interest of the consumers, that is, of the people of the three kingdoms, in obtaining a more certain supply of the produce of India, at a cheaper rate than before, was, of course, more studiously concealed, and persons were allowed to declare that the trade of England would be ruined, because that trade with India had been greatly facilitated and increased. Fortunately, the President of the Board of Control, backed by nearly the entire of the independent mercantile interest of India, took the same view of the question as the Governor-general, and all the efforts of the monopolists to set aside the new arrangements were defeated. Their disappointment on the occasion was far from increasing their admiration of the government of the Marquis of Wellesley.

The view which Lord Wellesley took of the shipping question, was the calm and deliberate result of his investigation of a measure, concerning which he felt no particular solicitude. Any man of ordinary talents, who viewed the question without the bias of private interest, must have arrived at the same conclusion ; had his arrangements been set aside, he would only have lamented the strength of sordid interest and prejudice, but personally, would have felt no annoyance. He shewed less indifference

in his efforts to maintain the College of Fort William—an institution of which he was the creator and fosterer—but which encountered the most strenuous opposition from the Court of Directors. His exertions, however, were so far successful that a college was maintained for the instruction of Bengal writers in the Oriental languages used in that part of India, and, some years later, a college was founded in England for the education of the junior civilians of all the presidencies in the usual objects of European study, and in the principal languages of the East. This institution has proved of so much service, that it is to be hoped its basis may be enlarged, and that it may extend instruction to those who are intended for official and mercantile situations in other Oriental countries, particularly Turkey and the Levant.

But the question by which Lord Wellesley's administration must finally be judged, is the policy of the subsidiary alliances which it was his great object to establish throughout India. There can be no doubt that their universal acceptance would have established the supremacy of the Company, and secured the general tranquillity of India; but Lord Wellesley does not appear to have made sufficient allowance for the natural reluctance of princes to resign the military defence of their dominions into the hands of foreigners, and their dislike to the subjection which the nature of the subsidiary connexion necessarily imposed. Attempts to shake off such fetters ought to have been anticipated; and when they occurred there was no alternative between the restoration of the prince to complete independence, or the utter annihilation of his power. But the East India Company had now succeeded to the central power, which had been anciently possessed by the emperors of Delhi, and, upon the exercise of its controlling authority, the tranquillity of the whole Peninsula depended. If the Company ceased to assert and exercise supremacy, all India must have fallen into anarchy. Indeed, this result followed to a very great extent when the policy of Lord Wellesley was abandoned.

The Marquis of Cornwallis, in spite of his accumulated years and infirmities, was appointed the successor of Lord Wellesley. He arrived at Fort William, in July, 1805, just as Lord Lake had intimated to Scindiah, that no further delay in the liberation of the British resident, whom he insolently detained a prisoner, would be permitted. Lord Cornwallis commenced his career by relaxing in this preliminary, and consenting to treat with Scindiah on his own terms. Fortunately, for the honour of the British

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College of
Fort
William.

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name, Lord Lake succeeded in obtaining the resident's liberation before the degrading concession of the Governor-general was made known. By the new treaty with Scindiah, the numerous rajahs west of the Jumna, who had been taken under the protection of the British government, were to be abandoned to their own resources, and to be compensated by cessions of the territories we had conquered, which they were manifestly unable to defend. The Rajah of Jeypore had entered into an alliance with the English against Scindiah ; and, though he had on many occasions deviated from the letter and spirit of his engagements, yet, when Holkar's army approached his frontiers, he was induced by Lord Lake to take an active part in the war, and his services greatly contributed to its final success. Notwithstanding these services, and Lord Lake's remonstrances against the breach of the public faith, which he had plighted, the alliance with Jeypore was dissolved : the Rajah's representatives boldly protesting that the English had made their honour subservient to their convenience.

He dies,
Oct. 5.

Sir George
Barlow
succeeds.

His non-
interference

In the midst of his exertions, Lord Cornwallis sunk under the increased fatigue which he had imposed upon himself, by a journey to the upper provinces. He died at Ghazepore, near Benares, on the 5th of October. He was succeeded by Sir George Barlow, a civil servant of the Company, who had filled several subordinate situations creditably, but who did not possess the qualifications necessary for a post of so much importance and responsibility as that of Governor-general of India. Sir George Barlow not only adopted Lord Cornwallis's policy of non-interference, but carried it to a greater extent than his lordship ever contemplated. Treaties were concluded with Scindiah and Holkar, which left those chieftains free to form new schemes of dangerous ambition ; he exerted himself to dissolve the intimate alliances which had been formed with some of the principal native states, and to free the English from the obligations of protection contracted with minor chiefs ; it has even been said that both he and the Marquis of Cornwallis contemplated abandoning all the British possessions west of the Jumna, as likely to prove sources of expense, trouble and danger.

But circumstances soon occurred, which led Sir George Barlow not only to doubt, but to depart from his policy of non-interference. Meer Alum, the able minister of the Nizam, whom the English had for many years supported, by his attachment to their interests, lost the confidence of his feeble sovereign. Intrigues were detected at Hyderabad, not only for removing the

Intrigues
at Hyder-
abad.

minister, but for destroying the subsidiary alliance with the British government. The nature of this conspiracy and the character of those associated for its execution, which included all the discontented soldiery, required prompt decision. The necessary orders were sent to the resident and the commander of the troops, by whose promptitude the conspiracy was disconcerted. The Governor-general displayed equal wisdom in opposing the recommendations of the Court of Directors to modify the treaty of Bassein, which their persevering hostility to the Marquis of Wellesley led them to regard as the great source of all their difficulties; but every hour brought evidence from the Mahratta territories of the increasing importance and value of the arrangements made at Bassein.

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XV.
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The policy of the Marquis of Wellesley was most effective in India, and made an immense change in the condition of the Mahrattas; their perilous power was broken, their marauding expeditions checked, and their claims to *chout*, or payment for forbearance, which they had been accustomed to exact from their neighbours, were utterly annihilated. The Peishwa was forced to cede a large tract of country to the English; he was controlled in his foreign relations, and supported on the throne by a British force. The territories of the other Mahratta chiefs were dismembered; the emperor of Delhi was taken under the protection of the English; and the native princes sat down exhausted and dismayed, sensible of some of their own errors when too late; but with no plan, or even sentiment of union, except hatred to that nation by which they had been subdued.

When Jesswunt Rao Holkar was restored to his dominions, he intimated to his army that he was under the necessity of dismissing about twenty thousand of his cavalry, most of whom were natives of the Deccan. Large arrears being due to these men, they mutinied, and were only pacified by receiving Holkar's nephew, Khondee Rao, as a pledge for payment. The possession of the legal heir to the Holkar family, induced the mutineers to revolt, and proclaim their prisoner the legitimate sovereign. But the firmness of Holkar's infantry overawed them, and their arrears being paid soon afterwards, by a sum of money extorted from the unfortunate Rajah of Jeypore, the sedition was quelled. The innocent instrument of the mutineers fell a sacrifice to his enraged uncle, who put both him and his brother to death. Not long after, Holkar fell into a state of insanity, from which he never recovered until the day of his death, October, 20th, 1811. He dies mad.

The regency of Indore, when it was found necessary to place

CHAPTER XV. Holkar under restraint, was divided between one of his concubines, Toolzee Bhaee, a woman of profligate habits and most vindictive disposition, and Ameer Khan, who was nothing better than a chieftain of banditti. They administered the government in the name of Mulhar Rao Holkar, a boy about four years of age, the son of Jesswunt Rao, by another concubine. This deplorable government, if such anarchy can be called a government,

A.D. 1806. was alternately swayed by two factions, the Mahrattas and the Patans, who were constantly intriguing against each other, and nothing could exceed the miserable condition of the country. At the court, bribery, executions and murders ; in the provinces, violence, rapine and bloodshed.

Scindiah reduced. Scindiah's territories were in a state scarcely less deplorable than Holkar's. His army was far too numerous for his finances ; and, in order to appease the clamours of his troops, he was obliged to allow them to subsist at free quarters in his provinces. The burthen of their exactions became in many places intolerable ; and districts which had previously been cultivated and profitable, were fast running to waste and wretchedness. The Peishwa was more fortunate ; his troops, commanded by Bappo Gokla, who had been recommended to this station by General Wellesley, united with the English subsidiary force, quelled every appearance of insurrection in his dominions.

Mutiny at Vellore. The nomination of Sir George Barlow to be Governor-general of India, was acquiesced in by the court of directors. His chief care was to spare money ; he dismissed several corps of regular troops, introduced various retrenchments, and saved much by reductions of the regular army, and by establishing an effective system of collection in the revenue department. His efforts as a financier were successful. His rule was, however, signalized by an unexpected event, which startled the friends of the British government. A fearful mutiny took place at Vellore, a fortress eighty-eight miles west of Madras, in which the twelve sons and six daughters of Tippoo Saib were residing under surveillance. On the 9th of July, 1806, the sepoys of the 1st battalion of the 1st regiment, and of the 2nd battalion of the 23rd regiment, both of the Madras infantry, amounting to 1,500 men, with four companies of H.M. 69th regiment formed the garrison. At three o'clock in the morning of the 10th, the native troops attacked the Europeans, murdered thirteen officers and eighty-two privates, besides several other Europeans : ninety-two were wounded. The survivors made a determined defence ; and in the evening Lieutenant-colonel Gillespie, with a strong force, hastened from

July 10.

Arcot, nine miles distant, and having blown open one of the gates, cut most of the mutineers to pieces. Some were executed, and the names of the two regiments were erased from the Army list. This mutiny is attributed to the attempt made by Sir John Cradock, who then commanded the Madras army, to assimilate the natives in dress and accoutrements to the European soldiers. This was construed into an attempt to force them to change their religion. The superciliousness of some officers contributed to the disaffection. In June, a sepoy gave information of the plot to his colonel; the colonel referred the matter to the native officers, and the informant was imprisoned. This mutiny alarmed the Honourable Company; and Lord W. Bentinck, the Governor of Madras, and Sir John Cradock, the Commander-in-chief of the army of that presidency, were both recalled.

The Marquis of Wellesley left India in July 1805. After his return to Europe, he entered, like his illustrious brother, the Duke of Wellington, into public life, and gave proofs of the great talents which had distinguished his government of India. He died on the 26th of September, 1842, in his 83rd year.

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A.D. 1806.

CHAPTER XVI.

GOVERNMENT OF LORD MINTO, 1807—1813.

Lord Minto arrives in India, and soon discovers the Dangers of Barlow's System.—The Pindarrees in the Deccan.—Their fighting.—Their Atrocities and Torture.—Sir Charles Metcalfe's Opinion.—The Directors dissatisfied with Barlow's System.—They recommend that the Treaties be observed.—Lord Minto tries the Experiment of Half-government.—Confusion in the Deccan.—Differences in learning between the Brahmins and the Omrahs.—Chandu Lall a clever Hindu supports the English.—He governs the Nizam with a Rod of Iron.—Lord Minto's Policy upholds Chandu Lall.—Bajee Rao the Peishwa shows bad Faith.—General Wellesley (Wellington) gives a Caution.—The Jaghire-dars of the Deccan appeal for Protection.—Lord Minto obliged to consent.—The Peishwa hates the English.—Ameer Khan becomes Head of the Pindarrees.—Lord Minto protects Berar; but allows the Pindarrees to escape.—The French Schemes in Persia.—Two English Missions sent together to Persia; one from England and one from India.—Captain Malcolm's Etiquette leads him to Calcutta.—Sir Harford Jones makes a Treaty with Persia, 1809.—Results of that Treaty misrepresented.—A Mission under Mountstuart Elphinstone sent to Cabul.—Travancore disturbed by a fractious Vizier.—The French Squadrons plunder the East India Ships.—Lord Minto prepares an Expedition.—The Madras Army mutinies through Barlow's Plans.—Lord Minto goes to Madras and establishes Tranquillity.—The Islands of Bourbon and Mauritius taken, 1810.—The Island of Java taken.—The Dutch defend it well, 1811.—Lord Minto is embarrassed by Oude and the Pindarrees.—His quiet Policy excites the Goorkhas.—His Love of Peace induces him to remonstrate.—He threatens a little and asks an Answer from Nepaul.—His neutral Policy gives Cause for Delay.—He returns to Europe and dies.—He leaves War as an inevitable Legacy to his Successor.—The Dacoits suppressed.

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A.D. 1807.

LORD MINTO reached India in July, 1807; he had previously acquired a high character as a statesman, and was remarkable for his reluctance to be fettered by mere precedent, and for his

determination to judge in all things for himself. If he had shared in the erroneous views which many persons in England had formed of the administration of the Marquis of Wellesley, he found soon after his landing, that the system which had been devised by the Marquis of Cornwallis, and pursued by Sir George Barlow, was pregnant with the most injurious consequences to all the native states, and perilous to the existence of the British empire in the East.

The Pindarrees, a class of the lowest freebooters, had been long known in the Deccan ; they were early employed in the Mahratta wars, and numbers of them engaged in the service both of Scindiah and Holkar. They were in general more attached to their immediate commander, than to the prince who hired their services ; they not unfrequently changed sides, and plundered their masters whenever they found an opportunity. So soon as the tide of Mahratta conquest was turned, the Pindarrees were obliged to plunder the territories of their former masters for subsistence ; the very desolation they carried along with them brought them recruits, and their numbers were greatly augmented by the bodies of irregular horse which Lord Lake disbanded at the termination of the war.

In every thousand Pindarrees, about four hundred were well armed and mounted ; of that number about every fifteenth man carried a matchlock, but their favourite weapon was the Mahratta spear, which is from twelve to eighteen feet long. The remaining six hundred were common plunderers and followers, armed like the bazar retainers of every army in India, with any sort of weapon which chance supplied. Before the Pindarrees set out on an expedition, a leader sent notice to the inferior chiefs, and hoisted his standard on a particular day after the cessation of the rains, generally about the period of the Dusserah, a Hindu feast in honour of the return of fine weather. As soon as the rivers were fordable and a sufficient number had assembled, they moved off by the most unfrequented routes towards their destination. Commencing with short marches of about ten miles they gradually extended them to thirty or forty miles a-day, until they reached some peaceful region against which their expedition was intended. Terror and dismay burst at once on the helpless population ; villages were seen in flames ; wounded and houseless peasants flying in all directions, fortified places shutting their gates, and keeping up a perpetual firing from the walls. The plunderers dispersed in small parties, and spread themselves over the whole face of the country ; all acting on a concerted plan,

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A.D. 1807.
July.
Lord
Minto's
character.
Changes
Barlow's
system.

The Pin-
darrees
plunder.

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A.D. 1807. they swept round in a half circle, committing every sort of violence and excess—torturing to extort money—ravishing, murdering, and burning in the defenceless villages ; but seldom venturing on danger unless the prospect of a booty was very certain. When they approached a point on the frontier, very distant from where they had entered, they united and went off in a body to their homes. Whilst they continued their excesses, marauders of all descriptions sallied out to join them, or profit by their presence, and whole districts became a scene of rapine and conflagration.

The ordinary modes of torture inflicted by these miscreants were heavy stones placed on the head or chest ; red-hot irons applied to the soles of the feet ; tying the head of a person into a *tobra*, or bag for feeding horses, filled with hot ashes ; throwing oil on the clothes and setting fire to them ; besides many others equally horrible, which could not be named with decency. The awful consequences of a visit from the Pindarrees can scarcely be imagined by those who have not witnessed them. For some time their ravages were chiefly confined to Malwa, Rajpootana, and Berar ; a few of them, however, ventured almost every year into the dominions of the Nizam and the Peishwa, though little notice was taken of them by the British government, while they refrained from molesting its own subjects and territory.

Sir Charles Metcalfe's opinion. The situation of the ancient Rajpoot states of Odeypore, Joudpore, Jeypore, and other principalities, became at this period truly deplorable ; but their condition and sentiments cannot be painted in more striking colours than by using the terms of a despatch from Sir Charles Metcalfe, the enlightened resident at Delhi, who, adverting to their repeated applications for the aid of the British government, observes :—"When I reply to these various applications, I find it difficult to obtain even a confession that the moderate policy of the British government is just. People do not scruple to assert that they have a right to the protection of the British government. They say that there always has existed some power in India to which peaceable states submitted, and, in return, obtained its protection ; that then their own governments were maintained in respectability, and they were secure against the invasions of upstart chiefs and armies of lawless banditti. That the British government now occupies the place of the great protecting power, and is the natural guardian of the peaceable and weak : but, owing to its refusal to use its influence for their protection, the peaceable and weak states are continually exposed to oppressions and cruelties

of robbers and plunderers, the most licentious and abandoned of mankind." Nor were the Rajpoots alone exposed to danger ; the Sikh chieftains west of the Sutledge, from whom our protection had been withdrawn, were in a state of alarm and disturbance, dreading to be reduced under the sway of Runjeet Sing, who had founded a kingdom in the Punjab, which daily increased in strength.

The court of directors expressed some dissatisfaction at the extent to which the policy of non-interference had been carried by Sir George Barlow ; they censured the abandonment of the Rajah of Jeypore, expressing a hope that "the supreme government in India would take care, in all its transactions with the native princes, to preserve our character for fidelity to our allies from falling into disrepute, and would evince a strict regard in the prosecution of its political views, to the principles of justice and generosity." The government in India had also shewn that it was alive to the evil impressions which might result from Sir George Barlow's having rescinded the article of the treaty concluded by Lord Lake, which precluded Scindiah from ever again employing his profligate minister, Sirjee Rao Ghatkia, the author of the treacherous attack on the British residency. While bestowing a very qualified approbation on the altered treaty, the Court of Directors expressed a hope that "neither in the motives by which the supreme government was actuated, nor in the communications with Scindiah, any just ground was afforded for a suspicion on the part of the Mahratta chieftains, that the British government entertained any dread of the consequences which might possibly result from insisting on a scrupulous adherence to the stipulations of treaties." But, notwithstanding the justness of these views, there still existed in the Direction a strong desire to avoid, by every possible means, any further extension of political connexions. It was hoped that peace might be preserved without our being compelled to assume that paramount power, which seemed to be the more dreaded the nearer it was brought within our grasp. So Lord Minto was entrusted with the trial of the experiment, how far it was possible for us with safety to stop short of taking into our hands the supremacy, if not the sovereignty of India.

Sir George Barlow had been obliged to make the court of the Nizam an exception to his policy of non-interference, and to take active steps to support that prince's prime minister, Meer Alum. On the death of that nobleman, there were several competitors for the vacant office ; but after some time it was arranged

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The
Directors
dissatisfied.

They re-
commend
that the
treaties be
observed.

Lord
Minto tries
the experi-
ment of
half-
governing
India.

Confusion
in the
Deccan.

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A.D. 1807.

Difference
in learning
between
the Brahm-
mins and
the Omrahs

Chandu
Lall a
clever
schemer.

between the Nizam and the Governor-General, that the office should be divided, the name of minister being given to the Nizam's favourite, Mooneer-ul-Mulk, and its active duties being entrusted to an English partisan, Chandu-Lall, under the title of Dewan.

Chandu-Lall was a Brahmin ; but this circumstance did not prevent him from being taken into the service of a Mohammedan prince. The Brahmins of the Carnatic are generally men of education, acquainted with at least the principles of mathematical science, and remarkable for their skill in commercial and financial affairs. On the other hand, the Mohammedan Omrahs, to which class Mooneer-ul-Mulk belonged, are generally conspicuous for their conceit and their ignorance, unable to keep an ordinary account, and yet ready to undertake the most complicated affairs of the exchequer. Chandu-Lall clearly saw that he would not long be permitted to retain his office as Dewan, unless English interest continued paramount at the court of Hyderabad ; he therefore exerted himself with all his might to forward those schemes of military reform, which had been originally suggested by the Marquis of Wellesley. Corps were disciplined by British officers, and a regular army sprung up, organised in all its branches by the British resident.

The Dewan, who personally derived great support from this force, implicitly acquiesced in every proposition which the resident made for the appointment of officers, and for the pay and equipment of the new battalions. In return for this, and his steady adherence to the engagements of the defensive alliance, he was protected by British influence and power from the attacks of his numerous enemies, and left to control, as he thought best, the internal government of the country, the prosperity of which began early to decline under a system which had no object but revenue, and under which, neither regard for rank nor desire for popularity existing, the nobles were degraded and the people oppressed. The Nizam (of whose sanity very reasonable doubts were entertained) lapsed into a state of gloomy discontent ; and while the Dewan, his relations, a few favourites, and money-brokers flourished, the good name of the British nation suffered ; for it was said, and with justice, that our support of the actual administration freed the minister and his executive officers from those salutary fears, which act as a restraint upon the most despotic rulers. The unhappy result of those arrangements, which the fear of greater evils had led him to confirm, appears to have been felt and deplored by Lord Minto ; but the remedy was most

difficult, without over-stepping the limits prescribed for his ob- servance ; and, in fact, no effectual effort was made to check these evils during his lordship's administration.

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A.D. 1808.

Bajee Rao, the Peishwa, had scarcely been restored to his authority by the treaty of Bassein, than he began to evince the distrust and duplicity of his character towards his new allies ; and openly avowed, in regard to many persons subject to his authority, that revenge was his principal motive for entering into alliance with the English. The Peishwa was, in fact, a profligate sensualist ; his favour was reserved for those who pandered to his passions and his crimes, and his ministers were chosen from his agents in lust and murder. Through these unscrupulous agents he kept up a correspondence with the chief confederates against the British power, and ascribed his connexion with that government, which to them he reprobated and deplored, to necessity, occasioned by their absence, and to the treachery of the southern Jaghireddars. General Wellesley (since Duke of Wellington) had early appreciated the character of Bajee Rao, and had anxiously urged upon the government the necessity of speedily arranging the relations between the Peishwa and the southern chieftains. In fact, these powerful lords, though calling themselves the subjects of the Peishwa's family, had for ages shewn it a very lax obedience, submitting to its orders or usurping upon its rights, according to the character and means of the sovereign upon the throne. These Jaghireddars also had established a strong claim on the consideration of the English, by their conduct during the war against Scindiah and Holkar, so that, while the Peishwa was to be supported in the assertion of all his just rights as lord paramount, it was obviously desirable that he should be prevented from effecting what he earnestly sought, their utter ruin.

The terms proposed by the resident at the court of Poonah, for adjusting the difference between the Peishwa and the Southern Jaghireddars were :—the mutual oblivion of past injuries—the abandonment of all pecuniary claims on either side—the guarantee to them of the *Serinjamny* lands, that is, lands granted to support a specific number of troops for the service of the paramount prince, so long as they served the Peishwa with fidelity—the relinquishment, on their part, of all former usurpations—their attendance, when required, with the whole of their contingents—and of a third part at all times—under the command of a relation. So long as the Jaghireddars adhered to these terms, the British government agreed to guarantee their personal

Wellesley
recom-
mends
strict
measures.

The native
chieftains
ask for pro-
tection.

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Lord Minto
obliged to
give
protection.

safety, and that of their relations. Lord Minto sanctioned this departure from the policy of non-interference, which, from this time forward, may be said to have been virtually abandoned, and he sent orders to Madras, Mysore, and the Deccan, to have a sufficient force assembled to compel the submission of any chieftains who might prove refractory.

Bajee Rao and the Jaghireddars were equally unwilling to submit their claims to the arbitration of the British government. The Peishwa would not at first listen to any proposition which did not comprehend the entire resumption of the lands held by the southern chieftains, and their being compelled to submit to his authority by force of arms. The Jaghireddars were equally unwilling to resign their old usurpations, and enter into fixed stipulations of allegiance; but the presence of a large British force compelled obedience. They all joined the Peishwa at Panderpore, whence they accompanied him to Poonah, where all matters were finally arranged under the mediation of the British resident. Though these arrangements greatly increased the Peishwa's influences and resources, Bajee Rao never forgave the English for not having given him the aid of their troops to execute his meditated scheme of vengeance on the Southern Jaghireddars.

The
Peishwa
hates the
English.

We have already mentioned Ameer Khan, as one of those who had seized on the regency of Holkar's dominions, when the insanity of Jesswunt Rao rendered him incapable of conducting the government. He soon quitted Indore, and placing himself at the head of a large body of Pindarrees, began to levy exactions, sometimes in Holkar's name, and sometimes in his own. One of his first acts, was to threaten the territories of Berar with invasion, under the pretence that the Rajah, owed large sums to Holkar. Lord Minto could not contemplate with indifference an army of Pindarrees and other military adventurers, encamped on the banks of the Nerbudda, under an ambitious Mussulman chief, whose conquest of Berar would bring them into immediate contact with the territories of the Nizam. Community of religion would no doubt have induced a powerful party in those dominions, including most probably the Nizam himself, to join in schemes for the establishment of Mohammedan supremacy in southern India, and the consequent overthrow of British power. Under such circumstances it would have been ruinous to adhere to the policy of non-interference. Lord Minto abandoned it without hesitation, and tendered to the Rajah of Berar the gratuitous protection of the British government. Ameer Khan was

Ameer
Khan at
the head
of the
Pindarrees.

Lord Minto
protects
Berar, but
allows
Ameer
Khan to
escape.

driven from the frontiers of Berar, but Lord Minto would not sanction the pursuit of the freebooter into his own dominions, and Ameer Khan escaped with an unbroken army to prosecute new schemes of conquest and oppression.

Though the influence of the French in India was virtually annihilated by the destruction of Tippoo and the dispersion of the armies which Perron and other French adventurers had found amongst the Mahrattas, yet Napoleon frequently exhibited a settled purpose to contest with the English the empire of the East, and early in the year 1808, he sent ambassadors to Persia, who were said to have been most favourably received by Futteh Ali Shah, the reigning sovereign, and to have concluded a treaty very menacing to the English interests. This intelligence excited much alarm, both in London and Calcutta ; missions, without any apparent concert, were sent to Persia by the Governor-general and the British ministry ; the envoys took very different views of the course of policy which ought to be pursued, and that which was most absurd in itself and most pernicious in its consequences was eventually adopted. Captain Malcolm, Lord Minto's envoy, proceeded to Bushire, but on the king of Persia refusing him leave to advance to Teheran, and insisting on his negotiating with his son, the viceroy of Shiraz, he declined going any further, as unbecoming the dignity of the English nation, that its representative should treat with a prince at a provincial capital, while the French ambassador, who had been received in direct violation of an existing treaty, enjoyed the distinction of residing at the court and carrying on his negotiations with the king. These reasons and many others for not complying with his majesty's desire, were embodied in a memorial and sent to Teheran ; but producing no effect, the representative of the supreme government sailed for Calcutta. On his arrival there, orders were given to prepare an expedition, which was meant to occupy one of the Bahrein islands, in the Persian Gulph ; and as the early failure of the French promises was anticipated, they being quite inconsistent with the arrangements made between Napoleon and the Emperor of Russia, there existed no doubt that the Persian government would soon be reduced to the necessity of asking for that friendship which it had slighted ; and until it should be in this temper, it was obvious to every person with the slightest pretensions to statesmanship, that the alliance would never take a shape which merited confidence or promised benefit.

Sir Harford Jones was the ambassador from the court of

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The French
schemes in
Persia.

Missions to
Persia.

Captain
Malcolm's
etiquette.

Orders to
prepare an
expedition
at Calcutta.

CHAPTER XVI. London, when it was the fashion of the day for England to pay people for protecting themselves, and to subsidize every power which seemed willing to accept a subsidy. A treaty was concluded in March 1809, by which Great Britain was bound to pay the king of Persia an annual subsidy of one hundred thousand pounds, so long as he should be at war with Russia, to supply sixteen thousand stand of arms, with twenty field-pieces complete, and such numbers as could be spared of artillery-men and officers, to instruct the Persian army ; on the other hand, Persia agreed to assist Great Britain in repelling any attempt on the part of the French, to invade the Company's territories in India.

Its results. The pecuniary loss was the least evil resulting from this disgraceful treaty. It was studiously circulated through the East, that England had been forced to purchase the protection of the Persian monarch ; and the Asiatic princes, who well knew the feebleness of Persia, felt and expressed their contempt for those who stooped to accept of such protection. The treaty was concluded when Russia was an ally of France. It seems not to have entered into diplomatic consideration, that a contingency was possible of Russia becoming the ally of England. When this event took place, England was rather awkwardly situated, by having made opposite engagements with Persia and Russia ; but Persia, as being the weaker power, was sacrificed.

Shah Sooja. The same alarm of a French invasion which had caused these missions to Persia, suggested one to the court of Cabul, then governed by Sooja-ul-Mulk, who had just conquered his brother Mohammed. An alliance was concluded with Shah Sooja ; and though he was soon afterwards driven from the throne, and became a pensioner on the bounty of the British government, a favourable impression was made by the embassy on the minds of the Afghans. This favourable impression was created by the prudence and wisdom of Mountstuart Elphinstone, to whom the mission was entrusted, and to whose good conduct the west of India is much indebted.

Disturbances in Travancore. Travancore was the scene of some confusion in the years 1808 and 1809. The dewan or vizier, a Hindu, by name Vyloo Tambee, refused to allow the dismissal of some troops, and to pay the amount of the rajah's subsidy. He levied troops among the Nairs or military classes, and attacked several of the British positions. After some sharp conflicts he was routed, and the British troops occupied the country. The rajah made a new treaty and paid all the arrears. His new dewan pursued Vyloo

Quelled Feb. 1809.

Tambee with great vigour ; he took refuge in the mountains, and hid himself in an ancient sanctuary. The new dewan's men broke into the sanctuary and found the object of their pursuit dying of his wounds. His brother was taken and hanged, and the dead body of the ex-dewan was exposed on a gibbet.

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A.D. 1809.

We have mentioned in a former page, that the Marquis of Wellesley's wise plans for the reduction of the islands possessed by the French and Dutch in the Indian seas, had been frustrated by the unaccountable obstinacy of Admiral Rainier. The weakness of the French marine for several years prevented the enemy from availing themselves of their positions in the isles of Bourbon and Mauritius on one side, and the harbours of Java and its dependencies on the other, to annoy our commerce. But in the winter of 1808, a squadron of French frigates sailed from different ports of France and Holland, eluded the vigilance of the British cruizers, and reached the Indian seas in the following spring. Great injury was done to English commerce by these unexpected enemies ; consequences still more disastrous were not unreasonably anticipated, so that Lord Minto was universally applauded when he declared his resolution to reduce those islands, and deprive the enemy's ships of any harbour where they could find shelter. A large army was assembled in the Carnatic, and was almost ready for departure, when an unexpected event menaced the whole fabric of British power in the East with complete ruin.

Lord Minto
sends an
expedition.

Sir George Barlow, on resigning the supreme authority at Sir G. Calcutta, had been appointed governor of Madras, where he employed himself in devising plans for the reduction of the heavy expenses of the army. An order was issued, that the allowance called tent contract, made from 1802 to the officers commanding native regiments, for the purpose of providing camp-equipments for their soldiers, should immediately cease. The abruptness of this order, and the want of consideration for the feelings of the persons whose interests were concerned, gave general, and not unjust dissatisfaction. The dissatisfaction was fomented by some of the officers of the king's army, who quarrelled with the Madras government. General Macdowal was refused a seat in the council, and he entered warmly into the discussion, by condemning the conduct of Colonel Munro, who had sided with the government. General Macdowal was deprived of his command, and he issued a general order insulting to the civil power, before he left Madras for Europe, which he never reached, as the vessel on board of which he was a passenger foundered at sea.

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 A.D. 1809.
 .
 Lord Minto
 quells it.

A dangerous spirit of mutiny spread abroad through the Madras army, which was greatly increased by Sir George Barlow's sending round a test of allegiance for signature to the whole of the officers, in order that he might ascertain the names of those who would support or oppose his acts. Those who refused to sign, amounting to more than two-thirds of the officers of the native army, were menaced with dismissal—a threat partially carried into execution. Some of the mutineers seized Seringapatam, and two battalions of sepoys had rather a smart skirmish with the king's troops that besieged them. Everything threatened a most perilous crisis, when the fortunate arrival at Madras of Lord Minto, who was universally respected, led to the restoration of tranquillity. Obedience was cheerfully tendered to his mild firmness, which the blustering violence of Sir George Barlow had failed to obtain. A general amnesty was published, excluding only those who had taken a leading part in the disaffection, and most even of these were subsequently restored.

A.D. 1810.
 Bourbon
 and Ma-
 ritius
 taken.

The year 1810 became remarkable for the subjugation of the French islands of Bourbon and Mauritius. The necessity of putting an end to the plundering of British vessels, carried on by their privateers and squadrons, was undeniable. In the early part of that year, they had captured or destroyed six English frigates and three Indiamen. Preparations were made in 1809, by having the small island of Rodriguez occupied; and on September 23rd, Lieutenant-colonel Keating took possession of it. He soon afterwards made a descent on the island of Bourbon; and having obtained a large quantity of plunder, he returned to Rodriguez. The French general, Brusleyes, committed suicide. Early in the following year, a large reinforcement was sent to Colonel Keating, who on the 6th of July made another attack, and the island was occupied after a short resistance. An expedition was then formed to capture the Mauritius, and troops were collected from Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Ceylon, and the Cape. The naval force was commanded by Commodore Josias Rowley, and the troops by General Abercrombie. On the 29th of November, the expedition anchored in the passage called Coin la Mire, where ten thousand men were debarked without difficulty, and having made their way through some brush-wood, they were met by all the troops whom the Governor-general Decaen could collect—little more than two thousand men—whom they speedily routed. The French general capitulated in the evening of the 1st of December; and the nests of privateers in the Eastern Ocean were both destroyed, to the manifest advantage of British Commerce.

As the conquest of Java seemed to be a more perilous enterprise, the Governor-general made great exertions, and actually accompanied the expedition, which was commanded by Sir Samuel Auchmuty, serving as a volunteer. On the 4th August, Java taken. CHAPTER
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A.D. 1811. 1811, the Java troops disembarked at a village about twelve miles from the capital of Batavia, and the landing of the whole was effected in twenty-four hours, without a single accident. After some minor operations, Sir Samuel Auchmuty marched against the Dutch forces, which were strongly posted at Cornelis, occupying an entrenched camp, having each flank protected by a river, with a chain of redoubts and batteries in front, mounted with three hundred pieces of cannon. Batteries were raised against two of these redoubts, which maintained so heavy a fire that the guns of the enemy were silenced. An assault was ordered on the morning of the 26th ; the outworks were carried at the point of the bayonet, and the fugitives were so hotly pursued that they had not time to remove the bridges of planks which joined the works to the camp. Although the Dutch fought well on the outworks, they lost all courage when their camp was stormed ; numbers fell without any attempt to resist, and five thousand surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Notwithstanding this decisive defeat, Governor Jansens, with the characteristic obstinacy of his nation, continued to protract the war ; but garrison after garrison was yielded to the English, and at length, on the 16th of September, this valuable island was Sept. 16. surrendered. We need only add, that it was retained until the end of the French war, when the English having just held it long enough to learn its great value, and to win the affections of the native inhabitants, restored it to the Dutch.

The policy of non-interference prevented Lord Minto from taking any steps to check the tyranny which the Nabob-vizier troubled by practised on his subjects in Oude ; but he exerted himself to practise Travancore and Bundelcund in their fidelity to the Company, restoring to the latter country a tranquillity of which it had been for a long time deprived. Great alarm continued to be excited by the Pindarrees, who no longer abstained from violating the British territories, a party of them having burst into Mirzapore, and left behind them at their departure, the usual traces of their ravages, villages burned, fields laid waste, and the cultivators murdered. Dread of exciting a new Mahratta war, which was likely to be viewed with displeasure by the Court of Directors, prevented Lord Minto from taking effectual steps to punish these barbarous marauders ; but his despatches showed how erroneous

CHAPTER XVI. was the course of policy which had been pursued since the departure of the Marquis of Wellesley, and prepared the way for a return to the vigorous measures of that enlightened statesman.

A. D. 1812.

His quiet policy excites the Goorkhas.

The Pindarrees were not the only marauders who menaced the tranquillity and security of British India. The Goorkhas, a warlike race, on our north-eastern frontier, had, by dexterously availing themselves of the disputes and distress of their neighbours, extended their sway from the limits of their native hills over the entire province of Nepaul. They next turned their views to the adjoining plains, most of which were tenanted by Rajahs depending either on the Company or its allies, and committed several depredations in the districts of Gurruckpore and Sarun. These excesses seem, at first, to have been considered more as the irregular and unpremeditated acts of individual officers on the frontier, than as evincing any hostility in the nation. At length their frequency and increased boldness became intolerable, so that Lord Minto was induced to address the Goorkha Rajahs of Nepaul in very decided language. "I cannot believe," said his lordship, "that while an amicable inquiry into disputed points concerning lands is going on in the district of Gurruckpore, the unprovoked and unpardonable outrage just described to have taken place in the adjoining district, can have had the sanction of your government; on the contrary, I am convinced it will excite your severe displeasure. It is impossible for me, however, to suffer it to pass without bringing it distinctly to your notice, and calling on you to disavow and punish the perpetrators of this act, and to cause the people who have been forcibly carried away to be released, and the plundered property to be restored. Complaints have also reached me of encroachments committed by your subjects in the district of Terhoot, which cannot be permitted to continue."

Lord Minto threatens, and asks an answer. "If redress is not afforded, and similar proceedings in future not prevented, the British government will be obliged to have recourse to its own means of securing the rights and property of its subjects, without any reference to your government. But I will not relinquish the hope that your immediate compliance with the requisition contained in this letter, and a strict control over your officers and subjects in future, will prevent the recurrence of circumstances which cannot fail to render nugatory any attempt to adjust the disputed points by amicable enquiry and discussion, and to produce consequences which it must be the wish of the government to avoid."

This document amply shows that Lord Minto was prepared to

take active measures for checking the insolence of the Goorkhas, if it should be found that moderation and forbearance had no effect except to increase aggression. But he left India before an answer to this despatch could be received, and on his successor devolved the duty of checking the encroachments of this proud and warlike people, and of vindicating, by their punishment, the insulted honour of the British government. "The administration of Lord Minto," says Sir John Malcolm, "differs essentially from that of every Governor-General who preceded him. It was impossible for a man possessed of such clear intellect, and so well acquainted with the whole scheme of government, to be long in India without being satisfied that the system of neutral policy which had been adopted could not be persevered in without the hazard of great and increasing danger to the state. His calm mind saw, at the same time, the advantage of reconciling the authorities in England to the measures which he contemplated. Hence he ever preferred delay, where he thought that it was unaccompanied with danger; and referred to the administration at home, whom he urged, by every argument he could use, to sanction the course he deemed best suited to the public interests. But this desire to conciliate and carry his superiors along with him did not result from any dread of responsibility; for wherever the exigency of the case required a departure from this general rule, he was prompt and decided."

CHAPTER
XVI.
A.D. 1813.
He quits
India.

Remarks
on his
system.

In 1813, Lord Minto returned to England, where he had been but a few weeks when a sudden illness terminated his useful life. His loss at this juncture was deemed a very serious misfortune, for no one was thought more calculated to impress others with a just idea of the true condition of our Indian empire. His rule was one of peace, but he left war as an unavoidable legacy to his successors. One of his improvements was the suppression of "Dacoity"—a frightful system—in compliance with which the most horrible assassinations, robberies, and other atrocities were perpetrated at night by gangs of confederated miscreants.

CHAPTER XVII.

GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS, 1813—1823.

The East India Company discovers that the Robbers in India must be put down.—The Marquis of Hastings compelled to use strong Measures.—He is both Commander-in-chief and Governor-General.—The Nepaul Government tries to evade.—The British take their own Towns.—The Nepalese murder several Persons.—War begins.—Money borrowed from Oude.—The Pindarrees wait their Opportunities.—The Supreme Government makes Treaties with Berar, Bhopaul and Saugur.—Scindiah is offended with these Treaties.—Attack on Nepaul.—Dehra Doon entered.—General Gillespie killed at Kalunga.—Gallant Defence of the Goorkhas at Jeytuk.—The English lose many Officers and Soldiers.—Ochterlony wins; while four other Generals lose.—Bad fighting produces worse Effects in India.—The Patans are enlisted.—Hearsay is beaten.—Colonel Gardner's Patans do good Service.—Ochterlony gains further Advantages.—Negociations for Peace continue during the Rains, 1815. Ochterlony turns the Cheree Gattie Pass.—The Goorkhas sue for peace and obtain Terms.—The Mahratta Intrigues.—Scindiah's Efforts against the English.—Mr. Elphinstone does great Service at Poonah.—Mr. Jenkins at Nagpore.—The Peishwa plots for Power.—He supports Pirates.—The Rajah of Nagpore dies.—His Successor, Appah Sahib, joins the British.—Mr. Russell controls the Nizam.—The Peishwa's Favourite, Trimbuck, hates the English.—He collects a large Sum of Money for War.—The Superstition of the Peishwa.—Elphinstone baffles his Schemes.—Negociations between the Guicowar and the Peishwa.—Gungad-hur Shastree, Agent for the Guicowar.—He is duped by Trimbuck and murdered.—Trimbuck taken Prisoner.—Escapes from Tannah Jail.—The Peishwa supports the Plots of Trimbuck.—Hattras bombarded and taken.—The Pindarrees increase in Boldness.—They invade and devastate the Madras Territory.—The Marquis of Hastings prepares to attack them.—The Charter

renewed in 1813.—*Jeypore protected.*—*The Peishwa's Schemes discovered.*—*He makes a Treaty.*—*Treaty with the Guicowar, Nov. 1817.*—*Plans made for suppressing the Pindarrees.*—*Scindiah watched.*—*His Schemes.*—*He makes a Treaty.*—*Effects of the Treaty.*—*He declines to surrender Asseerghur.*—*Three Armies attack the Pindarrees.*—*Events at Poonah change the Plan of the War.*—*The Peishwa quits Poonah.*—*He deceives Sir J. Malcolm.*—*His Preparations for War.*—*Offers Bribes for Assassinations.*—*Fidelity of the Sepoys.*—*Danger of Mr. Elphinstone.*—*Hostilities begun, Nov. 3, 1817.*—*The Mahratta Army.*—*Battle of Kirkee, Nov. 5.*—*Gokla fights well.*—*The Peishwa defeated.*—*The British Residency burned.*—*The Peishwa flees from Poonah.*—*Appah Sahib of Nagpore breaks the Treaty.*—*His secret Schemes and apparent great Protestations.*—*He contemplates an Attack on the Residency.*—*Mr. Jenkins makes Arrangements for its Defence.*—*The extraordinary Conflict at Seestabuldee.*—*The Madras Troops distinguish themselves.*—*General Doveton arrives with Reinforcements.*—*Appah Sahib temporizes.*—*Another Attempt at fighting.*—*He baffles the Negotiation and is taken Prisoner.*—*He escapes by a Stratagem and joins the Pindarrees.*—*General Smith pursues the Peishwa.*—*The Peishwa approaches Poonah at the Head of an Army.*—*The Defence of Corigaum, Jan. 1, 1818.*—*Siege of Sattara.*—*The Peishwa deposed.*—*Gokla killed.*—*The Pindarrees divide themselves into three Corps and flee.*—*They are pursued by the British.*—*The Cholera appears.*—*Cheetoo takes Refuge in Holkar's Camp.*—*The Patan Chiefs join him.*—*Sir T. Hislop takes command and brings the War to a Crisis.*—*Battle of Mahedpore won, Dec. 21, 1817.*—*Holkar begs Peace.*—*Scindiah is submissive.*—*Cheetoo's Bands dispersed.*—*The Pindarrees destroyed.*—*Resistance and Treachery at Talneir.*—*The Garrison put to the Sword.*—*The Killedar and Commandant hanged.*—*Other Forts yield.*—*The Peishwa, an Outlaw, makes Overtures which are refused.*—*He takes refuge near Asseerghur and surrenders.*—*He is allowed the enormous Sum of Eight Lakhs per Annum.*—*Asseerghur taken.*—*Cheetoo devoured by a Tiger.*—*The Vizier (Soubahdar) of Oude declares himself King.*—*Disturbances at Bareilly.*—*The Mohammedans infuriated.*—*Attack on Captain Boscowen.*—*The Moslems refuse to give Evidence.*—*Treaties arranged with Cutch, with the Ameers of Scinde, Angria Colabah and the Chiefs of the Concan.*—*Expeditions to the Persian Gulf.*—*The Tribe of Beni-bu-Ali nearly exterminated.*—*Expedition to the Red Sea.*—*Mocha bombarded.*—*The Settlement of*

the Rajpoots and other smaller States in the Interior.—The first Establishment of the Churches of England and Scotland in India.—Dr. Middleton appointed Bishop of Calcutta.—His Death, July 8, 1822.—The Marquis of Hastings returns to Europe.—His Services rewarded.—He dies Nov. 29, 1825.

CHAPTER XVII.
 A.D. 1813. The Marquis of Hastings

THE Marquis of Hastings arrived in Calcutta October 13th, 1813, with the authority of Governor-General, and of Commander-in-Chief, for the Government was fully aware that it would soon be necessary to resort to strong measures, for the protection of our subjects and allies from the inroads of those large hordes of freebooters, whose excesses appeared to increase with our forbearance. It seems, however, to have been expected that hostilities might be avoided, and tranquillity maintained, by forming alliances with such states as had not become predatory. At such a time it was fortunate that the government of India was entrusted to a nobleman equally distinguished for his diplomatic and military attainments, and who had given many signal proofs of his talents as a soldier and a statesman.

The Nepaul answer is evasive.

It was not until late in December that an answer was received to the despatch which Lord Minto had sent to the Rajah of Nepaul. The Goorkha's reply to the complaints of the English was obsequious even to servility; but it evaded every one of the points in issue. Commissioners were appointed to meet those of the Nepaul prince, but the discussions led to no useful result. Points which had been adjusted on apparently incontrovertible evidence, and with the assent of both parties, were revived by the Nepalese commissioners; and on the Governor-General refusing to enter anew into discussions which he had been led to believe were already adjusted, his agent was warned to quit the frontier, and the representatives of the Goorkha government were recalled to Katmandu, the capital of Nepaul. The Governor-General then addressed a letter to the Rajah, reviewing the late negotiations, and requiring that orders should be sent for the peaceable surrender of the districts which the Nepalese had seized, and of which they retained possession, though they had themselves confessed that these lands were the property of the British government. The Rajah was distinctly informed, that unless these districts were restored, possession of them would be taken by the British troops, and that all those villages which had been conditionally surrendered pending the negotiations, should be permanently annexed to the dominions of the Company. No notice being taken of these communications, Sir Roger Martin,

The British take their own towns.

the magistrate of Gurruckpore, took possession of the Turaee country, which skirts the base of the Nepaulese hills, and, at the same time, the villages on the Sarun frontier were occupied without resistance, the Nepaulese troops retiring as the English advanced. Such was the state of affairs when the setting in of the periodical rains, which in these districts is a most unhealthy period, made it expedient to withdraw the troops, and commit the charge of the disputed lands to the native officers who had been appointed to their management.

The Nepaulese had retired with a deliberate purpose ; no sooner did they perceive that the civil officers and police were left defenceless than they rushed upon them from their fastnesses in the hills. After killing eighteen, and wounding six of the persons. police establishment stationed at Bhotwal, they murdered the superior officer, who had been left in charge of the place by the British government, with circumstances of great barbarity. This atrocious murder, which was perpetrated in the presence of the Foujdar, or commander-in-chief of the Nepaulese on that frontier, was followed by several other insults and outrages. Remonstrances were again made to the prince of Nepaul, but the Rajah avowed and supported the outrages committed by his officers ; and refused to make any reparation for the injury and insult offered to the British government.

All hopes of an amicable adjustment of the differences with the Goorkhas were now at an end ; and the Marquis of Hastings prepared for war. At this time the finances of Bengal were in War a very unsatisfactory condition ; the treasury had been drained almost to its last rupee, so that it was difficult to find means for defraying the ordinary expenses of government. The young Nabob of Oude, who had recently succeeded his father, was induced, by his personal respect for the Governor-General, to lend large sums at a lower rate of interest than was usual in India, and thus a sufficiency was obtained to meet the immediate emergencies of the war.

Although the Pindarrees had not repeated their predatory visits, it was well known that they were only waiting for a favorable opportunity of renewing their incursions ; and the Marquis of Hastings had represented to the government in England, in the strongest terms, the necessity of their immediate and specific sanction to a course of measures calculated to remedy this alarming and impending evil. As a precautionary means of effecting this object, negotiations had been commenced for concluding a subsidiary treaty, and defensive alliance, with the Rajah of

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Money obtained from Oude.

CHAPTER XVII. Berar, or, as he is more frequently called, of Nagpore. But, after long delay, Ragojee Bhonslah broke off the treaty in 1814, and even entered into a league with Scindiah to reduce Vizier Mohammed, the Nabob of Bhopaul, a gallant chief, who had long maintained himself against the Hindu states, by whose combined arms he now appeared on the point of being overwhelmed. The position of the Nabob's territories, his personal character, and the friendship he had shown to the English in the former Mahratta war, pointed him out, on the failure of the negotiations with Nagpore, as a valuable ally, whose assistance was almost essential to the success of the operations contemplated for the suppression of the predatory system.

Scindiah offended.

A treaty, offensive and defensive, was concluded with the Nabob of Bhopaul, and also with Govind Rao, the hereditary lord of Saugur. By these alliances the British stations in Bundelcund were connected with those of Berar, and means were provided for watching the intrigues of the various Mahratta princes, as well as of Runjeet Sing, the ruler of Lahore, and Ameer Khan, the principal leader of the Pindarrees. This alliance gave great offence to Scindiah, who affected to look upon the Rajah of Bhopaul as one of his dependents, but his remonstrances were unheeded; a communication was made both to him and the Rajah of Nagpore, that any attack on Bhopaul would be resented as an act of hostility against the English government, and, in order to give effect to the menace, a body of troops was formed in Bundelcund, while the subsidiary force with the Nizam, was advanced to Ellichpore, the capital of Berar. Having nearly completed these arrangements, the Governor-general directed all his attention to the Nepaulese war.

Troops sent to Bundelcund.

The frontier of Nepaul consisted, in addition to the Sal Forest, which separates it from the plains of the Turacee, of a series of mountain ridges, intersected in various places by narrow valleys and rugged defiles; it extended about six hundred miles from east to west. It was resolved that this great frontier should be penetrated by four armies at the same time.

Attack on the Dehra Doon.

The principal under Major General Marley was ordered to march to Hetura and from thence proceed to Katmandu, the capital: General Ochterlony, at the head of six thousand men, was ordered to proceed from Loodiana through the passes of the hills which overlook the Sutledge, and to act against the western districts: General Gillespie's division was to occupy the Dehra Doon, and having mastered the important town of Nahun, to seize the passes of the Jumna and Ganges, and to prevent the

retreat of the enemy to the westward ; and General Wood was ordered to proceed from Goruckpore for the purpose of resuming the lands in Bhotwal and Sheoraj and then of menacing Pulpa. The Company's armies amounted to nearly twenty-three thousand, that of the Goorkhas to about twelve thousand courageous men well accoutred, clothed and disciplined, as the sepoyos. General Gillespie's division first entered the field, and Colonel Carpenter, at the head of the advanced detachment, crossed the frontier, and on Oct. 22, 1814, took possession of Dehra, the chief town of the valley. The fort of Kalunga was then reconnoitred, and the idea of taking it by a coup de main given up. General Gillespie took the command of the division on the 29th, and determined to make an attempt. The fort of Kalunga or Kalapanee, distant nine miles from Dehra, stands upon an insulated rugged ridge, nearly four miles in a straight line from north to south, which is covered with jungle and elevated upwards of 600 feet above the plain. The fort was quadrangular, built of stone and stockaded like all Goorkha defences. Its garrison consisted of six hundred men commanded by Balbhudra Sing, an officer of reputation. Small brass cannon were drawn up by the British, and a battery erected. The troops were divided into four columns, the first of which under Colonel Carpenter, with the reserve commanded by Major Ludlow, were stationed on a position to cover the working party. The three other columns, after a long circuit, took their positions. Batteries were erected during the night, and at day-break of the 31st the attack was begun. The difficulty of taking the place by escalade was then discovered. General Gillespie felt himself bound to use his utmost efforts, placed himself at the head of three companies of His Majesty's 53rd Regiment, and proceeded to the wicket, when a ball entered his heart and he fell, while cheering on his countrymen. The command then devolved on Colonel Mawbey, who considered it prudent to fall back on Dehra, while a battering train was ordered from Delhi. Four eighteen pounders and two eight-inch mortars arrived on Nov. 24, and operations were resumed. Major Pennington of the Artillery speedily effected a breach. The Grenadiers of the army with two companies of His Majesty's 53rd Regiment, attempted to storm the fort ; but their efforts were unavailing. Men, women and children, hurled spears, stones, and other missiles, while a fire of matchlocks killed and wounded nearly 500 of the assailants, including eleven officers. The batteries were then ordered to bombard the fort, and on Dec. 1, at 4 o'clock in the morning, Balbhudra Sing, with

General
Gillespie
killed.

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**Bravery
of the
Goorkhas.**

**Disasters
at Jeytuk.**

On the 19th General Martindell took the command, and on the following day Nahun was taken. The Goorkha garrison escaped into Jeytuk, a post on a point where two mountain ridges meet, and elevated nearly 4000 feet above the plains, but otherwise of little strength. Two columns were ordered, on the morning of the 27th of December, under the command of Majors Ludlow and Richards, to mount by different tracks, and to dislodge the enemy. The first, with great difficulty reached the summit of the ridge, when the enemy shewed a slight resistance, and then fled within the stockade. The grenadiers, who led the column, rushed on, but were checked by a destructive fire on both flanks and in front. The sepoys, who supported them, were not formed in line, when the Goorkhas pushed forward and drove the British troops with great slaughter down the rugged face of the hill. The second column had, by a long and fatiguing detour of sixteen miles, succeeded in reaching the top of the hill to the northward, and within 800 yards of the fort, about one o'clock of the day, when a sharp fire from the column stopped the Goorkhas, who were flushed by their former success. The firing continued until night, when the British were compelled to retreat. Two officers, Lieutenants Thackeray and Wilson, resolved to sacrifice themselves, and at the head of the light company of the 26th Bengal Infantry they for some time repulsed the enemy. As long as this undaunted little band held together the British troops descended the hill in order—but when Thackeray and Wilson were killed, confusion arose, and every one sought to escape by favour of the darkness, and under the cover of the rocks ; and in the morning of the 28th the shattered remains of the routed detachment reached the camp. The loss in Ludlow's column amounted to four officers, and thirty-five Europeans, with one hundred and twenty sepoys, killed and wounded : in Richards's, three officers killed, and five wounded, seventy-eight men killed, and two hundred and twenty wounded. These disasters, so unexpected, unfortunate and pernicious in their effects, compelled the general to suspend all further operations against Jeytuk, until reinforced by fresh troops.

**Ochterlony
fig'ts
cautiously.** Ochterlony's cautious movements with the first division, which he led from the banks of the Sutledge, to the north-eastern hills, formed a complete contrast to the rash enterprizes we have just described. He was opposed to Amar Sing, the bravest and best

leader of the Goorkhas ; and instead of risking an engagement, he compelled the enemy, by a series of masterly manœuvres, to abandon one strong post after another, until he obtained possession of the hilly tract between Plassea and Belaspore. General Wood, with the third division, was less fortunate ; in passing through the Sal forest, which extends in front of the Bhootwal pass, his troops unexpectedly encountered a stockade, and received a volley which did great execution. Colonel Hardyman, General of the 17th royal regiment, restored order and turned the position of the Goorkhas on both flanks ; but General Wood was so disheartened by the surprise, that he ordered the retreat to be sounded, much to the astonishment and indignation of the officers and men, who were thus obliged to relinquish a certain victory. The rest of Wood's campaign corresponded with this inauspicious commencement ; it was wasted in a series of timid movements, which showed an equal want of skill and courage in the commander.

General Marley's career was scarcely less calamitous and was rather more discreditable, than that of General John Wood. Having injudiciously left three large detachments at posts, twenty miles distant from each other and from all support, he was thrown into a state of pitiable consternation, on learning that two of them had been cut off by the Goorkhas. Such an effect did this calamity produce, that he at day-light fled from camp, without leaving any instructions behind him, and made the best of his way to Calcutta. General George Wood, who succeeded him, adopted the cautious or timid policy of his namesake, already mentioned, and the campaign was spent in idleness.

So unexpected, and we may add, so disgraceful a commencement of a campaign, for which such ample preparations had been made, inspired confidence in all the enemies of the English throughout India. A marked change was observed in the tone assumed by the Peishwa and Scindiah ; Runjeet Sing and Ameer Khan made several suspicious movements, showing that they were in readiness to act so soon as an opportunity should offer. The Marquis of Hastings was not disheartened ; he learned that the district of Kumaon, in the north-west of Nepaul, was nearly destitute of troops, and as he could not spare any of the army to take advantage of its condition, he determined to entrust the service to an irregular force. For this purpose he empowered Lieutenant-colonel Gardner and Captain Hearsay, who had been Patans formerly in the Mahratta service, to raise a force among the warlike Patans of Rohilkund, who readily enlisted under the English banners.

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General
Wood
unsuccess-
ful.

General
Marley
beaten.

General
George
Wood does
nothing.

Bad effects
of bad
fighting.

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 Hearsay beaten.

Gardner behaves well.

Attack on Jeytuk.

Ochterlony gains.

Captain Hearsay possessed more bravery than skill ; he unfortunately spread his troops over too wide a surface, and while a portion of them blockaded Koolulghur, he was forced to give battle with the remainder, to a very superior army coming to relieve the place. The Rohillas fought bravely, but were finally defeated ; Hearsay was wounded and taken prisoner. The Goorkha conqueror, Hasti-Dal, conveyed his captive to Almora. This disaster was more than compensated by the distinguished success of Gardner's Patans ; the colonel advanced from post to post, with equal celerity, caution and skill, availing himself so skilfully of the peculiar mode of fighting adopted by the Patans, that they proved superior to their antagonists in every engagement. He appeared before Almora, a little after Hearsay's defeat, where he was fortunately joined by two thousand regular infantry and a small train of artillery, under the command of Colonel Nicholls. Hasti-Dal, attempting to throw relief into Almora, was intercepted by a detachment, and slain in the skirmish which ensued. This so disheartened the Goorkhas, that they surrendered Almora after a very feeble defence, and Captain Hearsay was restored to his friends without ransom.

On the 2nd of February a detachment was sent by Martindell, with some light guns and mortars to fire into the fort of Jeytuk. The enemy laughed at the trifling, until the 20th of March, when two 18-pounders, and some large mortars began to play on the stockade. The enemy then fired upon their assailants and did considerable execution. A blockade of the little fort was at last established, by which the garrison was reduced to the most pitiable extremity. Yet they held out, with famine staring in their faces, until they were honourably released by the articles of capitulation signed by Amar Sing Thappa, which placed Jeytuk in the hands of General Sir David Ochterlony. Fifteen hundred fighting men left it, with about one thousand women and children.

In the meantime, General Ochterlony prepared to follow up the advantages which he had obtained. The Goorkhas retiring before him, fell back upon a most formidable position, on a mountain ridge of abrupt connected peaks, all of which but two were carefully stockaded, and were further protected by the stone redoubts of Malacoon and Suraghur. Ochterlony seized the two peaks which had been neglected, confident that the efforts of the Goorkhas to recover them would lead to a decisive action. He was not disappointed ; the Goorkhas, headed by one of their

bravest chiefs, assaulted the English position with desperate CHAPTER
heroism, and, for more than two hours, maintained the closest XVII.
combat which had ever been witnessed in India ; they were, at ^{A.D. 1815.} length, driven back, after having lost their leader and about one-^{April 16.} third of their bravest men, and the entrenchments they had so carefully erected were rendered useless. Amar Sing was anxious to protract resistance, but the other chiefs were so disheartened that they abandoned him one by one, and he could only procure safety for himself and his few faithful followers, by agreeing to a convention, according to the terms of which all the country west of the Jumna was surrendered to the English. The success of Ochterlony made some compensation for the errors of Martindell.

Proposals for peace were now made and entertained during the Ochterlony rainy season, but the Nepaul prince at last refused to accept the commander of the terms on which the English insisted, and the war was renewed. whole General Ochterlony, who was now deservedly placed at the head army. of the main army, advanced, in February, 1816, into the midst of ^{A.D. 1816.} those forests that guard the entrance into Nepaul, which had so long baffled the enterprize of his predecessors. He soon reached the first of the great series of fortifications which guarded the chief pass through the hills of Nepaul. A brief examination was sufficient to shew that the stockades could not be carried by assault ; and he was, therefore, compelled to seek means by which they could be turned. Fortunately, a water-course was discovered by which it was barely possible to reach an eminence commanding the pass. Sir David Ochterlony himself took the Forces the lead of the column destined to thread this perilous labyrinth ; passes. it had to encounter the greatest perils and privations, but the summit was finally gained, and the enemies abandoned the entrenchments, which were thus rendered useless. The Goorkhas, in revenge, attacked, with their whole force, a post which the English had established at Makwanpore, but, after a severe contest, which lasted several hours, they were completely defeated. Another victory was obtained by a detachment under The the command of Colonels Kelly and O'Halloran, which so dis- Goorkhas heartened the court of Katmandu, that the Rajah and his council intimated their readiness to comply with the terms which they had so recently rejected.

At this crisis a third power was invited to take part in the The contest ; the Goorkhas were nominally the subjects of the Chinese empire, and their Rajah applied for assistance to the prepare for war, sovereign power. The Chinese assembled an army, but, with but do nothing.

CHAPTER XVII. their usual procrastination, delayed their march until the war was over, and the terms of the treaty partially carried into effect.
A.D. 1816. On receiving a statement from the English authorities of the causes of the war, and the purposes for which it was prosecuted, they at once declared that the Goorkhas were in the wrong, upbraided them for their treachery, derided them for their weakness, and then abandoned them to their fate. The Governor-General was, however, not disposed to encumber the Company with distant and unprofitable possessions ; he confined the Goorkhas within the limits of Nepaul Proper, but required no sacrifice of their ancient dominions.

The reverses which the English met in the early part of the Nepaulese war, gave a fresh stimulus to the Mahratta intrigues : Scindiah was the chief of the secret confederacy. The stationary camp which he had established under the protection of the fort of Gwalior, had, in a few years, become a very thriving town, almost deserving the name of a city, and his pride was greatly increased by witnessing such a proof of his growing greatness. He not only intrigued with the Peishwa's court in Poonah, and with Holkar's regency at Indore, but entered into close alliance with the Rajah of Berar, obtained promises of aid from Runjeet Sing and the Rajpoot princes, and even tried to gain over the Rajah of Mysore. Had the storm burst forth when the British were engaged in the Nepaulese war, the consequences might have been very disastrous ; but the Mahratta powers were jealous of each other ; they were equally conscious of their own perfidy, and suspicious of the faith of their allies ; it consequently required a long time to organize such a confederacy as would have the remotest chance of inspiring mutual confidence. Before the confederated states were prepared to act, the fortunes of the war in the hills had completely changed, and the peace concluded with the Goorkhas of Nepaul, enabled the British to turn their undivided attention to Central India.

Elphinstone at
Poonah.
Jenkins at
Nagpore.

It was fortunate that, during this season of doubt and anxiety, Messrs. Elphinstone and Jenkins, the residents at the courts of Poonah and Nagpore, were gentlemen of unrivalled skill in diplomacy, possessing great firmness of mind and decision of character, and intimately acquainted with the varied relations between the Native states. The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone was placed in a situation of peculiar difficulty at Poonah. Even when the Peishwa formed a treaty of defensive alliance with the British at Bassein, the Marquis of Wellesley foresaw that jealousy would rankle in his mind, and that he would, at some

future period, manifest his hostility. "It was manifest," as this distinguished nobleman observed, "that the Peishwa had only entered into the defensive alliance with the British government, because his highness was convinced he had no other way of recovering any part of his just authority, or of maintaining tranquillity in his empire. The state of his affairs taking a favourable turn, his highness, supported by the different branches of the Mahratta empire, would be desirous of annulling the engagements he had made with the British government."

The Peishwa was also far from being pleased with some decisions of the British diplomats when called upon to act as mediators or arbitrators between him and some of his nominal feudatories. He thought, and perhaps not altogether without reason, that the English adjudicated on conflicting claims with a greater regard to their own interests than his rights. He was particularly annoyed at being obliged to renounce his claim to supremacy over the petty states of Kolapore and Sawunt Warree. These little states on the coast of the southern Concan, had been, for more than a century, the scourge of the western seas. They fitted out piratical vessels of small size and light burthen, which easily baffled the vigilance of our cruisers, by keeping closer to the shore than would be safe for European vessels.

In the year 1812, Lord Minto compelled these states to enter into certain engagements, by which their principal ports were placed in our hands, and, consequently, the continuation of their piracies prevented. This, however, gave great offence to the Peishwa, who expected to derive the same advantages from the pirates that Scindiah did from the Pindarrees. We need not repeat what has been already said of the character of Bajee Rao, the reigning Peishwa; like most Asiatic princes, he was equally timid and ambitious; daring in intrigue, but cowardly in action; his inordinate desires were restrained by his inordinate fears. Mr. Elphinstone knew him well, and, by uniting firmness with discretion, kept him in check, until, as we shall hereafter see, the influence of a profligate favourite led him through a disgraceful course of crime and treachery, which ended in the annihilation of his dynasty.

In March, 1816, the Rajah of Nagpore died, and was succeeded by his son Pursajee Bhonslah, who was blind, paralytic, and almost an idiot. Two factions contended for supremacy in the court, and the British resident entered into a secret alliance with Appah Sahib, the next heir to the *musnud*, or throne, to secure him the regency, provided that he would support British

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The
Peishwa
intrigues
for power.

A.D. 1816.
March.
Death
of the
Rajah of
Nagpore.

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Russell
controls
the Nizam.

interests. This arrangement gave a sudden shock to the Mahratta confederacy; for, though Appa Sahib eventually proved faithless, his withdrawal from the Mahratta alliance, in the first instance, was of the greatest importance to the British interests.

Although the Nizam was a Mohammedan prince, and therefore odious to the Mahrattas, efforts were made to engage him in the confederacy, which were defeated by the energy of the resident, Mr. Russell. But the close connexion between the British government and the obnoxious minister, Chandu-Lall, exposed the English to great unpopularity. Although the Nizam's sons were young men of the most profligate and dissolute habits, the general dislike of the dewan gave them considerable influence at Hyderabad. They maintained about their persons bands of ruffians, ready to perpetrate the most revolting crimes. On one occasion they seized a person in the employment of the British resident, threw him into prison, and put him to the torture, in order to extort money. Justly indignant at such an outrage, Mr. Russell made a very strong representation on the subject to the Nizam, and with his sanction sent a detachment of regular troops, under Captain Hare, to arrest the culprits. The princes stood on their defence, and repulsed the sepoys with some loss. A serious struggle seemed impending; but the resident immediately sent for reinforcements, and directed Colonel Doveton, who commanded the mass of the auxiliary forces concentrated at Ellichpore, to march upon Hyderabad. These prompt measures disconcerted the enemies of British power; the princes having laid down their arms, were sent prisoners to a distant fortress, and Colonel Doveton returned to his cantonments. This incident, though not attended with any important consequences, sufficiently proved that the inhabitants of Hyderabad were by no means favourably disposed towards the English alliance, which they associated with the unpopular administration of Chandu-Lall.

The
Peishwa's
favourite,
Trimbuck.

We have already noticed the readiness of Bajee Rao to give his confidence to unworthy ministers; but by far the most pernicious of his advisers was Trimbuck-Danglia, whose career is a lamentable exhibition of the low state of morals in Oriental courts. Trimbuck commenced life as a runner, or messenger, to some of the lowest officers in the Peishwa's service, but having manifested great activity and intelligence, he was soon employed as a *Jasoos*, or spy. His exertions in this degrading office were very important; and the Peishwa took him into his personal service. Though Bajee Rao was of a most suspicious temper,

the diligence and unscrupulous obedience of Trimbuck won his confidence, and he trusted him with the secret management of his illicit amours. By pandering to the vicious indulgences of the Peishwa, and never hesitating at the commission of any crime which would facilitate the gratification of his depraved desires, the favourite acquired great influence over his master's mind, and was promoted to the command of the artillery, and finally to the rank of prime minister. Trimbuck, like most of the Mahrattas, mortally hated all Europeans, but for whose presence, he believed, his nation would obtain the supremacy in India. His whole course of policy was directed to maturing a combined movement for the expulsion of the English, and at his instigation, Bajee Rao revived his claims upon the Nizam and the Guicowar. He also seized upon the estates of the principal jaghireddars, or landholders, and caused their revenues to be paid into the treasury, thus ensuring a plentiful supply of money for the ensuing struggle. By his oppression and violence he collected an enormous sum: it has been ascertained that the Collects Peishwa, at the commencement of the war, possessed fifty crores £5,000,000. of rupees, or about five millions sterling.

It might be supposed that the rapacity and debauchery of Bajee Rao would have provoked an insurrection among his subjects; but he was supported by the influence of the Brahmins, whose favour he won by great largesses to themselves and their temples. He was, indeed, a slave to the grossest superstition: The one of his *Gooroos*, or spiritual advisers, once told the Peishwa that the ghost of a Brahmin, unjustly slain by the Peishwa's father, had appeared to him in a dream, and required the murderer to be expiated by giving a dinner to one hundred thousand Brahmins. This expensive entertainment was actually given by Bajee Rao. A more useful result of his superstition was the planting of more than a million of mango trees, in the vicinity of Poonah, as an expiation for his crimes.

Mr. Elphinstone was soon aware that the outstanding demands of the Guicowar and Nizam, were urged chiefly as pretences for maintaining communications between the courts of Poonah and those of Baroda and Hyderabad; he, therefore, strenuously exerted himself to have them arranged, but was baffled by the delays and pretensions of the Peishwa and his crafty minister. The Guicowar was equally anxious to have the pecuniary relations between himself and the Peishwa definitely settled, and he therefore sent Gungadhur Shastree, a Brahmin of great reputation at Baroda, to be his representative at Poonah with

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A.D. 1815.

How the
Minister
dures the
Shastree.

Bajee Rao's
debauch-
ery.

A.D. 1815.
July 14th.

power to conclude a final treaty. So great was the dread inspired by the violence and unprincipled conduct of Trimbuck, that the Guicowar deemed it necessary to have his minister's safety formally guaranteed by the British government. The Shastree, after the delay of more than a year at Poonah, finding that the negotiations were not likely to be brought to a conclusion, resolved to return to Baroda, and to leave the entire affair to the arbitration of the British government.

Such a determination filled Trimbuck and his master with alarm, the departure of the Shastree would have interrupted their communications with Baroda, and they therefore resolved to use every artifice for conciliating his favour. The Shastree was a man of inordinate vanity ; he was, consequently, easily duped by the affectation of respect for his talents which Trimbuck craftily manifested. It was stated, by some of the parties who actually participated in the intrigues, that Trimbuck went so far as to propose resigning his own place to the Shastree, in order that the Peishwa might avail himself of the services of so able a minister. Mr. Elphinstone had proposed that the Shastree should be sent home in honour and safety ; but he was disconcerted by the refusal of that personage to quit Poonah, and soon after he was surprised to find that a marriage was proposed between the Shastree's son and the Peishwa's sister-in-law. But this alliance was disconcerted by the refusal of the Guicowar to sanction some cession of territory proposed by his minister. The marriage was broken off, and Bajee Rao was further offended, by the refusal of the Shastree to permit his wife to visit at the palace. Indeed, no one who respected the honour of a female relative, could allow her to witness the series of gross debauchery and licentious profligacy, which formed part of everyday life, at the court of Poonah.

Trimbuck saw that the Peishwa's quarrel with the Shastree, rendered a change in his own policy absolutely necessary ; and as he was far too deeply committed to extricate himself by ordinary means, he resolved to have recourse to assassination. The Shastree was invited to accompany Bajee Rao and his minister on a pilgrimage to the temple of Punderpore, which is highly venerated by all the Mahrattas. Mr. Elphinstone and the Shastree's colleague accompanied the pilgrimage to Nasick, where they were induced to remain, by a series of ingenious devices, while the rest proceeded to Punderpore. On the night after their arrival, the Shastree was persuaded by Trimbuck to join the Peishwa in performing some ceremonies of peculiar

sanctity in the temple ; he complied, although suffering at the time from fatigue and indisposition ; the devotions were performed, and both Bajee Rao and his minister were lavish in their protestations of esteem and friendship. Scarcely, however, had the Shastree quitted the temple, when he was attacked by a body of hired assassins, and almost literally cut to pieces. This atrocious crime excited general indignation ; the murder of an ambassador, for whose safety the British faith had been pledged, was aggravated by the facts, that the victim was a Brahmin, and the crime had been committed in a place of extraordinary sanctity.

Mr. Elphinstone instituted a minute and strict enquiry, which was conducted with great ability, under the obvious disadvantage of the criminals being the sovereign of the country and his powerful minister. Their guilt was incontrovertibly established ; but the Peishwa was informed that he would be permitted to throw the blame upon the special perpetrator, if he would surrender his unworthy minister to British custody. Bajee Rao at first seemed resolved to protect his favourite ; but the speedy assembling of a British force at Poonah so alarmed him, that he delivered up Trimbuck to the resident, having first received an assurance that his life would be spared.

Trimbuck was sent to Bombay, and was confined in the fort of Tannah, on the island of Salsette. During his captivity, he frequently admitted to British officers his share in the murder of the Shastree, but asserted that he had merely obeyed his master's orders. The garrison of Tannah was composed entirely of Europeans, and this circumstance enabled Trimbuck to open Sept. 17. a communication with his friends abroad, through some of the native servants in the fort. His principal agent was a horse- keeper, who daily, while airing his master's horse, passed and re-passed the window of the place where Trimbuck was. He with apparent carelessness, sung the information he had to convey in the monotonous recitative, which forms the staple of Mahratta singing, and the sentries ignorant of the language, never felt the least suspicion. When all was prepared, Trimbuck found means to change his dress in a stable, and with a basket on his head as a labourer, got through the gate, while a rope was fastened to a cannon, as if he had lowered himself from the rampart. His friends were ready outside, and long before his flight was detected, he was safe from all danger of pursuit.

The Peishwa denied all knowledge of Trimbuck's movements, but Mr. Elphinstone discovered that he not only supplied the

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The
Shastree
assassi-
nated,

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Sept. 2.

He
contrives
to escape
from
Tannah

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The
Peishwa
plots.

adventurer with money to levy troops, but had even granted him an audience. A singular scene of fraud and evasion followed. Trimbuck and other partisans organised large bodies of Mahrattas and Pindarrees, while the Peishwa, having first attempted to deny that any such assemblages were made, when this monstrous falsehood could be no longer maintained, disavowed their proceedings and affected to treat them as insurgents. Finally, he issued a proclamation, setting a price on the head of Trimbuck Danglia, and sequestered the property of some of his adherents.

Hattras
taken.

Before entering on the history of the important consequences which resulted from the transactions we have just recorded, it will be necessary to cast a glance at some other parts of our Indian possessions. The reputation which the British arms had acquired by the successful issue of the war against Nepaul, was increased in the following year by the reduction of Hattras, the stronghold of Dya-Ram, a chieftain tributary to the Company. Trusting in the extraordinary strength of his fort, which was regarded as impregnable by the Hindus, Dya-Ram exhibited a spirit of contumacy and disobedience, which it was resolved to punish in an exemplary manner. The vicinity of the great military dépôt at Cawnpore enabled the British to bring a train of artillery against Hattras, equal, if not superior, to any that had ever been seen in India ; a few hours of its tremendous fire breached that boasted fortification. Its surrender was hastened by the explosion of one of the two principal magazines, which destroyed many of its buildings. This achievement, which was attended with no loss to the British, made a most salutary impression, where it was much wanted, on their subjects in Hindustan Proper, and also on that turbulent class of feudatories to which the chieftain of Hattras belonged.

A.D. 1817.
March 2.The
Pindarrees
grow
bolder.

The boldness and number of the Pindarrees seemed to increase with the successes of the British. Immediately after the peace with Nepaul and the reduction of Hattras, a strong body of these freebooters invaded and devastated part of the Madras territories ; and both in that and the succeeding year they repeated their incursions in the Deccan, which all our troops, and those of the Nizam, could not protect from their merciless ravages. The Governor-General, confident that the continued recurrence of these aggressions, and his repeated representations, would early draw the attention of the authorities in England to the consideration of this intolerable evil, limited himself to a defensive

system, whilst he proceeded in making every preparation for that early contest, which the treacherous proceedings of the Mahratta powers showed to be inevitable.

He was cheered in this prudent course, by perceiving that the authorities in England had at length become convinced that the policy of absolute non-interference could not be maintained, and that they were disposed, in some degree, to adopt a course different from that which had been pursued by the Marquis of Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow. Immediately after the renewal of the Company's charter in 1813,—an event which attracted a very small share of the public attention,—instructions were sent out to take the state of Jeypore, which had been abandoned in 1806, under our protection, whenever an opportunity should offer. The war in Nepaul prevented the Marquis of Hastings from acting on these instructions ; but soon after its termination he was induced, by the imminent danger in which the capital of Jeypore was placed by the attack of Ameer Khan and his Pindarrees, to make an overture for an alliance with its prince. The offer of this alliance, which had been so sedulously courted when the British government withheld its protection, was now received coldly ; and it was discovered that the negotiations for its accomplishment were protracted, in order that Ameer Khan might be induced to abandon his views, from a knowledge that the Jeypore prince could at any time he pleased

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The
Marquis of
Hastings
follows the
defensive
system.

Renewal
of the
Charter.

The
state of
Jeypore.

secure the protection of the British government. The Governor-General, disgusted at such conduct, and seeing no immediate prospect of impending danger, deferred the prosecution of the overture to the period of making the more extensive arrangements which he now contemplated.

Although the Peishwa continued to protest in the strongest terms, that his attachment to the English was unabated, the Resident was enabled to forward to the supreme government at Calcutta incontrovertible proofs that he was in secret league and correspondence with Trimbuck Danglia ; and that he was, in fact, the principal promoter of a rebellion which was ostensibly directed against his own government. Other facts proved that he was preparing for war : his treasures were removed from Poonah, his forts were repaired and garrisoned, his adherents began to levy troops in every direction. It was decided by the Governor in council, that Bajee Rao had violated his engagements, and placed himself in the relation of an enemy ; it was, therefore, resolved that he should be compelled to give us satisfaction for his past conduct, and security for the future, by a new

The
Peishwa's
schemes
discovered.

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 He is
 forced to
 sign a
 Treaty.

treaty, which should increase our means of checking those dangers to which we had been exposed by his weak and treacherous proceedings. As some of his strongest forts had been placed in the possession of the British, when he was restored to the *musnud* by the treaty of Bassein, Bajee Rao was reduced to the alternative of hazarding an immediate contest, for which he was not prepared, or of signing the treaty dictated to him by the British government. Poonah was invested, and after a severe struggle, in which shame, fear, pride, and despair had alternate sway over his irresolute mind, he signed a treaty on the 18th of June, 1817, by which he abandoned his claims to be regarded as the head of the Mahratta confederacy, and ceded several districts to the English, including the important fortress of Ahmednuggur.

The southern Jaghiredars were by this engagement rendered more dependent on the British government than on the Peishwa, though the latter continued to be their nominal head. Some of their lands, of which Bajee Rao had taken possession, were restored; and the whole of the Jaghire of Rastea, which had been resumed, was, at the recommendation of the English government, given back to that once powerful Mahratta family. The Peishwa was thus deprived of that power which his perfidious conduct and hostile dispositions shewed that he was likely to employ in counteracting or opposing the plans then in progress for the destruction of the Pindarrees.

Treaty
with the
Guicowar.

The consequence of the treaty with Bajee Rao was the negotiation of a supplementary engagement with the Guicowar, to whom the events at Poonah were of the greatest advantage, as all the claims of the Peishwa were compounded for the trifling sum of four lacs of rupees annually. The object of a new settlement with the court of Baroda was to effect such a change in our relations as would benefit both states, and put an end to those recurring discussions and differences among local officers, resulting from governments administered on very opposite principles, having mixed territories and claims upon tributaries. The negotiation to accomplish this desirable object was protracted till November, 1817, when a treaty was concluded, which adjusted all points in a satisfactory manner, by mutual cessions of rights and interchanges of lands. The most important stipulations were those which gave to the British government the possession of the city of Ahmedabad. This city was the Mohammedan capital of Guzerat; it is situated on the banks of a small navigable river which falls into the sea near the city of

Cambay, and was a valuable acquisition, both on account of its political and commercial importance. CHAPTER XVII.

These arrangements having been completed, the Marquis of Hastings prepared to execute his great plans for the extirpation of the Pindarrees. "What I contemplated," he says, describing these operations, "was the pushing forward, unexpectedly, several corps which should occupy positions opposing insuperable obstacles to the junction of the army of any one state with that of another, and even expose to extreme peril any sovereign's attempt to assemble the dispersed corps of his forces within his own dominions, should we see cause to forbid it." "The success of this plan," his lordship adds, "depended on the secrecy with which the preparations could be made, the proper choice of the points to be seized, and the speed with which we could reach the designated stations."

One of the first results of this prudent policy may be said, in a great degree, to have decided the success of the future war. Scindiah, to whom the chiefs both of the Pindarrees and the Mahrattas looked for aid, was so circumstanced by the position of a large division under the Governor-General's personal command, and a corps under Major-General Donkin, that he was reduced to the necessity of acceding to a treaty dictated by the Marquis of Hastings, or of exposing himself to defeat and ruin. Scindiah preferred the former course, however contrary to his inclination, and repugnant to all his cherished feelings as a member of the Mahratta confederacy. His public defection from a cause, the success of which rested chiefly on his efforts, was a fatal blow, not only to the Pindarrees, but to that more general combination against our power, the designs of which were so ably anticipated.

Referring to this critical period, and the local situation of Scindiah, Lord Hastings observes, "Residing at Gwalior, he was in the heart of the richest part of his dominions ; but independently of this objection, that those provinces were separated from our territories only by the Jumna, there was a military defect in the situation, to which the Maharajah, (great chief or king, a title assumed by Scindiah) had never adverted. About twenty miles south of Gwalior, a ridge of very abrupt hills, covered with the tangled wood peculiar to India, extends from the little Scind to the Chumbul, which rivers form the flank boundaries of the Gwalior district and its dependencies. There are but two routes by which carriages, and perhaps cavalry, can pass that chain ; one along the little Scind, and another not far from the Chumbul.

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By my seizing with the centre a position which would bar any movement along the little Scind, and placing Major-general Donkin's division at the back of the other pass, Scindiah was reduced to the dilemma of subscribing the treaty which I offered him, or of crossing the hills through bye-paths, attended by the few followers who might be able to accompany him, sacrificing his splendid train of artillery, (above one hundred brass guns), with all its appendages, and abandoning at once to us his most valuable possessions.

His
intrigues
discovered.

"The terms imposed upon him were, essentially, unqualified submission, though so coloured as to avoid making him feel public humiliation. Their intrinsic rigour will not be thought overstrained or inequitable, when it is observed that I had ascertained the Maharajah's having promised the Pindarrees decisive assistance, and that I had intercepted the secret correspondence with which he was inciting the Nepaulese to attack us. Nothing, in short, but my persuasion that the maintenance of the existing governments in Central India, and the making them our instruments for preserving the future tranquillity of the country, were desirable objects, could have dictated the forbearance manifested under the repeated perfidies of that prince. He closed with the proffered conditions, and was saved by that circumstance. The advantage in another quarter could only be a transient ebullition. To the more distant states, this non-appearance of a formidable force, with which they were to co-operate, was an event which absolutely incapacitated them from effort."

Treaty
signed
Nov. 5,
1817.

Terms
of the
treaty.

The terms of the treaty dictated by the Governor-General, were, in substance, that Scindiah should contribute his best efforts to destroy the Pindarrees; that he should furnish a specified contingent to act in concert with the British troops, and under the direction of a British officer, against these freebooters; that the contingent should be kept in a state of complete efficiency; that to provide for the pay of these troops, Scindiah should resign for three years his claims upon the British government, which had been recognized in the treaty he had concluded with General Wellesley (now Duke of Wellington) in 1804; that the amount of annual sums hitherto paid as pensions to his family and ministers, should be applied, through British officers, to the regular payment of the bodies of cavalry he was to send to co-operate with the British troops; and it was arranged, that, with the exception of these corps, all the divisions of Scindiah's army should remain stationary at the posts assigned by the British government, without whose concurrence none of them should move.

It was further stipulated that Scindiah should admit British troops to garrison the forts of Asseerghur and Hindia, during the war, as pledges for the faithful fulfilment of his engagements ; and he consented to abrogate the eighth article of the treaty concluded with him on the 22nd of November, 1805, by the Marquis of Cornwallis, which left the Rajpoot states at his disposal. By the new arrangements, the English government was placed at liberty to conclude treaties with the Rajpoot states of Jeypore, Joudpore, Oudeypore, Khottah, Bhondee, and others on the left bank of the Chumbul. This article, however, secured to Scindiah, under the guarantee of the British government, his established tribute from these principalities, but restricted him, in the event of their forming engagements with the Company, from any future interference in their concerns.

However contrary such a treaty was to the inclinations of Scindiah, it had the effect of rendering him inactive, if not neutral, throughout the operations that immediately ensued ; and much effort was necessary to bring into action even those parts of his army which we had obtained the means of paying. The strong Asseerghur fortress of Asseerghur was not delivered over to the English retained. troops. The pretext was the disobedience of its governor, Jesswunt Rao Lar, who, in the subsequent war, openly espoused the cause of Bajee Rao. When the same chief subsequently gave protection to Appah Sahib, the fugitive Rajah of Nagpore, he was summoned to surrender, and orders were sent by Scindiah requiring prompt obedience. With these he refused to comply, and the fort was regularly besieged by the British troops. After its capitulation, accident brought to light a letter from his prince, directing him to obey all commands which he might receive from the Peishwa.

When Mr. Close, the resident at the court of Scindiah, shewed Scindiah's this letter to the Maharajah, he at once admitted its authenticity, and the violation of faith of which it was an evidence ; but he pleaded in palliation those friendly relations which had, for several generations been established between his family and that of the Peishwa. This fair plea was not rejected. Lord Hastings, with politic liberality, limited his demand consequent on this discovery, to the perpetual cession of the fortress of Asseerghur, which, from its position, became in our hands, a check upon robbers and freebooters. Before the cession, it was occupied by bandits of the worst character, and it would have continued to be a place of refuge and protection for them, so long as it remained in the possession of a Mahratta prince.

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A.D. 1817.
Treaties
with the
Rajpoots.

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Three
armies
attack the
Pindarrees.
Sir T.
Hislop at
the head of
the army
of the
Deccan.

These arrangements being completed, the Marquis of Hastings arranged the plan of operations against the Pindarrees ; their settlements being chiefly in Malwa and the valley of the Nerbudda, it was resolved to act upon them simultaneously by the armies of the Deccan, Bengal, and Guzerat. Sir Thomas Hislop commanded the Deccan forces, which amounted to fifty-three thousand men, in six divisions, communicating with the Bengal force at one extreme, and the Guzerat army, commanded by Sir William Grant Keir, at the other. The Bengal army, amounting to thirty-four thousand men, was arrayed in four divisions, with two corps of observation ; and there were besides several bodies of irregulars engaged, amounting altogether to about twenty-four thousand soldiers. The whole disposable force of the Pindarrees did not much exceed thirty thousand men, and the dissensions between their principal chiefs, Cheetoo Kureem Khan, and Wasil Mohammed, prevented them from forming any plan of united action. Ameer Khan, imitating the policy of Scindiah, had entered into a treaty with the English, and all the minor states had effected stipulations engaging themselves to prevent the Pindarrees from obtaining shelter in their dominions. At this crisis, events occurred at Poonah which changed the entire plan of the campaign, and involved a war, not only with the freebooters, but with the acknowledged lord of the Mahratta confederacy.

The
Peishwa
quits
Poonah.

Prepares
for war.

It could not be supposed that Bajee Rao would have been satisfied with the treaty of Poonah, which had been forced upon him at a moment when his secret preparations for war were incomplete, and to which he never would have submitted but from the most imperious necessity. In the month of July, 1817, he proceeded on his annual visit to the temples of Punderpore ; he was not accompanied by the resident, for Mr. Elphinstone believed that an abatement of vigilance would have a good effect, and be received as a mark of the restoration of confidence on the part of the British government. At the same time the Peishwa apparently reduced his military establishment, by dismissing a large number of his cavalry ; but it was subsequently discovered that he had given each of his officers seven months' pay, with orders to remain at his village, and to hold himself in readiness to return when summoned, with as many followers as he could collect. Every exertion was made by the British to raise the stipulated number of horse, but the Peishwa's emissaries resisted the recruiting by every means they could devise.

After having performed his pilgrimage to Punderpore, the Peishwa, instead of returning to Poonah, proceeded to Maholy, a

village near Sattara, at the junction of the Yena and Kistna, which was regarded by the Hindus as a place of peculiar sanctity. During his stay there, he was visited by the political agent of the Governor-General, Sir John Malcolm, who had just made a tour through the Deccan, for the purpose of instructing the different Residents in the nature of the operations about to be commenced against the Pindarrees in Malwa. Sir John Malcolm was generally an able diplomatist, and had displayed much skill in various negotiations with the Mohammedan powers, but he was unable to compete with the craft of the Hindus, being easily duped by their protestations of personal admiration and regard. The Peishwa's professions were most cordial, and communicated with such an appearance of earnestness and candour, that Sir John Malcolm was completely deceived, and returned to Poonah in the full conviction that Bajee Rao would now heartily engage in the British cause ; and that by encouraging him to raise troops, and treating him with perfect confidence, he would prove a faithful ally. Mr. Elphinstone took a much wiser view of Bajee Rao's character ; he expressed, in plain terms, the little reliance which could be placed on Mahratta promises : but Sir John Malcolm was not to be convinced ; he gave orders that the hill-forts which had been pledged for the execution of the treaty should be restored to the Peishwa, and that General Smith's force, which occupied a position to overawe Poonah, should march on the frontiers of Candlesh, leaving a mere handful of troops for the protection of the residency.

The Peishwa did not return to his capital until the end of September. During his stay at Maholy, he was actively engaged in maturing the schemes which he had long meditated against the British government. Bappoo Gokla, an able Brahmin, possessing more of a chivalrous character than is usual in the Hindu warriors, strenuously urged Bajee Rao to commence open war instead of the secret plots to which he was attached. As neither Gokla nor any of the Mahratta chieftains confided in the Peishwa's firmness, it was required that he should bind himself on oath to be implicitly guided by Gokla's counsels, and, at the same time, nearly a million of money was placed at the disposal of that able general.

Sir John Malcolm, in his exuberant confidence, had recommended the Peishwa to recruit his army for the purpose of aiding the English in suppressing the Pindarrees, and this afforded him an excellent plea for all his suspicious movements. His recruiting went forward with remarkable activity ; his forts also were

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Sir J.

Malcolm

treats with

the

Peishwa.

He is
deceived
by the
Peishwa.

And
reduces the
troops at
Poonah.

The
Peishwa
matures
his plans.

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Fidelity
of the
sepoy.

The reports of corrupting the troops were brought from all quarters ; some of the sepoys indignantly refused what to them were splendid offers ; and others, pretending to acquiesce, communicated the circumstances to their officers ; but the extent of the intrigues could not be ascertained, and they at last became alarming, even to those who knew the fidelity of the Bombay sepoys, from the circumstance of the Peishwa's having many of their families and relations in his power, against whom he commenced a system of persecution, which he threatened to perpetuate if the sepoys refused to desert the English service. Gokla resisted all the attempts which were made to engage him to sanction Mr. Elphinstone's assassination, and secret notice of his danger was sent to that gentleman ; he was not, however, to be induced to abandon his post ; a European regiment was on its march to join him, and the notorious indecision of Bajee Rao gave hopes that his heart might fail him at the critical moment.

The danger
of Mr. El-
phinstone.

As the position of the British cantonments was very unfavourable, Mr. Elphinstone moved the few forces he had at his disposal to the village of Kirkee, which had been early pointed out by General Smith as the best post that could be occupied in case of the apprehended rupture. The Mahrattas believed that the British had withdrawn through fear, and were much encouraged in consequence. The abandoned cantonment was plundered ; an officer on his route to Bombay was attacked, wounded, and robbed in open day ; the language of the Peishwa's ministers became menacing and insulting ; and parties of horse pushed forward to the British lines as if in defiance. It was evident that hostilities could not long be delayed, and, on the 3rd of November, Mr. Elphinstone directed the light battalion, and a body of auxiliary horse, stationed at Seroor, to march upon Poonah. When this intelligence reached the Peishwa, he resolved that his troops should be called into action.

Hostilities
begun
Nov. 3.

No part of the Mahratta army was visible from the British residency, excepting bodies of infantry which were assembling

along the tops of the adjoining heights, with the intention of cutting off the residency from the camp. "On ascending one of these eminences, on which they were forming," says Captain Grant Duff, the able historian of this war, "the plain beneath presented at that moment a most imposing spectacle. This plain, then covered with grain, terminates on the west by a range of small hills, while on the east it is bounded by the city of Poonah, and the small hills already partially occupied by the infantry. A mass of cavalry covered nearly the whole extent of it, and towards the city, endless streams of horsemen were pouring from every avenue." The additional description given by this intelligent writer, is too graphic a picture to be omitted.

"Those only who have witnessed the bore in the gulf of Cambay, and have seen in perfection the approach of that roaring tide, can form the exact idea presented to the author, at sight of the Peishwa's army. It was towards the afternoon of a very sultry day ; there was a dead calm, and no sound was heard except the rushing, the trampling, and the neighing of the horses, and the rumbling of the gun-wheels. The effect was heightened by seeing the peaceful peasantry flying from their work in the fields, the bullocks breaking from their yokes, the wild antelopes startled from sleep, bounding off, and then turning for a moment to gaze on this tremendous inundation, which swept all before it, levelled the hedges and standing corn, and completely overwhelmed every ordinary barrier as it moved."

Perceiving that efforts were being made to intercept his communication, Mr. Elphinstone retired with his family to Kirkee, Battle of not without having been exposed to some danger from the fire of Kirkee. Nov. 5. the Mahrattas on the opposite side of the river. At the same time he sent orders to Lieutenant-colonel Burr, the officer in command, to move down and attack the Peishwa's army, while the irregulars, under Major Ford, were directed to second his efforts. Both officers promptly obeyed, and Colonel Burr, though suffering under a severe and incurable attack of paralysis, advanced to the attack. The Mahrattas, who had sent on their skirmishers, some of whom had already suffered from the fire of the light infantry, were surprised by this forward movement of troops, who, they had been led to believe, were cowed and dispirited. Gokla, however, cheered them on ; he rode from rank to rank, employing exhortations, praises, taunts, as he thought most effectual ; but the Peishwa's heart failed him, and, after the troops had advanced, he sent a message to Gokla, "not to fire Gokla's the first gun." At this moment the British troops were halting ; resolution.

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The
Mahratta
army.

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Gokla's
bravery.

The
Peishwa
defeated.

The
British
residency
burned.

Atrocities
ordered
by the
Peishwa.

their guns were unlimbering ;—it was the pause of preparation and anxiety on both sides ; but Gokla, observing the messenger from the Peishwa, and suspecting the nature of his errand, instantly commenced the attack by opening a battery of nine guns, detaching a strong corps of rocket-camels to the right, and pushing forward his cavalry to the right and left. The British troops were soon nearly surrounded by horse ; but the Mahratta infantry, owing to this rapid advance, were left considerably in the rear, except a regular battalion under a Portuguese named De Pinto, which had marched by a shorter route, concealed for some time under cover of the hedges and enclosures. De Pinto's men were forming with great steadiness, when they were suddenly charged by the English sepoya, who by this impetuous movement became detached from the line. Gokla led forward a select body of six thousand horse, to take advantage of their imprudence. Colonel Burr fortunately perceived the moving mass, in time to stop the pursuit of De Pinto's routed battalion ; he called upon the men to reserve their fire, as there was no opportunity to dress them in line. Unknown to either party, there was a deep slough immediately in front of the British left ; the foremost of the Mahratta horses rolled over in the marsh, and many others, before they could be pulled up, tumbled over those in front. The sepoys poured in their reserved fire on this mass with dreadful effect ; they fell into confusion, the force of the charge was checked, and the few horsemen who came into contact with the bayonets were easily repulsed. Some had galloped round to plunder the camp, but were driven off by a few shots from two iron guns at Kirkee. A company of Europeans coming up to support the sepoya, the British line advanced, and the Mahrattas fled from the field. This decisive victory was won by the British, over more than ten times their number, with a loss of only eighty-three in killed and wounded ; the Mahrattas lost more than five hundred men, and a still greater number of horses.

Hostilities were no sooner commenced, than the ferocious and vindictive character of Bajee Rao's previous orders became apparent. The residency was plundered and burned ; the families and followers of the troops, who fell into the hands of the Mahrattas, were robbed, beaten, and frequently mutilated ; the gardens were destroyed, the trees torn up by the roots, and the very graves violated. An engineer-officer on survey was attacked and killed. Two brothers of the name of Vaughan, one of them a captain in the Madras army, were taken while travel-

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ling between Bombay and Poonah, and though they made no resistance, were both barbarously hanged. A stop, however, was put to these atrocities, when Mr. Elphinstone communicated to Gokla his determination to exact a severe retaliation for the murder of any British prisoner.

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So soon as the communications from Poonah ceased, General Smith, judiciously conjecturing that something was wrong, prepared to return. From the time his division quitted Seroor he was followed by flying parties of the Mahrattas, who severely harassed his march, for want of cavalry prevented him from pursuing them when repulsed. He joined the force at Kirkee on the evening of the 13th of November, and made preparations for the attack of the Peishwa's camp, but Bajee Rao was afraid to hazard another engagement ; he fled to Sattara, abandoning his capital to the mercy of the English. General Smith took every possible care to ensure the protection of the peaceable part of the community ; order and tranquillity were soon re-established, and, after a halt of a few days, preparations were made for an active pursuit of the fugitive Peishwa.

We must now turn our attention to Nagpore, where events had occurred very similar in their character to those which we have just described at Poonah. Although the Rajah Appah Sahib was mainly indebted to the English for his elevation to the *munsud*, he early evinced a disposition as inconsistent with the gratitude which he owed them as with the obligations of good faith. He dismissed from their situations Nagoo Pundit and Narrain Pundit, the two ministers who had been instrumental in forming the subsidiary alliance, and he entered into an active and secret correspondence with Bajee Rao, at a period when that prince was occupied in plans known to be hostile to our interests. Breaks the This correspondence was an infraction of the stipulations of the treaty. treaty ; but the English government winked at the delinquency, having no desire to press a point of this nature to an unpleasant issue. Every allowance was made for Mahratta habits, and for Intrigues at the weak character of a young prince exposed to artful intrigue. Nagpore.

The court of Nagpore was at this period divided into two parties, one of which was decidedly adverse to the English interests. The influence of this party had latterly much increased ; but still the Rajah appeared so open and sincere in all his personal communications with the Resident, that a gentleman, less acute and vigilant than Mr. Jenkins, would have been lulled into fatal security. He, however, attended to actions rather than words ; the additions made to the Nagpore army—the increased

The Peishwa flees to Sattara, Nov. 13.

Appah Sahib of Nagpore.

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activity of the correspondence with Poonah—the public reception, on the 24th of November, of a *Khelat*, or dress of honour, from the Peishwa, and some other circumstances of the same kind, though palliated by plausible excuses, were clear evidences of a spirit of hostility. It was hoped, however, that the intelligence of Bajee Rao's defeat at Poonah, and of the treaty which the Governor-General had concluded with Scindiah, would teach the Rajah a lesson of moderation; still it was necessary to be prepared for the worst, and a requisition was sent for immediate reinforcements.

The treachery of the Rajah.

Notwithstanding the amicable protestations which the Rajah continued to make, Mr. Jenkins had obtained positive information that he intended to attack the residency and British cantonments; and the movements of his army coincided exactly with the reports of his intended proceedings. Preparations for defence were therefore made at the residency with the greatest activity, and the brigade, commanded by Colonel Hopeton Scott, was removed from its inconvenient cantonments to occupy the residency and the adjoining heights of Seetabuldee. Here the British, who did not number more than thirteen hundred and fifty rank and file, were attacked on the night of the 26th of November by eighteen thousand of the Rajah's troops, including four thousand Arabs. After an action which lasted eighteen hours, the gallant British band gained a decisive victory. It will be necessary to give a full account of an engagement which is generally believed to have done much to establish the moral supremacy of the British in Southern India.

The residency of Nagpore is separated from the city by a rocky ridge on the north, and immediately over the residency is a considerable eminence, capable of being turned into a strong position. The side facing the continuation of the rocky ridge is, however, exposed to a second and lower eminence on the south side of the ridge, at the foot of which is a considerable village, surrounded with shrubs and trees, extending to the suburbs of Nagpore. This village affords every facility for concealing the approach of an irregular force, and also good cover for an assaulting party.

Battle of Seeta-buldee.

During the day, the enemy dragged artillery to positions bearing upon the eastern and northern faces of the two hills, and, before sunset, had filled the village of Telpooree and its neighbouring houses with a large body of Arabs. In the meantime, the officer commanding the resident's escort posted small parties of infantry in the various houses and buildings near it. The

action began at six o'clock in the evening, by the Arabs attacking the officers while placing sentries on the southern hill. This produced a spirited return from the British artillery and infantry, and a general battle ensued. It appears to have been hastened by the fierce passions of the Arabs; for when they began the attack, two of the Rajah's ministers were in conference with the British Resident. The firing from the village was very destructive; and the efforts of the British troops to dislodge the enemy from it not being successful, the whole was set on fire. The Arabs resolutely kept their ground, and continued the fight, until midnight, when the troops ~~were withdrawn~~ to the right. A battalion, drawn up on the edge of the hill to the right, with a six-pounder, although greatly exposed, did great execution; they were joined by a part of the Resident's escort, commanded by Captain W. Lloyd, and kept the enemy at bay, until the limber of their cannon was blown up. Another gun was procured, and the Arabs refrained for a time from any assault. To the left, Captain Macdonald had, under a harassing fire, constructed a breastwork, while his two six-pounders were on the summit of the hill, and his infantry poured volleys into the village. Here he was joined by a party of the escort under its gallant commander: by six o'clock the breastwork was completed. Some of the troops having been withdrawn, the Arabs exultingly took their place, and greatly harassed the working party. An attempt was made to send a troop of cavalry to the rear of the Arabs, but they soon perceived the movement and the troop was recalled.

At sun-rise the British troops, for the first time, had a distinct view of the formidable force which beleaguered them. The Mahratta cavalry was drawn up and extended near the hills, in large masses; their guns, supported by infantry, were well stationed in favourable places—the Arabs were active and bustling—and from seven o'clock the defenders of the position had to sustain an exceedingly well-directed fire from nine guns, playing for hours at a hundred yards distance upon the small hill. An ineffectual dash was made at the two advanced guns. The difficulties of maintaining the hill were increased; the lines of the escort were on fire. At length the British were thrown into confusion by the explosion of a tumbril; the Arabs charged up the hill, sword in hand, drove back the detachment with great loss, and having captured a six-pounder, directed a harassing fire on the northern hill. Encouraged by this success, the Mahrattas assailed the British lines in every direction; the huts where the British had been encamped were seized, and the sepoys were

CHAPTER XVII. appalled by the shrieks of their wives and children, to whom they could render no assistance. The enclosures where the cavalry stood were menaced, and guns brought up to assail them ; Captain Fitzgerald, who held the post, repeatedly sent for permission to charge, and was forbidden by his commanding officer. To his last request Colonel Scott replied, " Let him do so at his peril." " At my peril be it," replied Fitzgerald ; and leading his men out of the enclosures, he formed them into line, and charged the main body of the Mahratta horse with irresistible fury. The ease with which the British squadrons cut their way through the Mahratta lines was subsequently compared, by one of the vanquished, to the burning of a thread by the flame of a candle. Fitzgerald not only dispersed the enemy's horse, but cut to pieces a body of infantry advancing to their support, and captured two guns. The defenders of the north hill saw this brilliant exploit with feelings of the highest admiration, and giving vent to their enthusiasm in loud cheers, proposed immediately to recover the southern hill. At this instant, the accident which led to its temporary loss was repeated ; the Arabs in their turn were thrown into confusion by an explosion of ammunition ; the British troops could no longer be withheld ; the orders of the commanding officer were not waited for, or not heard ; men and officers rushed forward, mingled together by one common impulse, drove the Arabs down the hill, pursued them to its base, and spiked two of their guns. The Arabs once more rallied, and prepared to advance ; but they were charged in flank by a troop of the cavalry, thrown into confusion, and dispersed over the field. Before noon the battle was at an end, and the victory of the British over the Mahrattas was complete. A fourth of the British force was killed or wounded, and among them were seventeen officers. To the honour of the Madras army, it ought to be recorded that the 24th Regiment, which formed a part of this force, petitioned to be restored to the number of which it had been deprived on account of the mutiny at Vellore. The old number and the old facings were, of course, restored to the men who had so gallantly fought for them.

Fresh
troops
arrive.

The complete defeat of the enemy at all points, and the approach of the reinforcements which had been ordered to advance, put an end to all hope of success in the mind of Appah Sahib ; he commenced a negociation for a renewal of friendship, with a solemn declaration, that the late attack upon the British troops had been made without his will or consent. He was ordered to withdraw his army from the vicinity of the scene of action before

any answer could be returned to his communication. He immediately complied with this demand, and during the period which intervened between the removal of his troops and the arrival of Brigadier-General Doveton's army, the advance of which reached Nagpore on the 12th of December, this infatuated prince continued making protestations of submission, but pursuing at the same time a weak and vacillating course of conduct.

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General
Doveton.

Soon after General Doveton's arrival, preliminary terms were offered to Appah Sahib ; he was required to deliver up his ordnance and military stores, to disband his Arabs immediately and the rest of his troops in a reasonable time, to allow Nagpore to be occupied by the British, and to repair to the residency until the terms of the treaty were finally arranged. Although these conditions greatly limited his power, they still left to him the name and functions of sovereignty, of which it was the wish of the Governor-General that he should be deprived. Local circumstances, however, induced Mr. Jenkins to continue, if possible, the rule of Appah Sahib ; and he therefore urged upon that prince a speedy acceptance of, and an agreement with, the proffered terms. After many evasions and efforts to obtain delay, he accepted them and repaired to the British residency, attended by some of his ministers. The troops, who, on the 16th of December, made a weak attempt at resistance, were attacked and routed. The horse dispersed in every quarter, a great part of them retiring to their homes ; a large corps of Arabs, however, retreated into the city and to a fort which was in the palace, which they defended for some days, and then capitulated.

Terms
proposed
to him.

Dec. 16.

The Marquis of Hastings directed that the provisional engagements made with Appah Sahib, should be embodied in a treaty ; but before the instructions for the final arrangements could reach Nagpore, another revolution had taken place in that capital. The refusal of the governors of several of the forts in Berar, to surrender their positions, gave rise to suspicions, which were soon confirmed by the most indisputable evidence, that their treacherous prince had given them orders not to obey his reluctant summons. Ere long his correspondence with the disaffected part of his troops, and with those ministers who had instigated his former conduct, was detected, and it was distinctly established that he continued, in spite of the moderation with which he had been treated, to cherish designs of renewed hostility. It was also discovered at this period, by proofs deemed conclusive, that he had murdered his predecessor, Bala Sahib, in order to obtain that elevation which he had so disgraced. These plots and deposed.

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Jan. 1.
Treaty
offered.He is taken
prisoner,
and

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—
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**He
escapes by
stratagem.**

May 18.

**Joins the
Pindarrees.**

**Pursuit
of the
Peishwa.**

crimes, although flagrant, might have admitted of the Resident waiting the result of a reference to the Governor-General ; but the information that the Rajah intended making his escape from his capital, and the renewed activity of his communications with Bajee Rao, who, as we shall have occasion presently to show, made a demonstration about this time in the direction of Nagpore, left Mr. Jenkins no time to deliberate. He ordered a detachment of troops to take possession of the palace, and seize Appah Sahib, who was brought immediately to the residency, where he continued in confinement, till orders were received that he should be sent under a strong escort to a secure place in the Company's dominions. While on his journey to Benares, the place appointed for his future residence, the Rajah effected his escape, by feigning illness and bribing some of his guard.

The stratagem was contrived and executed with great skill and cunning. When the officer in charge came to visit the Rajah at the usual hour of the night, he found him to all appearance fast asleep in his bed, and the attendants requested that he would not disturb their master, as great repose was absolutely necessary in his present exhausted condition. The officer, instead of making any minute examination, contented himself with casting a hasty glance round the apartment, and thus failed to discover that his prisoner's place was occupied by a long bolster. In fact, the Rajah was at that moment many miles off, attended by some sepoys, whom he had induced to desert. It appears that the troops appointed for his escort, were selected by Appah Sahib himself, the British authorities being anxious to soothe his irritation at the loss of his dominions. But yielding to this particular request was very injudicious, for the troops selected, were men who had been favourably disposed towards the Rajah ; indeed, there is good reason to believe that they had not only been tampered with, but won over, previous to their departure from Nagpore. Appah Sahib fled first to the Mahadoo hills, and thence to Aseerghur, where, as we shall subsequently have occasion to relate, he joined Cheetoo, the leader of the Pindarrees, just before he was routed by a British detachment.

The Peishwa fled before General Smith's active pursuit, and led the English a long and wearisome chase through the Ghauts. General Smith's army having pushed too far northwards, Bajee Rao retraced his steps and declared his intention of recovering Poonah. Colonel Burr immediately ordered the detachment at

Seroor to march to his assistance. It set out on the last day of the year, under the command of Captain Francis Staunton ; the troops consisted of one battalion of native infantry, three hundred irregular horse, and two six-pounders of the Madras artillery, manned by twenty-four Europeans, under the command of a lieutenant and a serjeant. After having marched all night, Captain Staunton, on reaching the high grounds overlooking the village of Corigaum, on the Beema, suddenly found himself in the presence of the Peishwa's whole army, amounting to twenty-five thousand men.

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The defence which ensued was one of the most remarkable in the history of British India ; our soldiers fatigued by a long march, without food or water, and exposed to the heat of a burning sun, had to maintain themselves against the immense disparity of force until nine o'clock at night. The British officers conducted themselves most nobly. Lieutenant Patterson, a gentleman of herculean frame, though mortally wounded, led the grenadiers in a desperate charge, and recovered a six-pounder which the enemy had seized. A choultry, where some of the wounded officers had been placed, was seized by the Mahrattas, who murdered Surgeon Wingate ; but his fall was avenged and his companions rescued, by Lieutenant Jones and Dr. Wylie, who retook the choultry in spite of superior numbers and desperate resistance. The artillery-men, who were at first disposed to surrender on terms, no sooner saw the mutilated body of their officer, whose head the savages had cut off when he fell mortally wounded, than they declared that they would conquer or die, and they nobly maintained their resolution. The Peishwa, Gokla, and Trimbrick Danglia witnessed the conflict, and directed the attacks. On every successive repulse, the Peishwa bitterly reproached those officers whose vaunts had induced him to engage in the war ; and, when night approached, he not only ceased from attacking Corigaum, but made a precipitate retreat.

The pursuit of the Peishwa was actively resumed after his defeat at Corigaum, but it was productive of nothing important except the political effect of exhibiting him as a fugitive. Whenever he was hard-pressed, Gokla, with all the light troops, hovered round the pursuing divisions, firing long shots with their matchlocks, throwing rockets in favourable situations, and cutting off cattle and baggage. Some skirmishes took place in consequence, and the Mahrattas frequently suffered from the shrapnel shells of the horse artillery ; but these affairs were attended with no advantageous result to either party.

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Jan. 1.

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—
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Sattara
taken.

The
Peishwa
deposed.

Gokla
killed.

The
Pindarrees
divide
themselves
into three
corps.

General Smith, having united all his forces, laid siege to Sattara, which surrendered on the 10th of February. A manifesto was then published, stating all the particulars of Bajee Rao's conduct, pronouncing his deposition, and declaring that all his territories, with the exception of a small tract to be reserved for the Rajah of Sattara, should be annexed to the dominions of the Company. Equitable regulations were promulgated for regulating the taxation and rental of the country; and many flagrant abuses which had prevailed under the Mahratta government were abolished. In the mean time, Bajee Rao had retreated to Sholapore, where he was joined by a body of horse, under Gunput Rao, from Nagpore. Thus reinforced, Gokla persuaded the Peishwa to make a movement to the westward. General Smith having received information of the plan, immediately commenced an active pursuit with the cavalry and the horse-artillery, and, on the 19th of February, overtook the Mahrattas at Ashtee, just as they were preparing to move off the ground. Bajee Rao sent Gokla a taunting message, intimating that it was to his negligence the exposure of the Mahratta movements to the English had been effected. Gokla replied that the Peishwa's rear should be effectually guarded, and then advanced with a strong detachment of horse, to check the progress of the English. In the slight skirmish which ensued, Gokla was cut down by a dragoon; the Mahrattas instantly fled, leaving behind them several elephants, a quantity of baggage, and the Rajah of Sattara, whom they had detained as a captive and hostage. Bajee Rao then moved towards Nagpore, where he expected to be joined by Appah Sahib; but, learning that the treachery of the Rajah had been detected and foiled by the English, he fled back again to the northern districts.

The Pindarrees, in three separate bodies or *durras*, under their leaders, Cheetoo, Khareem Khan, and Wasil Mohammed, occupied positions between Indore and Sagur, when the Marquis of Hastings had completed his combinations for their destruction. The mutual animosities of these chiefs prevented them from combining in self-defence, or taking any advantage of the events in Poonah and Nagpore. The only enterprise attempted by the Pindarrees was to send a detachment from the *durra* of Wasil Mohammed, which got into the rear of General Marshall's division of the Bengal army, and committed some ravages in Bundelcund; the Marquis of Hastings sent a small body of troops, which drove these marauders back to Malwa, and General Marshall's advance was not interrupted. Sir John Malcolm and Colonel Adams,

with their divisions acting in concert with Marshall, soon drove the Pindarrees from their accustomed haunts, and either took possession of their lands, or restored them to the agent of Scindiah and the Nabob of Bhopaul. Wasil Mohammed, and Khareem Khan, uniting their *durras*, took the road to Gwalior, whither they had been secretly invited by Scindiah ; Cheetoo went off to fighting. the north-west, in hopes of receiving support from Holkar.

When these movements were ascertained, the Marquis of Hastings sent a detachment across the Sindh, so as to cut off the Pindarrees from Gwalior, and, at the same time, brought his own division within thirty miles of Scindiah's camp, which had the effect of completely overawing that chieftain.* The Pindarrees, unable to penetrate to Gwalior, or to return to the southward, directed their flight westwards into Meywar. Many of them were left behind, who were cut off either by the troops or the exasperated villagers. One considerable body, however, got clear off to the southward, and, after traversing the whole

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Their
movements
to avoid

* At this time the army was attacked by an epidemic, which raged with fury; and during ten days the camp was an hospital. It is now known as the cholera. It is thus described by Prinsep :—

"The symptoms of the disease may be described in few words. Its approach was indicated by giddiness that came on suddenly and without any warning, attended with an immediate and total prostration of strength; insomuch that men fell from their horses in the line of march, and were unable afterwards to rise from the ground, though perfectly well when they started in the morning. A nausea succeeded, with purging and vomiting, so violent as to defy the power of medicine. Laudanum was generally given at this stage in large quantities; but the stomach would retain nothing, throwing up a peculiar green or whitish fluid. After this, the patient was seized with cramps and coldness, from the extremities upwards, even to the parts about the heart. In the midst of his agonies he felt a burning thirst, and called incessantly for cold water, but vomited it the instant it was given. This lasted from twenty-four to forty-eight hours, and the person affected either died under its severity, or was left in a state of such extreme debility, that the utmost power of medicine availed nothing. The cure was very rare when these spasmodic affections came on with any degree of violence. It was observed of this malady, that neither the voice, nor the power of swallowing, nor the intellect, were ever lost while life remained: also that after death the bodies had a peculiar smell, which was immediately perceptible at some distance. Medical men have never yet discovered wherein the disease lay; much less have they found any probable cure. Laudanum or opium to allay the irritation within, and calomel, the universal specific of India, with stimulants, when the patient is about to sink from exhaustion, form the most approved, if not the general practice. The medical art has gone no further."

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**The Patan
chiefs seek
war with
Holkar's
army.**

Deccan, entered the Company's provinces in the Carnatic, where they were annihilated or dispersed before the end of the ensuing January.

Cheetoo, in the meantime, being closely pursued by Sir John Malcolm, found refuge in Holkar's camp, in the vicinity of Mahedpore. Gunput Rao, the paramour of Toolzee Bhaee, was at this time the chief director of Holkar's agency, and, as he was a bitter enemy of the British, it soon became evident that hostilities could not be avoided. Indeed, so resolved were the Patan Sirdars on war, that, suspecting the regency of an intention to open negotiations, they put Toolzee Bhaee to death, and placed Gunput Rao in confinement. Sir Thomas Hislop, who had now arrived with his division and taken the supreme command, finding that his detached parties were severely harassed, resolved to bring matters to a crisis.

**Battle of
Mahedpore,
Dec. 21.** Shortly after daylight on the morning of the 21st of December, 1817, the English troops came within sight of the enemy's camp.

They found Holkar's army strongly posted near the town of Mahedpore, within a bend of the Seepra river, which covered the left flank, the right being protected by a deep ravine. Its front was protected by a formidable park of artillery, consisting of seventy heavy guns ranged in the form of a crescent. These guns being admirably served by the Patans, overpowered the light English field-pieces, and occasioned a heavy loss before the British troops had time to form and advance, after crossing the ford of the Seepra. The ford was steep and narrow, the ascent on the opposite bank, naturally difficult, was further obstructed by several guns, carriages, etc., which had been disabled and rendered useless by the enemy's fire, when the head of the advancing column first appeared from the river. When the whole of the infantry had obtained their footing on the opposite bank, they deployed by columns diverging by the right into line, and took up their respective positions in front of the enemy, each regiment lying on the ground, until the whole line was completed, as Sir Thomas Hislop had directed. At a preconcerted signal, they rose, advanced, and fired a volley ; orders were then given to charge ; the soldiers at once pushed forward, broke Holkar's battalions, and made themselves masters of his artillery. The Patans fought desperately in defence of the cannon ; many of these brave and devoted men refused to abandon their guns, and were bayoneted or sabred where they stood. A few, who saw that any further resistance would be useless took up their swords and shields, and quietly retreated ; but

**Sir Thomas
Hislop
wins the
battle.**

they were overtaken and cut to pieces by the British cavalry. Holkar's horse and infantry had fled on the first onset, and their camp was found standing, but with very few articles of any value in it : at some distance in its rear, five guns, which had been left to cover the retreat, were discovered and taken. The victory was complete, and it lowered the vaunting boasts of Holkar's troops, who, it appears, prided themselves much on a trifling advantage which they had formerly gained over a detachment of the Bengal army, when attacked under unfavourable circumstances.

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A heavy fall of rain took place at the close of the action which greatly aggravated the sufferings of the wounded, and afforded opportunities for plunder to the marauders, who wandered over the field, robbing the living and the dead, and assassinating those who attempted to make any resistance. A large quantity of military equipments and stores were found upon the field. Among the enemy's supply of ammunition for their heavy ordnance, a large quantity of balls was discovered, which, from the private marks of manufacturers, and the names of gunners upon them, must have been obtained, by some treacherous means, from British arsenals. The enquiries instituted on the subject led to no satisfactory result.

From the field of battle the English advanced to Mundisore, where they met envoys bringing offers of peace from young Holkar. A treaty was concluded on terms more favourable than that chieftain had a right to expect, and an English residency was established at Indore. Scindiah's court was rendered perfectly tractable by the victory over Holkar ; but one of his feudatories having afforded a refuge to Cheetoo and his Pindarrees, General Browne was sent to punish this delinquency. This service was performed promptly and efficiently ; Jesswunt Rao's camp was surprised, his guns captured, and his principal town stormed. The district which he had governed, was then transferred to another ruler.

In the meantime, Cheetoo with his *durra* of Pindarrees, fled in a north-westerly direction, when the pursuit was taken up by the Guzerat division with considerable effect. His *durra* was now the only one at all formidable, the rest had either been destroyed or dispersed, and their chiefs had yielded themselves prisoners. At length, Cheetoo's division was completely surprised and dispersed by a detachment from the fort of Hindia : he escaped with about two hundred followers, and sought refuge with the Nabob of Bhopaul, but the terms which he offered to

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 A. D. 1818. that chieftain being rejected, he continued his flight until he joined the fugitive, Appah Sahib, to whom his habits of vigilance and activity rendered him a valuable ally. The Pindarrees, thus dispersed, without leaders and without homes, soon ceased to be formidable ; they were finally absorbed in the agricultural population of Malwa and the Deccan, where many of them became active and improving farmers.

Resistance made at Talneir.

Sir Thomas Hislop now prepared to return to Madras, resolving on his way to take possession of the several forts to the southward, which had been ceded by Scindiah or Holkar. No resistance was made until the army approached the Fort of Talneir, situated on the right bank of the Taptee river, when a fire was suddenly opened from the walls on the advance and the quarter-master-general's department. The aggression was equally unprovoked and unexpected, being obviously an infraction of the treaty by which Talneir and the other forts south of the Nerbudda were ceded to the English. Information of these stipulations was sent to the Killeddar or governor of the fort, together with a sharp remonstrance on his breach of the treaty, and a threat to treat him as a rebel if he persevered ; but he met these representations with an evasive and rather hostile reply.

The garrison offers to yield.

Feb. 27.

One six-pounder and two small howitzers, the largest guns present with the army, were hastily formed into a field battery, and brought to bear on the gateway of the fort from a neighbouring eminence. The fire of the enemy was soon overpowered and silenced, the parapets destroyed, and the defences dismantled ; but, from the small calibre of the artillery employed, no material damage was done to the main wall. It was resolved to force an entrance at the gateway, but, as the storming party advanced, a flag of truce was displayed from one of the bastions ; soon after the Killeddar or native commander of the garrison came out, declaring that the gates of the fort should be opened as soon as terms of capitulation could be arranged. The English officer in command, replied that the surrender of the place must be unconditional, and directed that this reply should be communicated to the garrison. No one seemed willing to convey the message, and hostilities were resumed. The storming party pushed forward into the traverse, through the broken masonry on each side of the gateway, and advanced with little order, finding all the gates but the last open before them. Here, after a brief delay, a wicket was opened, through which Major Gordon entered with a small party. A short parley followed, when the

Treachery.

wicket was suddenly and treacherously closed ; the Major, and his few followers, hemmed in on every side by ferocious enemies, and cut off from all possibility of relief, were overpowered and slain.

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When the first effects of the surprise were abated, the English soldiers rushed forward to the assault, with equal fury and desperation ; a party of pioneers broke through the fastenings of the wicket, and opened a passage ; the Arabs, who formed the garrison, made a vigorous effort to defend the entrance, but they could not resist men almost maddened by the unexpected resistance, and by the base treachery practised on their beloved officer and his followers. Under the circumstances, no quarter could be given ; about one hundred and fifty Arabs fell beneath the hands of the avengers. Some fugitives, in the hope of escape, concealed themselves in haystacks, but their places of refuge were discovered and fired ; the helpless wretches, driven out by The flames, were shot down like beasts of prey by the enraged garrison put to the sword. The extermination of the garrison was all but complete ; a woman and two Arab boys, who had secreted themselves in a dry well, were the only persons saved.

Nor was this all : the Killedar being considered a rebel by Sir T. Hislop, was tried in a summary manner, and condemned to be hanged on one of the bastions. Some officers remonstrated against his execution as being unnecessary ; but the example soon produced the best effect. A full explanation was subsequently required by the Governor-General, and by Parliament. The circumstances have been misrepresented and discoloured by party-spirit ; but it is undoubted that the Killedar was bound to surrender the place instead of resisting the orders of his sovereign, and thereby causing the loss of many lives. He disguised himself, and quitted the fort, leaving the ignorant and infuriated Arabs to yield, or to carry on the defence, as they pleased.

The fall of Talneir, and the fate of its governor, ensured the quiet surrender of the remaining fortresses. The keys of the yield. strong hill-forts of Chandore, Rassaighur and Galna, were sent to the English camp by their respective Killedars, who did not wait to be summoned, and these important posts were immediately secured by British troops. Nothing now remained to bring the war to a conclusion, save securing the persons of Bajee Rao, Cheetoo, and Appah Sahib.

After wandering about for some time, with an army daily diminishing by desertion, the Peishwa was surprised and routed by an English detachment under Colonel Adams, who followed up his victory by besieging and capturing the important fort of The Peishwa an outlaw.

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Chandah. General Pritzler, about the same time, made himself master of Wusota, where two English officers were found, who had been made prisoners in the beginning of the war, and had been kept ever since in ignorance of the movements of their countrymen, even when they had opened a fire on the place in which they were confined. Bajee Rao now saw that his affairs were desperate ; he made many overtures to Mr. Elphinstone, but as they always implied an ability to treat, he was distinctly told that his unconditional submission only could be accepted. At length he sought shelter, with about eight thousand men, under the guns of Aseerghur, whence he sent agents to General Sir John Malcolm, the nearest of his pursuers, to treat for a surrender.

Sir J.
Malcolm
offers
lenient
terms.

Sir John Malcolm's better judgment was lulled by the flattery of the Peishwa's envoys ; and he was besides anxious to have the glory of bringing the war to a conclusion ; he, therefore, opened negotiations, though contrary to the directions which had been issued by the Governor-General. It must, however, be confessed, that the ready shelter afforded to the Peishwa at Aseerghur—a fortress which Scindiah had agreed to surrender to the English, but which its Killedar retained by the secret directions of his sovereign—gave reasonable ground for believing that the Peishwa might rely on the aid of Scindiah if he protracted the war. After some negotiation, Bajee Rao surrendered to Sir John Malcolm ; he agreed to abdicate the throne, and to spend the rest of his life within the English territories ; but it was stipulated that the Company should make him an annual allowance of one hundred thousand pounds ; while, at the same time, he was permitted to retain all that he had preserved of his treasures. Terms so utterly disproportioned to the Peishwa's position and claims were with very great reluctance confirmed by the Governor-General, and on many occasions he condemned in the most pointed terms the impolitic concessions made by Sir John Malcolm. Trimbuck Danglia escaped for a time ; but after many perilous adventures, he was made prisoner by a party of irregular horse, and confined for life in an English fortress.

They are
assented to
reluctantly.

Aseerghur
taken,
April 9.

Appah Sahib and Cheetoo, after having been closely blockaded in the hills, made their escape to Aseerghur, and that celebrated fortress was immediately invested by General Doveton ; Sir John Malcolm co-operating, with a force from Malwa. Cheetoo's Pindarrees had been received into the fort, but he was himself excluded by the jealousy of the Killedar. Great uncertainty prevailed respecting his fate ; but, at length, it was discovered

that he had fallen a victim to a tiger, in the jungle where he sought shelter. His body, when found, was so mangled that it could not have been identified, but for the fragments of his dress which lay near. Aseerghur made a vigorous defence, but was at length surrendered on the 9th of April, 1819, when it was found that Appah Sahib was not in the fort, but had fled to some other place before its investment was completed.

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It required some vigorous management to compel the surrender of several of the forts which their Killedars retained ; but one after another was surrendered or taken, and the Governor-General was enabled to develop his plans for the regulation of the conquered country. In general, the rights of the possessors of property were treated with great respect ; and the administration of law was very little changed from the Mahratta form of procedure ; but the greatest vigilance was introduced into the criminal courts, for the purpose of putting an end to the organized system of plunder which had previously prevailed.

The English rule established.

In 1819, the Subahdar or Vizir of Oude assumed the title of "king," in order to establish his personal independence as far as the name could secure it.

The only place where any resistance was made to the changes which the Marquis of Hastings introduced, after establishing British supremacy in India, was at Bareilly, in Rohilcund. A tax had been introduced for the support of the police force, unpopular in itself, and levied in a way very offensive to the prejudices of the Moslems. The magistrate of Bareilly entrusted the collection to the *Cutwal*, or native head of the police, against whom popular indignation was vehemently excited, on account of his harshness, cruelty, and venality. He was particularly detested by the higher class of Patans in Rohilcund, who are feelingly alive to everything which concerns their personal honour, and to whose prejudices the coarse language of a vulgar Hindu villager, as the *Cutwal* is described to have been, was peculiarly offensive. Several tumultuous meetings were held at Bareilly ; and a petition against the tax was presented to the magistrate, through the Mufti, who, according to Mohammedan usage, combined the functions of a judge and a priest. No notice was taken of this address ; the popular discontent continued, and the bad feeling which existed in the town was greatly increased, by the circumstance of a woman being wounded by some police officers while in the act of levying the tax, by distraining a trifling article equivalent to its amount. This female was carried to the Mufti, who advised that she should be taken to the magis-

Disturbances at Bareilly.

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A.D. 1816.

trate. He refused to interfere, directing that a complaint should be formally lodged in the courts if any wrong had been done. The dissatisfied mob brought the woman back to the Mufti, who exclaimed, "If such is the magistrate's justice, no person's life or honour is safe in the town ; and it is high time for me to leave it." He then quitted his house, with the avowed intention of making a complaint to the judge of the circuit, who was in the neighbourhood ; but, unfortunately, he encountered the magistrate, accompanied by a few troops, on the road. The Mufti believed that the magistrate was coming to arrest him ; an affray ensued, in which several lives were lost.

The mob, which from the first had shewn no disposition to resist authority, soon dispersed ; but the Mufti, who had been slightly wounded, and who was still persuaded that it was intended to make him prisoner, took refuge in a mosque at the outskirts of the town, and caused the green flag of Mohammed to be displayed from its minaret, as a signal that he required his friends and adherents to assemble for his protection.

Captain
Boscawen
tries to
quell the
disturbance

On the morning of the 18th of April, 1816, Captain Boscawen, with two companies of sepoys and two guns, took post close to the mosque, a circumstance which confirmed the general belief that it was intended to arrest the Mufti ; who, in addition to that veneration in which, from his age and the sanctity of his character and office, he was before held, was now viewed as a popular victim, in whose defence it was the duty of all ranks and classes to unite. Negotiations were begun with the multitude, but their irritation and fanaticism were increased by the arrival of aid from different towns in the vicinity, until the crowds were no longer under the control of those who had first called them into action. A desperate attack was made upon Captain Boscawen's detachment, but after a fierce struggle, which lasted several hours, the infuriated insurgents were repulsed, with the loss of two thousand in killed and wounded.

When the insurrection was quelled, and the excitement so far abated as to allow of an investigation in legal form, a number of persons supposed to have been most active were taken up, and brought to trial before the criminal court. It is a significant and remarkable fact, that they were all acquitted from want of evidence, except one ignorant youth, who was pardoned. A general amnesty was extended to all the inhabitants, with the exception of some of the principal instigators, who, however, provided for their safety by an early flight.

The misconduct of the Rao of Cutch, Barmaljee, compelled

Many tried
but no good
evidence
given.

A furious
fight
with the
fanatics.

the Bombay government to send a division to take his capital, Bhooj, and to place his infant son, Rao Desal, in his stead. This was effected on the 26th of March, 1819, when the walls were escalated and the town taken. Treaties were formed with the new government, much to the dissatisfaction of the Ameers of Scinde, who were mortified on finding their designs on that principality thus frustrated by the British protection of the young Rao. A treaty was made with two Ameers, yet disputes and quarrels arose about the boundaries, which caused a rankling feeling to prevail amongst them. Along the sea-coast of Western India, the petty states of the Concan, and especially Angria Colabah, in which piracy and robbery had long prevailed, to the injury of commerce, were obliged to submit to the laws of civilization, after the subjugation of the Mahrattas. Treaties were arranged with the chiefs, and the renewal of their depredations prohibited.

An expedition was despatched from Bombay, in September, 1819, under the command of Sir William Kerr, to attack Ras-ul-Khaima, in Arabia, which was, in December, speedily occupied, and a treaty made with the Sheiks, who promised to abstain from piracy, from killing their prisoners, and from dealing in slaves. A political agent was left at Ras-ul-Khaima, with instructions to retire to the island of Kishme. An Arab tribe, the Beni-bu-Ali, having captured a trading vessel, one of the Company's cruisers was sent to enquire into the matter. The tribe, having thrown off their allegiance to the Imaum of Muscat, prepared to resist his troops, and those of the Company. Six companies of sepoyes, with six guns, and a thousand of the Imaum's men marched against the tribe, who numbered only six hundred. A fight ensued, in which six British officers, and four hundred sepoyes were killed. The rest were saved by the efforts of the Imaum, who was wounded in the battle. The Arabs protested that they had not participated in the piracy, and were bound to defend their homes. The Bombay government sent a strong expedition under command of Sir Lionel Smith, and the tribe of Beni-bu-Ali was nearly exterminated. Some few, taken as captives to Bombay, were, after two years' detention, restored to their homes—a proof that war is not always carried on with justice.

The interests of British commerce in the Arabian Gulf (or Red Sea) having required the establishment of an agent at Mocha, one was appointed; but the hatred of the governor caused him to be cruelly treated. The British factory was pillaged; redress

A.D. 1819.

March 26.

The Rao
of Cutch
deposed.His son
placed on
the

muauud.

The
Concan
settled.Expedition
to Ras-ul-
Khaima.Expedition
against the
Beni-bu-
Ali.Mocha
bombarded.

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A.D. 1820. was refused ; an expedition was sent in 1820 ; the town was bombarded and nearly reduced to ashes. The Dola, or Governor of Mocha, who had caused the beating of the Resident, was surrendered to Captain Lock, of H.M.S. *Eden*, who held the command ; but after a short detention the Dola was released, on his promise of good behaviour. Various favourable stipulations were agreed to, and peace was concluded with the Imaum of Senna, as the head of the district.

Settlement of the small states in the interior. The settlement of the various small states in the interior of India occupied much of the attention of the Governor General. The whole of the possessions of the Peishwa, together with large cessions from the Nagpore districts, became the dominions of the Company. The Rajahs of Rajpootana, long known as the proudest of the Indian chiefs, submitted to the British influence. Even the Rajah of Odeypore, who had refused obedience to either Mahratta or Moslem, accepted the terms of protection proposed by the British negociators. The Bheels in Candeish were brought into order, and the small state of Sattara was advanced to prosperity. The West of India had then the advantage of being governed by the judicious Mountstuart Elphinstone, whose calm and gentle manners won the confidence of every native that approached him.

Ecclesiastical arrangements. The first attempt at forming in India an ecclesiastical establishment, according to the principles of the churches of England and of Scotland, was made during the government of the Marquis of Hastings. Doctor Middleton was appointed Bishop of Calcutta, in 1814 ; on taking possession of his diocese, which embraced all India, he organised his clergy, built churches, and founded the Bishop's College in Calcutta. This building was nearly completed before his death, which occurred on the 8th of July, 1822.

The Marquis of Hastings returns to Europe. The Marquis of Hastings quitted India in January, 1823, with the satisfaction of having greatly consolidated the British power therein. At the close of the Mahratta war, in 1819, the Company unanimously voted him the sum of 60,000*l.*, in consideration of his high and meritorious services. On his arrival in Europe, an attempt was made to grant him 5,000*l.* per annum for twenty years ; but the proposition was not successful. In 1824 he was appointed Governor of Malta, where his impaired constitution became more enfeebled. He embarked on board H.M.S. *Revenge* to proceed to Naples, and died in the Bay of Baia on the 29th of November, 1825. In August, 1827, the sum of 20,000*l.* was invested by the Company in the hands of trustees, for the benefit of the young Marquis on his coming of age.

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GOVERNMENT OF JOHN ADAM, 1823.

State of India on the Departure of the Marquis of Hastings.—Mr. John Adam succeeds as Governor-General, Jan. 1.—Four Matters demand especial and prompt Attention, viz.: 1. The Discussions with the Dutch about the Spice Islands.—2. The Affairs of the Nizam's Government.—3. The Disputes with the Burmese. 4. The Movements of Ranjeet Singh, the Maharajah of Lahore. I.—The surrender of Java by the Treaties of 1814 much regretted.—Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, Governor of Bencoolen.—He takes Possession of Singapore.—Treaties formed with the Dutch who give up their Settlements on the Continent of India.—The British yield in exchange Bencoolen, 1824.—II. The Affairs of Hyderabad.—Palmer & Co.'s Dealings.—Chandu-Lall borrows Money from them at exorbitant Rates.—Bevan's Description of the Infamies at Hyderabad.—The Soucarts or Bankers described.—Chandu-Lall applies for a large Loan to Palmer & Co.—The Loan objected to by Members of the Supreme Council.—It is sanctioned by the Vote of the Marquis of Hastings.—On his Departure Mr. Adam condemns it.—The Ruin of Palmer & Co. involves many worthy Persons.—III. The War with Burmah an inevitable Legacy.—The Burmese vain, and flushed with Victories.—They seek a Quarrel with the British.—The Mughs, an agricultural Race, oppressed by the Burmese.—They flee for Refuge to the British frontier Provinces.—The Burmese demand their Extradition.—Captain Cox settles many Thousands in the Districts.—The Burmese Governor of Arracan demands the Fugitives.—He threatens Invasion in insolent Language.—The Governor-General sends an Ambassador to the Burmese Capital.—After Explanations Peace continues for several Years.—The Burmese Viceroy of Pegu sends Agents to excite Rebellions in India.—Incursions by Khyen-bran into the Burmese Territory.—Death of Khyen-bran in 1816.—The Rajah of Ramree, a frontier Ruler, sends a bombastic threatening Letter, as dictated by the King.—In 1818 another Letter sent by the Rajah's Son,

declaring War unless Tribute is paid for Four British Provinces. This Letter is treated as unauthorized.—The Company refuses to surrender any of the Mughs.—Their quiet reserved Proceedings inflame the Passion of the Burmese for War.—IV. The State o, the Punjab, Ranjeet Sing, and the Sikhs.—The Twelve Missuls. Ranjeet born Nov. 2nd, 1780.—He is disfigured and blinded of an Eye by the Small Pox.—His Youth is spent in Debauchery and in Sporting.—On taking the Government he causes his Mother to be assassinated.—His first Acts of Aggrandisement.—He declares his Independence, and becomes Maharajah.—His first Acquaintance with the English.—He resolves to cultivate a good Understanding with them.—He has his Troops instructed on the European Model.—He receives Shah Sooja and plunders him.—The Efforts of Futtah Khan, the Afgahn, in Cashmeer.—Ranjeet Sing takes Attock, and drives Futtah Khan off.—Futtah Khan is murdered.—Ranjeet gains Peshawur and Cashmeer.—His Army is disciplined by Four French Officers.—He conquers Moultan and extends his Dominions.—The Opinions formed of the Indian Empire.—Its Size thought to be inconvenient.—Mr. Adam, as Governor-General, quarrels with the Calcutta Newspapers.—Obnoxious Editors sent to Europe.—Mr. Adam banishes Mr. Buckingham and becomes highly unpopular.—Mr. Adam died on his Passage to England, June 4, 1825.—The Court of Directors express their Opinion of his Services.

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A.D. 1828.

THE government of the Marquis of Hastings was most successful. The situation of the British power in India was very different when he resigned from what it had been when that nobleman assumed the reins of government. The Company's territories were greatly enlarged, and their revenues increased ; the Pindarrees were annihilated ; the power of the Mahrattas, the most formidable enemies of the British, was annihilated ; and Scindiah, the only ruler whose resources were undiminished, had shewn by all his acts that he had ceased to cherish any plans of ambition. Many things, nevertheless, remained unsettled, which required prompt attention from the government at home, as well as from the Governor-General in India. Among them we must specially enumerate the discussions with the Dutch, the affairs of the Nizam's government, the disputes with the Burmese, and movements of Ranjeet Sing, the Maharajah of Lahore. We shall, therefore, take a succinct view of those four subjects, as they presented themselves during the short rule of Mr. John Adam, who, as being the senior member of

Council, succeeded the Marquis of Hastings, when the latter sailed from Calcutta on the 1st of January, 1823. Mr. Adam held the reins of government until the 1st of August of that year. The struggle which Mr. Adam carried on with the newspapers of Calcutta deserves, also, a particular notice.

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I. At the peace of 1814, the insular possessions of the Dutch in the Indian seas, were restored by the English negotiators at Vienna, with a facility, or rather a precipitancy, which prevented any stipulations being made in favour of the growing and lucrative trade which the British merchants had opened with the Spice Islands. It was, in fact, virtually recognized that the old Dutch monopoly of the spice trade, and their preponderating influence in the Indian Archipelago, should be restored and maintained, until such time as the government of the Netherlands should, of their own accord, think fit to relax in their pretensions. Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, governor of the British settlement of Bencoolen, in the island of Sumatra, soon saw the necessity of adopting some efficacious remedy, to redress the wrongs which the Dutch, from the very first moment of their restoration, began to inflict on the British trade, and he resolved to occupy some place which might in some degree compensate his countrymen for the abandonment of their former conquests. Animated by these views, he took possession of Singapore, off Point Romania, on the Malacca coast, in the direct route to China. The wisdom of his selection soon became apparent; in a very few years Singapore, from a mere cluster of huts, became one of the most thriving commercial cities in the Eastern seas; and its prosperity still continues progressively increasing.

A.D. 1819.

Singapore taken possession of Feb. 26.

Though supported by the Marquis of Hastings, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles received no encouragement from the British ministry, and there was some reason to fear that the representations of the Dutch would lead to the frustration of his prudent measures. Fortunately, Mr. Canning, who was then President of the Board of Control, suggested the nomination of a select committee, with whom he could hold confidential communications, to enable him to meet the Commissioners of the Netherlands. The more the subject was investigated, the more clearly was it seen that the Dutch had completely overreached the English negotiators at Vienna, and that some new arrangements were necessary to preserve the British trade in the Indian Archipelago, and even to secure British commerce with China. The negotiations were greatly protracted, from the necessity of reference on various points to India. At length the whole terminated in the

Treaty with the Dutch.

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 treaty of 1824, by which the Dutch settlements on the continent of India, with Malacca, and the undisputed right to Singapore, were ceded to the British government, the Dutch acquiring in exchange, Bencoolen and all the Company's rights in the island of Sumatra.

Palmer & Co. at Hyderabad

Chandu-Lall's dealings.

Horrible crimes at Hyderabad

II. The affairs of Hyderabad exposed the Marquis of Hastings to considerable odium, and led to the refusal of the pension from the Company which his eminent services deserved. In the year 1811, Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. formed a mercantile establishment and bank at Hyderabad, for which they did not obtain the necessary allowance from the Governor-general until after a lapse of two years and four months. During this time the house had dealings with Chandu-Lall, on behalf of the Nizam's government, to the extent of more than 700,000*l.*, with a balance in favour of the former, amounting to about 100,000*l.* This was contrary to the act of parliament passed in 1797, which declared all pecuniary transactions with native princes, unless sanctioned by the Court of Directors or the Supreme Council of Calcutta, to be illegal. On the commencement of the Pindarree war, the Messrs. Palmer were empowered to advance money on two separate accounts to the Nizam, for the purpose of enabling him to send his stipulated contingents to take a share in the Deccan war. This loan was granted at a very exorbitant rate of interest, but it must be remembered that the Messrs. Palmer had themselves to borrow the greater part of the sum required, and that the raising of money in India is a far more difficult operation than in Europe. It is also necessary to take into account the state of society in Hyderabad, which is thus forcibly pourtrayed by Major Henry Bevan.

“Hyderabad is of very great extent, and very densely populated ; the inhabitants are Patans, Indian Mussulmans, and Hindus, but the followers of the prophet greatly preponderate. The Mohammedans of Hyderabad are the most disorderly, turbulent, and ferocious set of ruffians within the limits of India. They are descended from the Jagatay Turks, absurdly called Moguls, who conquered northern India under Baber, and established the empire of Delhi ; and they are not one whit less haughty, bigoted, and ferocious than their ancestors were in the days of Timur. It has never been forgotten by them that they were once the lords of India, and therefore they regard us as the usurpers of their heritage, with a hatred not the less intense because they are compelled to keep it concealed. No European can venture to pass through the city unprovided with a suitable



escort ; were he to make the attempt, he would not escape insult, and perhaps, personal injury. No specimens of their abusive and insolent language to British travellers, can be given without grossly offending decency. The state of morals in Hyderabad is execrable ; a detestable crime is so common that it forms a topic of ordinary conversation, and is never attempted to be denied or concealed. An officer, who resided a short time in the city, declared that, compared with Hyderabad, Sodom would be found innocent, and Gomorrah the perfection of purity. The lives and properties of the nobles, the merchants, and the bankers, would not be safe for a single day if the British forces were withdrawn. The crowds of half-starved bullies that infest its streets would plunder the place, but for the awe with which they always regard the garrison.

"The *soucarts*, or bankers, at Hyderabad, are far from being so respectable a class as in other parts of India. Loans are obtained from them by mortgaging property, or giving a deposit of jewels or other valuables. It is a general rule that the value of the deposit should exceed that of the loan by at least one-half. In these transactions, the *soucarts*, by the exorbitant interest which they charge, and the frauds they use in depreciating the value of the deposits, far transcend the worst class of pawnbrokers in England."

We have already referred to the weakness of the Nizam's character, and to the support which his profligate minister, Chandu-Lall, received from the English government. In fact, when the Nizam proposed, in 1811, to investigate the accounts of that minister, the Resident, Mr. Russell, interfered to shelter Chandu-Lall, and prevented any of his subordinate agents from being examined. When the debts claimed by the Messrs. Palmer, on their three accounts against the Nizam, had amounted to an immense sum, Chandu-Lall declared that he was anxious to introduce a thorough reform into the financial affairs of the Nizam, and for this purpose he required the command of money to a considerable extent. He applied to the Messrs. Palmer, for the loan of sixty lacs of rupees, on the condition that the Nizam should mortgage a portion of his revenues as a security both for the principal and the interest, and that Mr. Palmer should appoint his own collectors to receive the revenues assigned to him. This arrangement was warmly opposed in the Supreme Council, and was only carried by the casting vote of the Governor-General. It soon appeared that the loan was a mere fiction, and was, in fact, merely a means for capitalizing all the old demands

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Chandu-  
Lall effects  
a loan.

Sanctioned  
by the  
Marquis of  
Hastings.

**CHAPTER XVIII.** of the house upon the Nizam. Matters remained unsettled when the Marquis of Hastings returned to Europe ; but scarcely had his temporary successor, Mr. Adam, been installed in office, than he condemned the whole affair as fraudulent and usurious. Furthermore, he peremptorily ordered the assigned revenues to be restored to the Nizam, without making any reservation whatever for the payment of anything beyond the principal of the loan. Palmer's house was, of course, ruined ; and many meritorious officers, who had invested their savings in its custody were involved in its fate.

**A.D. 1820.** **Mr. Adam condemns it.** **Palmer & Co. ruined.** **A.D. 1828.** III. The war with Burmah, like that with Mysore in 1799, and that with Nepaul in 1814, devolved upon the new Governor-General as a legacy from his predecessor. Hostilities had commenced and outrages been perpetrated for years before the war was officially commenced. It will be necessary to refer to past events, in order to explain the causes of the war against Burmah, which the Company had to wage beyond the limits of India.

**Rise of the Burmese power.** The power of the Burmese over the countries to the east of the Bay of Bengal, took its rise about the time when the English began to acquire supremacy in India. The progress of both was rapid. Conquests brought them into contact. The acquisition of Arracan, Assam, and Cachar, placed the Burmese on our north-eastern frontier. Instead of having to deal in this quarter with petty Rajahs, we were brought into a collision with a race flushed by recent victories, ignorant of British power, and vain of their own. The preservation of friendly relations was difficult until one or the other was allowed to be the superior power.

**They violate the British territory, but gize-apolo** During the government of Lord Teignmouth, a Burmese general advanced into the province of Chittagong in pursuit of three criminals. A force was sent to repel this violation of territory ; the Burmese general prevented hostilities by waiting upon the English officer, by explaining all the circumstances, and by exhibiting his instructions and pleading his motives. On his retiring, the criminals were surrendered to the Burmese authorities ; two of them were put to death by the most cruel tortures, but the third again effected his escape into the British territories.

**The Mughs emigrate.** The Mughs, an agricultural race, settled in Arracan, were subjected to oppression and tyranny from their Burmese masters. Some of them had long settled in Chittagong, and learned to appreciate the mildness of the British rule ; they invited the sufferers of Arracan to join them, and during the years of 1797 and 1798, thousands of the Mughs migrated into the British

territories. Their numbers created alarm; the offence which harbouring the fugitives would give to the Burmese was foreseen; and orders were sent to prevent any more from crossing the frontier. The orders were not obeyed; for new emigrants resolved to die rather than return. On one occasion, when the British authorities required a body of Mughs to go back to their old homes, the leader boldly replied, "We will never return to the Arracan country: if you choose to slaughter us here, we are ready to die; if by force you drive us away, we will go and dwell in the jungles of the great mountains, which afford shelter to wild beasts."

About the close of the year 1798, not fewer than ten thousand Others of the Mughs rushed to the frontier, in a state of agony and distress. This body was followed by another more numerous. Two-thirds of the Mughs forsook the province of Arracan, the capital of which was nearly depopulated. The fugitives are described as "flying through wilds and deserts without any preconcerted plan, numbers perishing from famine and fatigue. The road from the Naaf river (which forms the boundary between the Burmese province of Arracan and the British district of Chittagong), was strewed with the bodies of the aged, and of mothers with infants at their breasts." Policy became enlisted on the side of humanity, in dictating that, at least, a temporary asylum should be granted to the despairing fugitives. Coercive measures, if successful, would have consigned thousands of unoffending individuals to the cruel vengeance of a barbarous government. The government of Calcutta, resolved to assign to the refugee grants of waste lands, of which there were vast tracts in Chittagong. In the meanwhile, hundreds perished daily, as they were constrained to feed upon leaves and reptiles. They settle in the districts of Chittagong. The authorities came to the determination of relieving the wants of the survivors, by providing them with food, and with materials for constructing huts to shelter them from the approaching rains.

Captain Hiram Cox, an officer previously employed on a mission to the court of Ava, and well acquainted with the Burmese language and customs, undertook the onerous duties of carrying these arrangements into effect; and his success fulfilled the expectations of those by whom he was appointed.

When the last migration of the Mughs took place, there were no more than three hundred Burmese troops in the capital of Arracan; and they were intimidated by the extent of the disaffection. They did not pursue the fugitives, who were enabled

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A.D. 1798.

**CHAPTER XVIII.** to cross the Naaf. The oppressors were not disposed to lose their victims. They made vigorous exertions, and, collecting an army of about four thousand men, followed the emigrants into Chittagong, and fortified themselves in the dense woods of that province, by stockading their position: they maintained themselves for several weeks in an intrenched camp, carrying on a petty warfare with the British troops. The commander of the invaders addressed a letter to Mr. Stonehouse, the civil magistrate of Chittagong, in which he observed, "If you, regarding former amity, will deliver us up all the refugees, friendship and concord will continue. But, if you persist in keeping in your country the slaves of our king, the broad path of friendship and intercourse between the states must be blocked up. Our disagreement is only about the fugitives: we wrote to you to deliver them, and you have been offended. We again write to you, who are in the province of Chittagong on the part of the king of the Company, that we will take away the whole of the Arracanese; and further, in order to take them away, more troops are coming. If you will keep the Arracanese in your country, the cord of friendship will be broken."

To this demand Mr. Stonehouse replied, that no negotiations could be entertained so long as the Burmese troops remained within the British territories, and that the commander must abide by the consequences, should he disregard this admonition. The Burmese continued, however, to maintain their post, where they were successful in repelling an attack made upon them by a detachment of British sepoys, July 18th, 1799. Soon afterwards, they retired within their own frontiers; and Lieutenant Hill was deputed by the Supreme Government to the governor of Arracan, to effect an amicable settlement.

Such was the state of affairs when Captain Cox reached Ramoo, on the banks of the Naaf, and entered upon the performance of his duties. He reported, that since the orders of government had arrived for the admission of the Mughs, they necessarily, for the sake of subsistence, widely dispersed themselves; that some time would elapse before their numbers could be accurately ascertained, but that they were generally computed at from twenty-five to thirty thousand persons, of all ages and both sexes; and that, notwithstanding the relief extended to them by their countrymen, long settled in Chittagong, and by the native inhabitants who had hired several of them, the mortality continued to be very great, especially among the children, of whom not less than twenty perished daily.

The great  
distress of  
the Mughs.  
July 18.

On the 18th of April, 1799, Captain Cox reported to the Governor-General that he had registered thirteen thousand of the emigrants, and that he had reason to believe that there were between forty and fifty thousand in the province, who would come forward as soon as he had ground enough for their subsistence. Before he left Chittagong, in the middle of the year, he settled ten thousand four hundred and sixty Mughs in the district. Their principal settlement was named after him, Cox's Bazaar.

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A.D. 1800.

Soon after the return of Captain Hill from his mission to Arracan, the Burmese monarch sent an envoy to Calcutta, who was received in a very friendly manner by the Marquis of Wellesley, then the Governor-General. The ambassador made very strong remonstrances respecting the encouragement which had been given to the emigrants. The Marquis of Wellesley replied, that the British government was willing to surrender any of the Mughs who could be found to have been guilty of crimes which might render them unworthy of protection; and that all emigrants, without distinction, who might be so disposed, should be at perfect liberty to return to their native country. A proclamation was issued at the same time, declaring that any subjects of the Burmese king, who might thereafter migrate, should not be received within the British territories.

Towards the close of the year 1800, the governor of Arracan peremptorily demanded the unconditional surrender of the Mughs, and addressed a letter to the magistrate at Chittagong, conveying threats of invasion if the requisition was not complied with. The Governor-General, in remarking on this communication, stated, that he would have considered himself justified in resorting to arms for the purpose of obtaining reparation for this insult, if he had not believed that the governor of Arracan had acted without the authority of his court. To A.D. 1802, ascertain this point, and to improve our commercial and political relations with the Burmese government, Lieutenant-Colonel Symes was sent as ambassador to Ava, the Burmah capital, in 1802; and, in the meantime, a considerable detachment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Fenwick, was posted on the frontier of Chittagong.

Colonel Symes received general assurances of the friendly disposition of the Burmese court, which he impressed with full confidence in the good faith and amicable views of the British government. Several years elapsed, during which the question of the emigrants lay dormant. When Captain Canning was at

An  
Embassy  
sent to  
Ava.

**CHAPTER XVIII.** the Burmese court, in 1809, he ascertained that the king had long entertained the design of conquering the provinces of Chittagong and Dacca.

A.D. 1811.

**The Mughs make inroads on Arracan.** During the year 1811, the British government began to experience the evil consequences of establishing the Mugh refugees in a situation which afforded them a constant view of their native country, and was well calculated to keep alive the memory of their wrongs, and to inspire them with a desire to recover their ancient rights and former homes. Bold adventurers belonging to the colony of Mughs, settled in Chittagong, formed themselves into a band under the command of a chieftain named Khyen-Bran, and commenced predatory attacks on the exposed country of Arracan. The Burmese troops entrusted with the defence of that province, retaliated by incursions into the Company's territory ; these acts of hostility were resented, and much recrimination took place between the officers on the British and Burmese frontiers.

A.D. 1813.

**The Burmese Viceroy encourages plots in India.**

In 1813, a mission from the Burmese viceroy of Pegu reached Calcutta. The deputies were preceded by a person charged with a commission from the Burmese sovereign, professedly to purchase some of the sacred books of the Hindus at Benares. Although there was reason to suspect that this person had other designs, he was permitted to proceed ; but, instead of purchasing books, he spent his time in intrigues of a character hostile to the British government. Another officer of the Burmese government solicited permission to visit Delhi, on the pretext of collecting manuscripts ; but it was discovered that his real object was to form a confederacy among the native powers for the expulsion of the English from India. The Supreme government refused him permission to travel through the British provinces, and apprised the viceroy of Arracan that, on his furnishing a statement of the sacred writings and other articles required, they would be procured and transmitted, without his having the trouble of deputing agents. As this offer was not accepted, the insincerity of the pretext was rendered apparent.

**The Burmese prepare for war.**

It appears from the despatches sent home from the government of Calcutta to the Court of Directors in England, that the attention of the Supreme Council during the year 1813, was frequently engaged by the rumours of active and extensive preparations being made by the Burmese government for the invasion of the British territories. It was stated that the King of Ava, as the Burmese monarch is called, had been ascertained to cherish plans for the conquest of the provinces of Chittagong

and Dacca ; and that he suspected the British government of encouraging the repeated incursions of the fugitive Mughs. On the other hand, there was reason to suspect that Khyen-Bran and his followers persevered in their predatory enterprizes, notwithstanding many severe defeats and failures, in the hope of precipitating a rupture between the British government and the court of Ava. They believed that the intolerable conceit of the Burmese would lead them to provoke a war, by committing acts which must be resented ; and they entertained no doubt that in such a contest the British would be victorious. As a final consequence of the war, they anticipated the conquest of Arracan, and their restoration to their homes under a government of their own.

The death of Khyen-Bran, in 1815, and the efforts made to preserve the peace of the frontier, seemed to have averted the threatened war ; it was therefore not without astonishment that a letter was received in April, 1816, from the Rajah of Ramree, Governor of the Burmese frontier provinces, written in a style of more than ordinary bombast, and containing a demand for the surrender of all the Mugh emigrants, with a very plain menace that a refusal to comply with this demand must produce immediate hostilities.

"The English government," says this singular document, "does not try to preserve friendship. You seek for a state of affairs like fire and gunpowder. The Mughs of Arracan are the slaves of the king of Ava. The English government has assisted the Mughs of our four provinces, and has given them a residence. There will be a quarrel between us and you, like fire. Formerly the government of Arracan demanded the Mughs from the British government, which promised to restore them, but at length did not do so. Again the Mughs escaped from your hands, came and despoiled the four provinces, and went and received protection in your country. If at this time you do not restore them according to this demand, or make delays in doing so, the friendship now subsisting between us will be broken."

This letter was brought to Mr. Pechell, the magistrate at Chittagong, by the son of the Rajah of Ramree, who declared a letter, that the contents of the letter had been dictated by the king himself, and were therefore not open to discussion. On communicating with the Governor-General, Mr. Pechell was directed to answer the Rajah of Ramree in a firm and conciliatory manner, and at the same time a letter was sent to the viceroy at Pegu,

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A.D. 1813.

The  
Rajah of  
Ramree  
sends  
a bold  
message.

**CHAPTER XVIII.** stating the reasons which induced the government to refuse the surrender of the Mughas.

**A.D. 1816.**  
The Governor-General refuses to give up the refugees.

In this letter the Governor-General stated "that the British government could not, without a violation of the principles of justice on which it invariably acts, deliver up a body of people who had sought its protection, and some of whom had resided within its territories for thirty years ; but that no restraint was imposed on the voluntary return of the people to their native country, although no authority would be exercised for the purpose of effecting their removal from the British territories : more especially, when there appeared to be less cause than ever for such a measure, the exertions of the British government having restored tranquillity : the death or captivity of Khyen-Bran and his principal associates, and the return of the Mughas in general to industrial pursuits, having rendered the renewal of disturbances a matter of great improbability." The viceroy was assured that the vigilance of the British officers would be continued, and that any persons who might engage in criminal enterprizes would be punished with the utmost severity. After the full explanation which had been made of the principles, views, and resolutions of the British government, the Governor-General expressed himself persuaded "that the enlightened mind of his Burmese majesty, would perceive the inutility of agitating a question, the further discussion of which could lead to no result advantageous to either state."

The magistrate of Chittagong threatens to give up the Mughas.

In 1817, the chief magistrate of Chittagong issued a proclamation, threatening the emigrants, that if their incursions into the Burmese territories were renewed, the perpetrators should be delivered over to the authorities of Arracan. Soon after the issuing of this proclamation, Charipo, one of the most daring leaders of the Mughas, committed a desperate robbery beyond the frontiers ; he was seized, with a number of his followers, and Mr. Pechell recommended that this incorrigible offender, with the most guilty of his associates, should be instantly delivered over to the Burmese government. The Marquis of Hastings was at this period absent from Calcutta ; but the matter was taken into consideration by the Vice-president and Council. The course recommended by Mr. Pechell was rejected as equally cruel and impolitic. Their reasons for dissenting from his recommendations were thus stated in a letter from the chief secretary of the Supreme Government to Mr. Pechell ; "that when the Vice-president in Council contemplated the barbarous punishments, which the Burmese might be expected to inflict on the wretches

The Calcutta government forbids their being surrendered.

delivered up to their vengeance, he felt that it would be repugnant to the merciful character of the British nation, to expose so many persons to the vindictive resentment of their enemies, exasperated, as they justly were, by repeated aggressions. In resolving to abstain from delivering up the prisoners, the Vice-president in Council was influenced by the consideration that it would probably constitute an encouragement to a repetition of demands, on the part of the Burmese authorities, for the surrender of fugitives, and form a precedent which on such occasions would create a considerable degree of embarrassment."

A judge of circuit was appointed to assist Mr. Pechell, in the trial of the offenders; but from the difficulty of obtaining the kind of evidence required by the Mohammedan law, Charipo and his party escaped conviction, though their guilt was their boast, and notorious to the whole country. Such a result naturally gave great dissatisfaction to the Burmese; and their determination to retaliate on the British provinces was loudly and frequently expressed.

In 1818 the son of the Rajah of Ramree arrived on a second mission at Chittagong; from whence, he informed Mr. Pechell, that he wished to proceed to Calcutta, in order that he might deliver to the Governor-General, a letter, which he declared that his father had written under the direct orders of the young King of Ava. An authenticated copy of this letter was communicated by the young Rajah to Mr. Pechell. The following is a summary of its contents: "The countries of Chittagong and Dacca, Moorshedabad and Cossimbazar, do not belong to India. Those countries are ours. The British government is faithless; this was not formerly the case. It is not your right to receive the revenues of these countries; it is proper that you should pay the revenues of these countries to us; if you do not pay it, we will destroy your country."

There can be no doubt that the Rajah of Ramree, from the very beginning of the Nepaulese war, had urged his sovereign to declare war against the British government, influenced probably by a knowledge of the intrigues and machinations against the Company's power, which were rife through the interior of India. It is probable that the Burmese monarch believed that the moment was favourable to his views, and that he had opened some secret negotiations with the Mahrattas. Before, however, the mission could reach its destination, the British arms had gained a decisive triumph over the Mahratta powers, and the Burmese troops had sustained a reverse in the contest with the Siamese.

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Under these circumstances, the Marquis of Hastings resolved to treat the obnoxious communication as a forgery, or, at least, as an unauthorised proceeding on the part of the Rajah of Ramree. This course was probably not disagreeable to the Burmese monarch, when he found that the grounds on which he based his confidence had slipped from under his feet. "By this procedure," said his lordship, "I evaded the necessity of noticing an insolent step, foreseeing that his Burmese majesty would be thoroughly glad of the excuse to remain quiet, when he learned that his secret allies had been subdued."

No chance of settling the dispute.

From the day that the Mugh emigrants were permitted to colonise near the frontier, the natural passions and patriotic resentment of this tribe, the feelings of British humanity, and the principles of internal government established throughout the Company's dominions, came into violent collision with the arrogant pretensions, the offended pride, and the indignant jealousy of the Burmese government, which a long series of successes had rendered one of the haughtiest in Asia. When, in comparatively recent times, the exertions of the Lords Wardens of the English and Scottish Marches, even though they acted in concert, were insufficient to preserve peace on the borders, it could not be expected that the magistrate of Chittagong, who could obtain no co-operation from the impracticable Burmese authorities, should have been able to prevent the aggressions and retaliations which it was easy to foresee must soon terminate in war.

The Directors sanction the proceedings of the Bengal government.

The Burmese would never have consented to the establishment of a joint court, for the trial of what our ancestors used to call "March-treason," or marauding crimes on the borders; and if they had consented, it is not easy to see how such a court could have been constituted. British and Burmese rules of justice are too decidedly opposed to admit of their being united in one administration. We have already quoted from the letter of the Supreme Council to Mr. Pechell, the strong objections which existed against surrendering real or suspected offenders for trial to the Burmese authorities. A similar view of the question had been taken by the authorities in England. So early as the 6th of January, 1815, the Court of Directors, in a letter to the Supreme government at Calcutta, observed, "We earnestly hope that you have not been driven to the necessity of delivering up Khyen-bran, because we observe that every Mugh who is suspected of being a partisan of Khyen-Bran is put to death, and that a whole village, containing about two thousand five hundred souls, were massacred on this account, when neither men, women nor

children were spared. If, therefore, for the sake of avoiding hostilities with the king of Ava, you should have been compelled to the adoption of this measure, we trust that Khyen-Bran has been the single person surrendered, and that none of his infatuated followers have been included in such surrender. Should Khyen-Bran not have been delivered over to the Burmese government when you receive this letter, we should prefer his being kept in strict confinement, agreeably to the assurance given by the Governor-General to the viceroy of Pegu." And in another letter, dated in the May of the same year, after noticing, in terms of approbation, the proposal of uniting the Burmese troops with the British, in the pursuit of the marauding insurgents, the Court remarked, "We are pleased to observe, that the magistrate was cautioned to avoid using language which might be interpreted by the Rajah of Arracan into a promise, on the part of our government, to deliver the chiefs of the insurgents into the hands of the Burmese authorities, in the event of their surrendering themselves to the British troops."

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The reasonable grounds which the Burmese had for discontent, received no aggravation during the administration of the Marquis of Hastings. No serious incursions of the Mugh emigrants into Arracan had taken place subsequent to the death of Khyen-Bran; nevertheless, the tone of the communications and the letters of the high officers of that state, became every day more insolent; and an evident desire, on the part of the British authorities, to avoid a rupture, seemed only to inflame their proneness to hostilities.

IV. The reader is now requested to turn his attention to the Lahore. North-west of India, where Runjeet Sing, the founder of the kingdom of Lahore, who had rapidly risen into notoriety by his Its union of the Sikh tribes into an organized state, had established progress. a compact monarchy in the Punjab, long a most distressed part of Asia. A sketch of this extraordinary man, and of the rise and progress of his power is required in order to understand the important events that follow.

The Sikhs of the Punjab have been mentioned as an extra-  
ordinary sect, driven by persecution to exchange a creed of patience and submission, for a religion of violence and the sword. When the power of the court of Delhi, so long paramount in Northern India, had fallen into decay, the landholders of the Punjab, driven to desperation by the extortions and cruelties of their viceroys, had recourse to plunder for the support of themselves and their families; and they adopted the Sikh

**CHAPTER XVIII.** religion, more military than that of the Hindus, as a bond of union amongst themselves, and a means of producing popular excitement against their oppressors. The disunion between the Mussulmans—the invasion of the Afghans—and the rebellions in every part of the Delhi empire, favoured the growth of their power. About the year 1770, not only the Punjab, but the country east of the Sutledge, as far as the Jumna, was subjected to twelve *misuls*, or associations of confederate Sikh chiefs, whose united forces amounted to about seventy thousand cavalry, or rather, as called in India, “irregular horse.” The smallest of these *misuls* was governed successively by the grandfather and father of Runjeet Sing, both of whom being men of valour and ability, possessed moral power which compensated for the weakness of their military force.

**A.D. 1780.** Runjeet Sing. His neglected youth. His mother assassinated. His successes.

Runjeet Sing was born 2nd of November, 1780, at a time when his father's influence was daily acquiring strength. Attacked by the small pox at a very early age, he was badly treated by the native physicians, and narrowly escaped death. He recovered with the loss of an eye, and with a countenance terribly disfigured. In his twelfth year he lost his father; his mother acted as regent, and preserved the minor's inheritance from the rapacity of his neighbours; but she designedly neglected the boy's education, to prevent him from becoming the rival of her power. He was never taught to read: ample means were supplied for gratifying every passion; and his early years were spent in the indulgences of debauchery, or in following the sports of the field. On attaining his seventeenth year, Runjeet assumed the reins of government; and one of his earliest acts was to sanction the assassination of his mother, whose profligacy had excited such universal indignation that her death was necessary to the stability of the throne.

Between the years 1795 and 1798, the Punjab, as already mentioned, was three times invaded by Shah Zeman, king of the Afghans; the Sikh chieftains fled before him, and he entered Lahore, the capital city, without opposition. But the expenses of retaining the country being greater than its advantages, and being threatened with an invasion from Persia, Shah Zeman returned home, leaving twelve of his guns in the bed of the Jhelum. Ere this, Runjeet had begun to carve out a kingdom for himself east of the Sutledge; but, hearing of the retreat of the Afghans, he hastened into the Punjab, which, he believed, would afford him more favourable opportunities for the exercise of his ambition. He recovered eight of the guns which the

Afghans had abandoned, and forwarded them to Shah Zeman ; the monarch was highly gratified with this mark of attention, and, in return, granted to the chieftain the investiture of the province of Lahore. The Mussulmans of the town readily yielded obedience to the mandates of the Afghan monarch ; they proffered their aid to Runjeet Sing, who, by their assistance, expelled the rival Sikh chieftains from the city. His efforts were now directed to forming the Sikhs into a united body, ready to assert their independence ; and, while under his guidance, they rapidly acquired a national organization, the Afghans were distracted by a series of sanguinary civil wars. After asserting his independence, and assuming, with the general consent of the Sikhs, a royal title, the Maharajah of Lahore resolved to seize all the Afghan provinces east of the Indus. Towards the close of 1805, their reduction was almost completed, when Runjeet was recalled to Lahore by intelligence of the approach of the Mahratta chieftain, Holkar, closely pursued by a British army under Lord Lake. Holkar hoped to secure the co-operation of the Sikhs, or, in case of failure, to continue his retreat into the Afghan dominions ; but, being baffled by the steadiness of Runjeet, he yielded to the difficulties of his situation, and concluded a peace with the British. Friendly messages passed between Runjeet and Lord Lake, but no regular treaty was formed.

After a lapse of two or three years, the efforts of the king of Lahore to add to his dominions the territories of the independent Sikh chieftains between the Sutledge and the Jumna, brought him into collision with the British government. Runjeet, however, unwilling to risk a war, agreed to limit his dominions to the eastward by the Sutledge, and the British undertook to protect the small States lying on the left bank of that river.

It was at that time that Runjeet learned to appreciate the power of the British government, and afterwards cautiously avoided everything which could give offence to the Company or its officers. The excellent discipline of the sepoys who accompanied the British envoy sent to conclude a treaty, attracted his notice ; he became anxious to have an army instructed in European tactics, and offered large rewards to the deserters that would enter his service. His success was rapid ; in a few months he formed several regular battalions. In 1810, he tried the effect of his new soldiers, by invading the province and besieging the city of Mooltan, but was forced to retire with loss. He was, however, more successful in reducing to obedience the

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He receives  
Shah  
Soojah,  
and  
plunders  
him.

chieftains in the hills north of the Punjab. The civil wars of the Afghans still continued, and Runjeet took advantage of them to extend his dominions to the south and west.

In 1812, Runjeet celebrated the marriage of his son, then only ten years of age, and invited Colonel Ochterlony, the British Resident at Loodiana, to witness the festivities. The colonel being the official protector of the independent Sikh tribes on the east of the Sutledge, was treated with great courtesy, and his opinion sought respecting the discipline of the Sikh battalions, and the merit of the fortifications erected around Lahore. A revolution in Afghanistan compelled Shah Soojah to seek shelter in Lahore. Runjeet made the unfortunate exile a prisoner, and compelled him to surrender his jewels, including the celebrated *Koh-i-noor*, or "mountain of light." Shah Soojah, found means to escape into the British territories, where he and his blinded brother, Shah Zeman, were supported by pensions from the Company.

Futteh  
Khan  
the great  
Afghan  
minister.

As we shall have occasion to refer again to this period of Afghan history, it will be sufficient to state here, that the revolution was effected chiefly by the abilities and influence of Futteh Khan, who became the vizir of the successful candidate for the throne of Afghanistan. This celebrated minister applied to Runjeet for assistance in reducing the province of Cashmeer, the governors of which province had pretended to embrace the cause of the exiled monarch, but were, in reality, anxious to establish their own independence. On the other hand, the agents of Shah Soojah, at the court of Lahore, made large promises to engage Runjeet in supporting that monarch's restoration. The politic ruler of the Sikhs negotiated with both parties, and deceived both. While Futteh Khan was engaged in reducing the turbulent chieftains of Cashmeer, Runjeet bribed the governor of Attock to yield him that important fortress, by which he at once secured his own dominions, and opened for himself a passage to Peshawur, a small province west of the Indus. Futteh Khan returned hastily from the mountains, and attempted to recover a fortress which, ever since the time of Alexander the Great, has, when joined with Peshawur, been regarded as the key of India, but he was defeated with loss, and forced to retire beyond the Indus.

Runjeet  
takes  
Attock.

Cashmeer.

A.D. 1814.

Cashmeer now became a tempting object to the Sikhs. It was invaded in the beginning of the year 1814; but the Afghans were in possession of all the mountain passes, and the army of Lahore

was forced to make a very precipitate and ruinous retreat. The fatigues of this very difficult campaign, united to disease, produced by the malaria of Cashmeer, and an uninterrupted course of sensual indulgence, broke down the health of the Sikh monarch, and reduced him, for a time, to a state of inactivity. On his recovery in 1818, his army, which was disciplined by four officers of the Bonaparte school, Avitabile, Ventura, Court, and Allard, Mooltan, again took the field, and he subdued the province of Mooltan, which rounded and secured his southern frontier.

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A.D. 1818.

The close of that year was productive of events still more favourable to the growing ambition of the Maharajah of Lahore. In consequence of the murder of Futtah Khan, the able Afghan vizir, by the son of the monarch whom he had placed upon the throne, the numerous brothers of that minister dethroned Shah Mohammed, and parcelled out that kingdom into petty principalities, which they divided amongst themselves. Runjeet took Peshawur. advantage of their weakness and mutual jealousies ; he crossed the Indus, and made himself master of Peshawur. In the following year he renewed his attack upon Cashmeer ; and the Afghans, no longer supported by the abilities of Futtah Khan, fled over the mountains and abandoned this beautiful valley.

The British dominions were thus placed nearly in close contact with the frontiers of the Sikhs, the Chinese, and the Burmese nations, requiring great tact and delicacy of management, since in case of a war with any of them, insurrections of the discontented throughout the interior of India might be expected. On this account, and also because the empire possessed by the Company had already acquired an inconvenient extent, the Marquis of Hastings earnestly deprecated any war beyond the frontiers of India, which was not absolutely necessary to the maintenance of British supremacy within the Peninsula itself.

One of the most remarkable events in the brief administration of Mr. Adam, was the struggle in which he became involved with the newspapers of Calcutta. For some years previously, various efforts had been made to establish a free press in the Presidencies, but the Governors-General had invariably assumed the right of censorship, and sent the authors of obnoxious articles back to Europe. The *Calcutta Journal*, established by Mr. Buckingham, had on more than one occasion given offence by the freedom of its strictures, until at length Mr. Adam, provoked by some very trifling observations, banished Mr. Buckingham

Mr. Adam  
suppresses  
a news-  
paper.

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A.D. 1825. from India. This exertion of authority provoked much discussion; and, though it received the sanction of the Court of Directors, it was generally reprobated by the British nation, as an inordinate overstretch of power.

Mr. Adam died on his passage to England, on board the *Albion*, on the 4th of June, 1825. The ship arrived in September. On hearing of his death, the Directors unanimously expressed their sense of his distinguished services during thirty years.

CHAPTER XIX.

GOVERNMENT OF EARL AMHERST, 1823—1828.

Review of the Recall of Lord Wm. Bentinck from Madras.—Appointment of Earl Amherst to be Governor-General.—Quiescent State of India.—The Burmese begin War.—They seize Shapooree.—They advance into Sylhet 226 miles from Calcutta.—They defeat Colonel Bowen, and are proud of Victory.—Great Alarm in Calcutta.—Great Ignorance prevails.—Various Plans proposed.—An Expedition ordered.—Rendezvous at Port Cornwallis.—Sir A. Campbell.—The Expedition takes Rangoon, May 11, 1824.—Difficulties.—The Burmese Mode of Fighting.—Kemmendine stormed.—Sykia Wongee defeated.—Kummeroot stormed.—Soomba Wongee defeated and killed.—An Expedition sent to Tenasserim.—That Climate good.—The King of Ava sends his Brothers to the Army.—The “Invulnerables” attack the English and are routed.—Colonel Smith’s Failure at Kyhloo.—Is heart-broken.—His Death.—Another Failure at Ramoo.—Alarm in Bengal.—Maha Bandoola commands a fresh Army.—His singular Approaches and Circumvallation at Rangoon.—His Attack with ingenious Fire-rafts.—He causes Rangoon to be set on Fire.—He is routed at Kokien.—Mutiny at Barrackpore, Oct. 31, 1824.—The Expedition moves up the Country.—The Carian Land-tillers are friendly.—Sarrawah occupied.—Mr. Gibson, a Native, found useful.—Donoobew approached.—Bandoola’s Night Attack.—Donoobew bombarded and evacuated.—Bandoola’s Death.—Prome taken.—Operations in Assam and Arracan.—The Burmese raise a new Army.—The English at Melloone.—The Shans fight desperately.—Women Warriors.—The Heights at Napadee stormed.—Fearful Slaughter.—The Cholera attacks the Army.—Burmese false Negotiations.—Fifteen Days’ Truce, Jan. 1, 1826.—Colonel Conroy defeated in Pegu and killed.—Hostilities renewed by the “Prince of Darkness,” who is defeated.—Treaty signed at Yandaboo, Feb. 24, 1826.—The Troops return.—They discover the strange People called Kieaans.—Sir T. Munro at Madras.—His Death is regretted.—Disturbances at Bhurtpore.—

Sir D. Ochterlony's Efforts neutralized.—His Resignation and Death.—Doorjun's Intrigues.—Siege of Bhurtpore.—The celebrated Fortress taken, Jan. 1826.—Disturbances at Kolapore.—They are settled.—Earl Amherst at Delhi.—The Titles of the Imperial Family extinguished.—English Independence declared.—Earl Amherst returns to England.—W. Butterworth Bayley Governor-General ad interim.

CHAPTER
XIX.

A.D. 1820.

A.D. 1806.

IT is necessary to explain the circumstances under which Lord Amherst became Governor-General of India. On the accession of George IV, the name of Queen Caroline was expunged from the Liturgy, and a bill of pains and penalties was introduced into the House of Lords, and a long investigation into her conduct took place. Mr. Canning, although one of the ministry, separated himself from his colleagues by withdrawing from England. When the bill against the Queen was abandoned, Mr. Canning resigned his office as President of the Board of Control, and in March 1820, he was unanimously chosen Governor-General of India, by the Court of Directors. The suicide of the Marquis of Londonderry, having opened for him a brilliant career in Europe, he resigned the Indian appointment, and became Secretary of State for Foreign affairs. Two candidates for the government of India were then offered, Earl Amherst and Lord William Bentinck. The claims of the latter arose from circumstances, which require us to go a little back in this history. Lord William Bentinck, when Governor of Madras, introduced a variety of economic and salutary reforms, which were acceptable to the Court of Directors. By some inadvertence, a regulation was introduced respecting the sepoy uniform, which, as previously stated, offended the prejudices of the native soldiers, who forthwith broke out into mutiny, at Vellore, and massacred a European detachment. The mutiny was promptly suppressed; but the greatest alarm prevailed, and considerable discussion arose respecting the course of conduct which ought to be pursued towards the prisoners, whose numbers exceeded six hundred. The military officers were disposed to have them shot in detachments, as soon as found guilty, in front of the several divisions of the Madras army. This wholesale butchery was reprobated by the Council; but they proposed the (to the sepoys) harsher measure, of transporting all the mutineers to a penal settlement. Lord William Bentinck zealously advocated measures of leniency, though many around declared he was perilling the safety of the Presidency, by the dangerous example of extending mercy to mutineers. The wise

and benevolent measures of Lord William Bentinck were, however, adopted to some extent; but before their efficacy was decisively established, a strange event caused him to be recalled from his government.

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A.D. 1806.

The commanding officer at Palamcottah, Major J. Welsh, seized by an inexplicable panic, decided on disarming his whole garrison, separating the Mussulmans from the Hindus, putting guns into the hands of the latter, and expelling the former from the fort. He then sent expresses to the commanding officer at Travancore, and to General Maitland, Governor of Ceylon, requesting European aid with all possible promptitude, as he had detected a desperate conspiracy among the troops along the coast. General Maitland promptly despatched the required aid, and also sent an account of the affair direct to England, without making any communication to the government of Madras. When the reports of the Palamcottah affair came to be investigated, the alleged plot proved to be a mere phantom of the imagination. The arms were restored to the Mohammedan troops, who returned to their duties, without showing the least symptom of disaffection. The panic wore away; the sepoy forgot their fears of an attack upon their religion; and the European officers were no longer in apprehension for the safety of their lives, and ventured to sleep without pistols under their pillows. At this critical moment Lord Minto, as has been already mentioned, reached Madras, on his way to Bengal as Governor-General. His lordship gave his sanction to the lenient course of policy, and agreed with Lord William Bentinck in setting the prisoners gradually at liberty.

General Maitland's despatch arrived in England shortly after the Directors had received accounts of the mutiny at Vellore, with the usual proportion of misrepresentation and exaggerations. The testimony of the Governor of Ceylon seemed decisive, and a vote was hastily passed for the recall of Lord William Bentinck, which implied the harshest censure. It had been usual to allow the superseded Governor the possession of his office until the arrival of his successor, or until he could meet with an opportunity of returning to England; but his lordship's functions were ordered to cease immediately on the arrival of the despatches. No measure was taken to enable his lordship to return home; and, but for the voluntary kindness of Sir Edward Pellew, he would have been obliged to remain, stripped of authority, till the departure of the homeward-bound fleet.

The Court of Directors, in July, 1809, expressed their wishes

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A.D. 1823.

to employ Lord William Bentinck as he deserved, and between 1807 and 1822 his lordship acquired a well-earned reputation by military and diplomatic services in various parts of Europe. The Court of Directors then learned to appreciate his policy in Madras, and lamented their own precipitancy. He had strong claims on the considerations of the Company ; he had rendered them good and faithful service, and had been unceremoniously dismissed. However, Earl Amherst was supported by ministerial influence, and on him the appointment was first conferred.

August.

Lord Amherst had been ambassador to China in 1815, and knew something of the East. He found India in a state of tranquillity ; it had recently suffered from the cholera, and a famine had produced much evil in the presidency of Madras, but the country acquiesced in the establishment of British supremacy, and in the measures which the Marquis of Hastings had adopted for settling the conquered provinces. The Mahrattas were tranquil, the Pindarrees had disappeared, and the services of the troops were only required occasionally to pursue some bands of men who found it difficult to abandon their old military and predatory habits, or to check refractory Zemindars, discontented with the regularity and punctuality introduced into the financial administration. This calm was suddenly interrupted by the breaking out of the Burmese hostilities.

The
Burmese
begin war.

War was commenced by the Burmese ; their chiefs made a night attack on the island of Shaporee, at the entrance of the Tek-Nauf, or arm of the sea which divides a part of the province of Chittagong from Arracan. It had been customary to keep a small guard on this islet, for the purpose of checking any predatory expedition of the Mughs. An attack from the Burmese was not anticipated ; the sepoys were defeated, several lives were lost, and the Burmese took formal possession. When an explanation was demanded from the governor of Arracan, he vauntingly declared, that, unless the right of the court of Ava to Shaporee was admitted, his sovereign would invade the British territories. In a short time the commanding officer and some of the crew of the Company's cruiser, *Sophia*, were detained by the Burmese, and carried into captivity ; they were ultimately released, but no explanation or apology was offered. Hostile acts were committed at the same time by the Burmese governors on the frontiers of Assam and Munnipore ; they drove off many elephant-hunters, and plundered several villages. The local authorities, finding their remonstrances disregarded, drew together some companies of infantry to repel the invaders by

Seize
Shaporee.

Other
hostilities.

force ; but the sepoys, being scattered over a wide surface, were out-numbered and severely handled by the invaders. The Burmese advanced into the province of Sylhet, and took up a position within five miles of its capital, and only two hundred and twenty-six from Calcutta. Here they were attacked by Colonel Bowen with an inadequate force ; the British were repulsed, with the loss of five officers and a hundred men. This success emboldened the Burmese ; they called upon the Rajah of Jyntee to withdraw his allegiance from the Company, and acknowledge himself a subject of the king of Ava.

Great alarm was excited in Calcutta ; the Governor-General issued a manifesto, by which the Burmese were declared to be enemies ; and British subjects, both European and native, were prohibited from holding intercourse with them.

Want of information and alarm prevailed at Calcutta regarding the Burmese country. Nothing was known of the geographical aspect of the land, its military resources, its capability of furnishing provisions, or the nature and amount of its population. The Supreme Government wavered for some time in determining whether it would be preferable to commence the war by land or by sea. It was proposed to march into Ava through Arracan, while a subsidiary force was to proceed from Cachar ; but, on enquiry, it appeared probable that Arracan would be found unhealthy.

A second plan for the campaign was hastily adopted, that an army, composed of detachments from the Bengal and Madras presidencies, should proceed under convoy of a squadron, and take Rangoon, the chief sea-port of the Burmese empire, at the mouth of the Irrawaddy river. It was supposed that the seizure of this great emporium would daunt the king of Ava, and induce him to offer peace ; but, in case of his refusal, it was intended to make Rangoon a depot for ammunition and military stores, to seize the boats and to ascend to the capital, six hundred miles up the river ; a second army being prepared to co-operate by an overland march upon Amerapoora.

Port Cornwallis, in the Andaman Islands, was chosen as the place of rendezvous, and thither the Bengal division was transported in the month of April. It was principally composed of royal troops, for the Bengal sepoy's have a religious aversion to voyages on the sea, which, fortunately, is not shared by the native army of Madras. While detained in Port Cornwallis, the British officers made vain attempts to open an intercourse with the few inhabitants of this island. The Andamanners are

CHAPTER
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Jan. 17.
Within
226 miles
Calcutta.

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Expedition
of 11,000
men.Reaches
Rangoon.The town
occupied.

savages in the fullest sense ; they shun the approach of civilized man ; and if at any time they are discovered in the jungle, which reaches to the margin of the sea, evince the hostile feelings with which they regard a stranger's visit.

In May the Madras troops arrived, in number about eleven thousand men ; they were in the highest state of discipline and efficiency. The united forces, half being Europeans, were placed under the command of Sir Archibald Campbell, an officer who had served with distinction in the Spanish campaigns. Commodore Grant commanded the naval armament, which consisted of the royal ships *Liffey* and *Larne*, several of the Company's cruisers, and a steam-vessel called the *Diana*. A small force was detached under Brigadier-General M'Creagh, to take the island of Cheduba, on the Arracan coast, and another detachment was sent against Nigrais, at the entrance of the Irrawaddy ; both were successful, but the last-named island was not worth retaining.

On the 10th of May the squadron and transports anchored within the bar of the Rangoon river ; the Burmese authorities were thrown into consternation. Beacons were kindled at the *Chokies*, or guard and custom-houses at the mouth of the river, which were repeated during the night by signal fires from every prominence.

The fleet sailed up the river on the morning of the 11th, with a fair wind, the *Liffey* leading the way. Some harmless shots were fired from the *Chokies* or guard-houses. At noon the *Liffey* anchored close to the principal battery, the other vessels and transports taking their stations successively in her rear. The Burmese seemed daunted, and the British officers hoped that the proclamations, which had been sent on shore the preceding day, would induce the people of the town to make an offer of capitulation. The Burmese opened a feeble fire. The *Liffey* replied with a cannonade which silenced every gun on shore ; the enemy fled in confusion, and the troops took possession of the deserted town.

When the intelligence of the appearance of the British on the coast had reached Rangoon, the governor directed the inhabitants to be assembled, and to be driven in a mass into the jungle. The men are in such cases regimented into divisions, and their families guarded, in order that the women and children be hostages for the conduct of their fathers, brothers, and husbands.

The pity and regret which the invaders felt for the citizens of Rangoon, expelled from their homes during the inclement rainy

season which was approaching, soon gave way to anxiety for themselves. They were deserted by the people of the country, from whom they could expect supplies ; they were unprovided with the means of moving either by land or water, and no prospect remained but that of a long residence in the hovels of Rangoon, and trusting to the transports for provisions.

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There were no stores, and nothing was found in the neighbourhood beyond some *paddy*, or rice in the husk ; the careful policy of the Burmese authorities had removed far beyond reach everything that was likely to be useful to an invading army. Great anxiety was felt for the fate of the few British merchants and American missionaries residing in Rangoon ; they had disappeared, and it appeared probable that they had been sacrificed. It was found that all the foreigners in Rangoon were seized, chained, and confined in the king's *Godown*, or custom-house. They were repeatedly brought up for examination to the hall of justice ; but, ignorant of the intentions of the British government, they were incapable of giving any information. They were accused not only of having been aware of the invasion, but also of having concerted measures for the attack. They pleaded their innocence, representing the improbability of their remaining in the country if they had known that war was at hand. The excuses were disregarded ; the Burmese chiefs declared that they should be put to death, and sent them back to the custom-house to undergo the sentence. The guards in their prison took pleasure in sharpening the instruments of execution before their eyes, in strewing sand, and in making preparations for the work of death. At length a thirty-two pound shot struck the *Godown*, where the authorities were assembled, and broke up their meeting. The chiefs marched with the prisoners into the country. The advance of British troops, sent to reconnoitre, alarmed the Burmese escort ; the prisoners were left in a house, where they were found and liberated.

Sir Archibald Campbell's first operation was to take possession of the Shwe-da-gon, or Golden-Dagon Pagoda, about two miles and-a-half from Rangoon.

The policy of the Burmese was to blockade the invaders, and to avoid a pitched battle ; their troops formed a cordon round the British cantonments.

This plan of defence baffled the calculations of the English commander ; he had hoped that the occupation of Rangoon would induce the court of Ava to accede to the demands of the Governor-General. If the Burmese persevered, he had been taught

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The
Burmese
proceed-
ings.

to hope that the people of Pegu would embrace the opportunity of asserting their independence. It was forgotten that from the despotism of the court of Ava, the Peguers looked upon their masters as irresistible, and that a European force could inspire little confidence into serfs who had witnessed the unchecked conquests of the Burmese for half a century. From the constitution of Burmese society, the boatmen of the Irrawaddy are closely attached to the crown, and immediately dependent on royal authority. Every town on the river, according to its size, is obliged to furnish a gilt or common war-boat, and to man and keep it in constant readiness, so that two or three hundred, carrying from forty to fifty men each, could be mustered at a moment's notice. As the boatmen live chiefly by rapine, and are in constant hostility with the people, they are audacious, and prompt to execute any orders. On this occasion, they proved their devotion by removing every boat. Such was the hazardous condition of the British troops at the commencement of the rainy season, during which no troops could keep the field for twenty-four hours continuously.

The province of Rangoon, or, as it is called by the natives, Henzawaddy, is a delta formed by the mouths of the Irrawaddy, and, with the exception of some considerable plains, or rice-ground, is covered by a thick jungle, intersected by numerous creeks and rivers. Roads are wholly unknown. Footpaths lead through the woods, but require great toil and labour to render them applicable to military purposes; they are impassable during the rains, and are only known to the Carian tribes, who cultivate the land, and are exempt from military service, as the slaves of the soil, living in wretched hamlets by themselves, heavily taxed and oppressed.

Stockades. The Burmese, in their mode of warfare, rarely meet their enemies in the field. Trained from their youth, in the formation of stockades, they display in them great judgment. Every attempt of the neighbouring nations, to check their victorious career, had failed; and the Burmese had subdued and incorporated into their overgrown empire, all the petty states by which it was surrounded, and stood confessedly feared and respected even by the Chinese.

The court of Ava had never imagined that the British forces would invade their frontiers, and still less that operations would commence on the shores of Pegu and Tenasserim. On the contrary, they had begun arrangements for invading Chittagong from the frontiers of Arracan, and had spread reports that an

army of thirty thousand men would invade Bengal, and march direct on to Calcutta. But, when the intelligence of the invasion arrived, no time was lost in making vigorous preparations. Every village within three hundred miles of the seat of war, sent in its contingent of armed men ; the Irrawaddy was covered with fleets of warriors hastening to join the general rendezvous of the grand army of Henzawaddy.

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About the end of May the Burmese became daring as their May 28. forces increased ; they approached the British position, and commenced stockading within hearing of the advanced posts. On the 28th, the Burmese having stockaded an advanced copse within a short distance of the piquets, the British commander led out a reconnoitring party, as it had been reported that the governor of the Shwe-da-gon was stationed there for the purpose of harassing the English outposts, and for preventing the inhabitants of Rangoon from returning to their homes.

As the reconnoitring party wound its way through a broken track, unfinished breastworks and stockades proved that this movement had not been anticipated. As the soldiers emerged from the jungle, a violent storm of rain burst, and obliged them to leave their field-pieces. On approaching some villages they were found protected by two stockades. The rain had so wetted the muskets, that the British troops could not return the fire of the enemy ; three companies rushing forward forced their way into the interior, and as the Burmese would neither give nor take quarter, a fearful butchery ensued. The Burmese general made no movement to assist the stockaders until the English were in the work ; his whole line then moved forward with horrid yells, but, daunted by the firm front of the British soldiers, they retired.

Though successful in this affair, and in a previous reconnaissance up the river, the English had learned to respect the Burmese, who generally allowed themselves to be cut down at their posts rather than flee. It was remarked, that at Kemmendine a female warrior had exhibited extraordinary courage ; she was the young wife of the governor of Rangoon, and was found expiring of an agonizing wound, the torture of which she endured with exemplary fortitude.

The Burmese had recourse to their favourite system of intrigue and cunning, hoping to lull the invaders into inactivity by professions of friendship, while they completed the fortifications of their own entrenchments. Sir Archibald Campbell saw through their professions, and did not relax in his arrangements

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Kemmen-
dine
stormed.

for an attack upon Kemmendine, an important position, situated on the river three miles above Rangoon,—a war-boat station, and inhabited by the king's war-boat men. The ground behind the village is elevated, and it is surrounded by a thick forest. Arrangements were made for attacking this post on the morning of June 9, when it was announced that two men of rank, desirous of conferring with the English general, requested passports. Leave was granted, and two war-boats made their appearance, from which the deputies landed, and proceeded to the house where the British commissioners were waiting. The two chiefs assumed, at their entrance, all the familiarity of old friends; they asked that a delay of a few days might be granted, but the motives of this request were too obvious, and it was refused.

June 10.
Advance to
Kemmen-
dine.

At two o'clock on the morning of June 10, the British army advanced towards Kemmendine by a road which lay parallel to the river. About nine, the advancing column found its progress checked by a stockade, protected on three sides by the jungle, and the visible part being fourteen feet high. Two eighteen pounders opened a great gap in its outward defences. The troops soon obtained complete possession; the enemy retreated leaving two hundred men dead. At the rear gate of the fort the gilt chattah (umbrella), sword, and spear of the Burmese commander were seen, the chattah much shattered by a shower of grape, and the body of the chief was found. He was recognized as the elder deputy of the day before.

At five in the evening the British force came in front of the great Kemmendine stockade. On reconnoitring the works, General Campbell found them much stronger than he had anticipated. A bombardment was ordered for the following morning, and the troops took up their position within a hundred yards of the stockade waiting for the attack. The rain poured down in torrents, but the English were too much on the alert to be conscious of their uncomfortable situation. The shouts of the Burmese had a curious effect, which was heightened by the wild scenery of the gloomy forest; first a low murmur, rising gradually in tone, and followed by the wild huzza of thousands; then all was silence, save now and then a straggling shot or challenge from their own sentries, and soon afterwards another peal of voices would resound through the trees; towards morning the yells became fainter, and at daybreak they ceased. At dawn the mortar batteries opened, and, after a short bombardment, the columns of attack moved forward; but they arrived to witness the last of the Burmese retreating with rapidity. The effect of

shells in a crowded stockade was terrific to persons unused to these implements of war.

Their defeat at Kemmendine produced no desire for peace in the court of Ava, nor did a single native inhabitant return to his home. The chiefs, confident in the ultimate success of their plans, pursued their desolating system. Towards the end of June the Burmese recovered from their panic ; intelligence was received that Sykia Woongee, third minister of state, had received orders to drive the English into the sea. About mid-day on the 1st of July the attempt was made, large bodies of the enemy issuing from the jungle to the right and left of the great Da-gon Pagoda. Two field-pieces, with grape and shrapnel, checked their advance, while the 43rd regiment of Madras Native Infantry, advancing to the charge, compelled them to flee. The Sykia Woongee, having failed, gave orders for a retreat. When the news reached Ava, he was recalled in disgrace, and the command was conferred upon Soomba Woongee, the second minister.

The war had lingered, and the English troops suffered severely from the want of vegetables and fresh meat. The Burmese were found to be expert thieves, as a plundering incident in the Great Pagoda testifies :—The soldiers, for several nights, had missed arms, although a sentry paced before the door, and they slept with their firelocks by their sides. Extra sentries were posted. On a sudden, the alarm being given, the officer on duty, who was reposing in one of the little temples, ran to the door, and inquired what had occurred ; but hearing that no traces existed of the depredators, he turned to lie down again, and, to his astonishment, found that his bed had vanished ! A light was in the room, and a servant sleeping near it, yet the thieves had ransacked every basket, and escaped with the contents. The robbers were Burman soldiers, belonging to the camp at Kummeroot.

Kummeroot, where the new Burmese commander had stockaded his army, was within five miles of the Da-gon Pagoda. A commanding point on the river above Kemmendine was fortified ; and the Burmese chief not only obstructed the navigation of the river, but obtained an excellent position for the construction of fire-rafts. Sir Archibald Campbell resolved to attack both positions simultaneously. He led the column designed to assail the position on the river, while General M'Bean led the division against Kummeroot. The position above Kemmendine was found well provided with artillery. A naval force was sent to clear the way, under the command of Captain Marryat. The Burmese

CHAPTER
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A.D. 1824.  
Sykia  
Woongee  
third  
minister  
of state  
defeated,  
July 1.

**CHAPTER XIX.** guns were silenced by the fire of the shipping, and a signal having announced that the breach was practicable, the storming party pushed across the river in boats, and carried the stockade ; numbers of the Burmese were killed, and many drowned.

**A.D. 1824.**  
Soomba  
Woongee  
defeated  
and killed.

On approaching Kummeroot, General M'Bean found himself surrounded with stockades, occupied by vast numbers. Unprovided with guns, he assaulted the principal works, which consisted of three stockades, one within the other ; the last being the head-quarters of Soomba Woongee. The Burmese commander-in-chief was sitting down to his forenoon repast, when the approach of the British troops was announced ; he directed his chiefs to drive the audacious strangers away. When the nearer approach of the rapid volleys of musketry shewed that the assailants had forced his outer line of defence, he hastened to place himself at the head of his men, whom he found crowded into the centre stockade, a confused mass, on which the fire of the British did fearful execution. At length Soomba Woongee himself fell ; and the Burmese fled, leaving eight hundred men on the field, while the jungle and the surrounding villages were crowded with wounded.

An expedi-  
tion sent  
against  
Tenasse-  
rim.

The capture of ten stockades, protected by thirty pieces of artillery, disheartened the Burmese ; but General Campbell was unable to advance a single day's march into the country.

An expedition was then sent against the maritime province of Tenasserim. Its principal cities were reduced with little difficulty ; and, in addition to obtaining possession of several excellent harbours, it was found that the climate of Tenasserim was so salubrious, that the Europeans who had been prostrated by the pestilential climate of Rangoon, rapidly recovered their health.

Its climate  
good.

The king  
sends his  
brothers.

Towards the end of July, the king of Ava, sorely perplexed by the continued success of the British troops over his innumerable hordes, sent two of his brothers to superintend the war, accompanied by astrologers, to point out the moment most favourable to their plans, and by a detachment of the king's "Invulnerables." These warriors were distinguished by the short cut of their hair, and by the manner in which they were tattooed, having the figures of elephants, of tigers, and of other ferocious animals marked upon their arms and legs ; they had gold, silver, and sometimes precious stones, inserted in their arms. One or two of these heroes generally exhibited the war-dance of defiance upon the most exposed part of the defences, infusing courage and enthusiasm into their comrades, and affording much amuse-

The  
"Invul-  
nerables."

ment to the assailants. The infatuated wretches, under the excitement of opium, frequently continued the ludicrous exhibition until they fell.

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The Burmese princes were warned to wait for the first lucky moon ; and, as this was not very near, Sir Archibald Campbell, who had received information of their arrangements, attacked some strong posts on the rivers, by which fishermen and others were prevented from bringing provisions to Rangoon. Syriam, the ancient capital of Pegu, and a fort, originally erected by the Portuguese, was taken by a party sent in boats ; and the Burmese were driven from the fort, leaving behind them eight pieces of cannon and a considerable quantity of ammunition. From the fort the English proceeded to the Pagoda, which was easily captured. Among the plunder was found an edict, issued by the prince of Sarrawaddy.

At length, information was received that the astrologers had fixed a time for the attack on the British position, at midnight of the 30th of August. The "Invulnerables" rushed boldly up the road leading to the Pagoda, shouting out threats and imprecations against the impious strangers whose presence defiled that sacred place. The English remained quiet, until the multitude approached the gateway ; then heavy discharges of grape, followed by volleys of musketry, did fearful execution. In a short time the "Invulnerables" lost courage and fled. An incident, in another part of the line, deserves a passing notice :—A piquet of one hundred sepoys was attacked, and, while the men were drawn up to receive the Burmese in front, some of these latter crept to the rear, and entered the house which the piquet occupied, from whence they carried off the sepoys' knapsacks !

General Campbell resolved to drive the Burmese from the vicinity of Rangoon. For this purpose Major Evans was sent with three hundred men, to ascend the Lyne river, while Colonel Smith, with the light division, consisting of sepoys, made an advance on the road to Pegu. After clearing several stockades, Colonel Smith learned that a large division of the enemy, with some cavalry, elephants and guns, had established themselves in a pagoda at Kykloo ; he therefore sent to General Campbell for a European reinforcement. This request was refused, with something like an imputation on the motives by which it was dictated. The colonel, thus taunted, resolved to hazard an assault. The officers displayed great courage and conduct ; but it was impossible to induce the sepoys to advance against the Burmese, whose physical strength is greater than that of other

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Maha  
Bandoola  
in Arracan.Takes  
Ramoo,  
May 17.Alarm in  
Bengal.Bandoola  
sent to  
Rangoon.Appearance  
of his  
troops.

Asiatics. The signal for retreat was given, after a severe loss. This unhappy result was made the subject of injurious comment. Although Colonel Smith exonerated himself in the minds of fair and honourable men, yet the circumstance weighed so heavily on him, that he gradually sunk into an early grave.

Arracan, where the Burmese had begun to make preparations for invading Bengal, now demands our attention. Maha Bandoola, their leader, advanced with a strong corps to Ramoo. A small British detachment, under Captain Noton, left to defend that post, was, after a gallant resistance, overwhelmed by numbers. On hearing of this disaster, the commanding officer, who was marching to the relief of Ramoo, retired on Chittagong. Before Bandoola could prepare for any fresh enterprise, he was recalled to the defence of his own country.

This trifling affair excited extraordinary alarm throughout Bengal; the peasants on the frontiers fled from the fields; reports were circulated that the Burmese were invincible, and the native merchants of Calcutta were with difficulty dissuaded from removing their families and property. It subsequently appeared that these alarms, and the mutiny at Barrackpore, were in some degree excited by the Peishwa and the other Mahratta chiefs at Benares.

At the end of the rainy season, the British in Rangoon began to entertain favourable views of their situation. A great improvement in the health of the troops was manifest at the beginning of November, and the promise of an early movement in advance had its influence even upon the sick. Five hundred Mugh boatmen, from Chittagong, were busily employed in preparing boats for river service, and a reinforcement had arrived, consisting of two British regiments, some battalions of native infantry, a squadron of cavalry, a troop of horse artillery, and a rocket-corps. Transports with draught-cattle were beginning to arrive, and the men were preparing for a march, when their attention was directed to the approach of Maha Bandoola and his army.

Bandoola was the best general in the Burmese service, and his army the most formidable that the court of Ava had ever sent into the field. Notice of his approach was fortunately obtained by an intercepted letter from the new general to the ex-governor of Martaban, in which he notified having left Prome at the head of an invincible army, with horses and elephants, and warlike stores, for the purpose of expelling the English from Rangoon. On the 30th of November the Burmese army assembled in the

extensive forest in front of the Shwe-Da-gon Pagoda ; their lines, extending from the river above Kemmendine in a semicircular direction, towards the village of Puzendoon. A distant hum of voices was heard from this multitude, as if they had established themselves for the night ; but darkness scarce set in when it ceased, and there was heard in its room a sound as of heavy columns marching, which drew onwards till it seemed to approach to the edge of the jungle. The utmost watchfulness prevailed within the Golden Pagoda, where both officers and men anticipated a furious assault. The day broke and the enemy continued still, under cover of the forest, watching the manœuvres of the English.

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On the 1st of December the attack commenced with a heavy fire of musketry at Kemmendine. At the great Pagoda, nearly two miles distant, the yells and shouts of the infuriated assailants could be heard occasionally, returned by the hearty cheer of the British seamen, as they poured in their heavy broadsides.

Six different divisions of the Burmese were discovered in the course of the forenoon, marching across the plain of the Dalla river. As they advanced towards Rangoon, the appearance of the chiefs on horseback, with their gilt chattahs or umbrellas glittering in the sun, produced an imposing effect. Later in the His army surrounds the British. day, dense columns issued from the forest, about a mile in front of the east face of the great Pagoda, their lines being decorated with an extraordinary profusion of flags and banners. The divisions took up their position on the crest of a woody ridge in front of the Pagoda, resting on the river at Puzendoon, which was occupied by cavalry and infantry. They were the left wing of the Burmese army. The centre, or the continuation of the line from the great Pagoda up to Kemmendine, was posted in a forest. In the course of a few hours, the British found themselves surrounded, with the narrow channel of the Rangoon river alone unoccupied in the rear, and with only the space within their lines. The line of circumvallation taken up by the enemy extended for some distance, and, divided as it was by the river, weakened his means of assailing any particular point ; but the celerity, order, and regularity in which the different corps took up their stations in the line, reflected credit on the Burmese commander.

When this singular formation was completed, the soldiers of the left columns, laying aside their spears and muskets, commenced operations with entrenching tools, and with such good will, that, in the course of a couple of hours, their line wholly

His singular approaches.

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disappeared, and could only be traced by a parapet of new earth, gradually increasing in height. The moving masses which had attracted attention, had sunk into the ground ; and by any one who had not witnessed the scene, the existence of the subterranean legions would not have been credited : the occasional movement of a chief, with his gilt chattah, superintending their progress, was the only thing that at last attracted notice. By a distant observer, the hills covered with mounds of earth, would have been taken for anything rather than the approaches of an attacking enemy ; but to those who had watched the whole proceeding, it seemed the work of enchantment.

Major  
Sale makes  
a sortie,  
Dec. 1.

In the afternoon, an English detachment, under Major Sale, made a sortie. The Burmese were taken in flank, and driven from their cover with considerable loss, and a great quantity of their arms and tools were destroyed before they could muster their forces. New information respecting the Burmese mode of warfare, and the manner in which they push forward their approaches was obtained. Their trenches were found to be a succession of holes capable of containing two men each, and excavated so as to afford shelter, both from the weather and the fire of an enemy ; even a shell lighting in the trenches, could only kill two men at the most. As it was not the Burmese system to relieve their troops in making these approaches, each hole contained a supply of rice, water, and even fuel ; and under the excavated bank, a bed of straw or brushwood was prepared, in which one man could sleep while his comrade watched. When one line of the trench is completed, its occupiers, taking advantage of the night, pushed forward to where the second line is to be opened, their place being immediately taken up by fresh troops from the rear, and so on progressively, the number of trenches occupied varying according to the force of the besiegers, the plans of the general, and the nature of the ground.

The  
Burmese  
attack  
Kemmendine.

Their  
fire-rafts.

In the evening, the Burmese returned to their trenches and recommenced their labours. Soon after sunset a fierce attack was made upon the post of Kemmendine, while on a sudden, the heaven and the whole surrounding country, became brilliantly illuminated by the flames of several tremendous fire-rafts, which had been set to float down the river for the purpose of destroying the shipping in Rangoon ; and these were followed by war-boats, ready to take advantage of any confusion which might ensue should any of the vessels be fired. The skill and intrepidity of the British seamen averted the danger ; entering their boats, they grappled with the fire-rafts, and ran them ashore

upon the banks of the river, where they were harmlessly consumed. The attack upon Kemmendine was repulsed, with heavy loss to the assailants.

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The fire-rafts, upon examination, were found to be made wholly of bamboos firmly wrought together, between every two or three rows of which a line of earthen jars, filled with petroleum or earth-oil, and cotton, was secured. Other inflammable ingredients were also distributed in different parts of the raft, and the flames proceeding from them were almost unextinguishable. Many of the rafts were upwards of a hundred feet in length, and divided into pieces, attached to each other by long hinges, so arranged that when they caught upon the cable or bow of a ship, the force of the current would carry the ends of the raft round her, and envelop her in flames. From Kemmendine these rafts could be launched with a certainty of reaching the shipping, and hence arose Maha Bandoola's anxiety to become master of that post.

For three or four days, Sir Archibald Campbell allowed the Burmese to push their approaches until they had come within half musket-shot of the British lines. When the enemy had brought their munitions and stores into their entrenchments, a decisive attack was ordered. Two columns were mustered, under the command of Majors Sale and Walker, while a flotilla of armed boats, under the direction of Captain Chads, proceeded up the Puzendoon creek, and opened a heavy fire on the rear of the enemy's entrenchments. On the morning of the 5th, the Dec. 5. columns advanced; that commanded by Major Walker encountered a spirited resistance, and lost its leader; but the troops pressed forward, and drove the Burmese from trench to trench at the point of the bayonet. Major Sale's column forced the centre with great ease, and the British columns uniting, drove the Burmese from every part of the works, leaving their guns, entrenching tools, and a vast quantity of small arms.

Notwithstanding his failures and defeats, Bandoola persevered, and his troops laboured with unabated zeal in making their approaches. On the morning of the 7th, four columns of attack emerged from the British lines, and, after sustaining a heavy fire, forced their way into the trenches; the Burmese were driven from their numerous works, curiously shaped and strengthened by strange contrivances, into the forest. In the evening, a British detachment, from Rangoon, took the enemy's position at Dalla, which had hitherto enabled them to keep Kemmendine in a state of siege. The Burmese were driven from their entire

They make  
nearer  
approaches.

Dec. 5.

The  
British  
drive them  
away.

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Bandoola  
causes fire  
to be set to  
Rangoon.

Bandoola  
defeated at  
Kokien,  
Dec. 15.

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Mutiny at  
Barrack-  
pore.

position, with the loss of all their guns and materiel. It was impossible to ascertain the number of the slain, as the enemy removed and concealed the dead in the forest. Hundreds of Bandoola's men deserted him after these reverses ; and he had to fear his tyrannical sovereign.

About four miles from the Golden Pagoda, Bandoola had established an army of reserve, which was busied in stockading a position of which the village of Kokien formed the key. To it he now retreated, where considerable reinforcements meeting him, he found that he could muster five-and-twenty thousand men, with which force he determined to risk another action. Not content, however, to rely upon the valour of his soldiers, he bribed some of the few inhabitants who had returned to Rangoon, to set fire to the city ; the fire was speedily extinguished. On the 15th, the army advanced for the purpose of attacking, the entrenchments at three different points. The enemy maintained a fire so long as the troops were rushing on, but fled whenever the heads of the columns penetrated the works ; and the line of entrenchment was carried with little loss to the assailants, the slaughter among the fugitives being appalling. It is computed that, from the 1st to the 15th of December, there fell of the Burmese not less than six thousand men, of whom many were chiefs and officers of rank, while the total of the British killed and wounded, did not exceed forty officers and five hundred rank and file.

We have already mentioned the alarm produced in Calcutta, when intelligence was received of the slight successes obtained by the Burmese in Chittagong. A report was circulated among some of the sepoy regiments, that the Burmese were in possession of charms which rendered them invulnerable, and that the spell could not be dissolved by lead or steel. This strange rumour was believed by the credulous natives of Bengal, and, added to their superstitious hatred of the sea, made many of them secretly resolve not to form part of the reinforcements which were about to be sent to Rangoon. Their reluctance to embark, was greatly increased by the appearance of an order for curtailing the extra allowances which had been previously made to troops about to take the field. Several minor causes of dissatisfaction existed, and the discontent of the sepoys was secretly aggravated by some of the native inhabitants of Calcutta, and by religious impostors, who were believed to have been hired by a few of the state prisoners at Benares. All these causes combined to produce a formidable mutiny. In the cantonments of

Barrackpore, were quartered the 26th, the 47th, the 62nd, and the 10th regiments of Bengal infantry, all under orders for service ; some being directed to march upon Arracan, others to prepare for embarkation. When directed to parade, on the morning of the 31st of October, in order that their appointments might be inspected, the 47th positively refused to turn out. Every exertion was made by the European officers to overcome the spirit of disaffection, but without effect. Portions of the 62nd and of the 10th joined the mutineers ; and, for a few hours, matters It is suppressed by force. were an unpleasant appearance. But the Royals, and the King's 49th, which had not yet quitted Calcutta, were promptly moved to the scene of difficulty, and a battery of guns was planted, so as to command the rear of the malcontents when drawn up upon the esplanade. Another effort was then made to lead them into submission ; they rejected it, and the guns opened. Some were cut down ; others tried to escape across the river and were drowned ; the ringleaders were put to death, the No. 47 erased from the Army List, and the mutiny suppressed. There was no longer the slightest reluctance manifested to proceed either to Arracan or Pegu ; nor was any bad impression left upon the minds either of soldiers or people.

After the defeat of Bandoola at Kokien, many of the inhabitants of Rangoon returned to their homes, and the population of the city was further increased by multitudes of deserters, who brought with them numerous articles of provision and conveyance, which proved eminently useful to the invaders. Still, there was a lack of means by which to move an army of ten thousand men, through a country where it was felt that no reliance could be placed on the inhabitants ; and where any deficiency of provisions, or interruption of the line of communication, might be attended with fatal consequences. As it was manifest that the war would be much protracted, unless an attempt were made to penetrate into the interior, Sir Archibald Campbell resolved to march against Prome, the second city of the Burman empire, with a column of two thousand five hundred men, while General Cotton proceeded in boats, with a water-column of one thousand men, and a train of artillery escorted by the ships' boats. A detachment of seven hundred and fifty men under the command of Major Sale, was, at the same time, directed to reduce the important town of Basseen, situated on a branch of the Irrawaddy. On the 11th of February, 1825, the march was commenced ; miles of stockading proved that the Burmese had resolved to check the invaders ; but they

The inhabitants return to Rangoon.

The troops march, Feb. 11.

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The  
Carians.

Maha  
Bandoola's  
official  
residence.

March 2.

did not appear. The few villages of the district had been destroyed, and the inhabitants driven into the interior. The cultivators of the soil were a tribe called the Carians, one of whose villages escaped the general ruin, and it offered a strange spectacle. The houses were of the most miserable description—mere pigeon-houses perched in the air on poles, with a notched pole as the sole means of egress and ingress to the dwelling ; they were, however well adapted for protecting their inmates from the ravages of the periodical deluge, and the still more destructive inroads of prowling tigers, with which the woods abound. The Carians, the quietest and most harmless people in the world, are of the strongest and most robust frame. Although their numbers are very limited, such is the fertility of the soil, that they not only keep up the consumption of their own districts, but send large quantities of grain to the royal granaries, for the use of Upper Ava. They pay heavy taxes to government, but are free from the conscription laws. The women bear the marks of premature old age, probably from a too great share of the work falling to them. These people appeared glad to see the invaders, and cheerfully assisted in repairing the roads ; they also brought ducks, fowls, and other articles for sale. They undertook to carry letters and communications from one corps of the army to another, and no instance occurred of their having deceived their employers.

At Mophee was found the mansion of Maha Bandoola, built for him when coming down to Rangoon in all the pomp of state ; it had not been inhabited since he left it, for the Burmese laws punish with death any person who inhabits a house of a higher order of architecture than that to which he is entitled by his rank. The town of Lyne, prettily situated on the banks of the river of the same name, was found uninjured, but nearly deserted ; those inhabitants who remained willingly brought buffaloes and other necessaries into the camp. On the 2nd of March the invaders reached Sarrawah, a large and populous town on the Irawaddy ; a place of considerable trade, and the depot for the war-boats.

The magnificence of the river, which now, for the first time, rolled its mass of waters before the British, was most striking. Of great depth, and exceedingly rapid in its course, it measured during the droughts about eight hundred yards in width ; but the population had placed its channel between them and the strangers. Sarrawah, like Rangoon, was deserted. It was evident that the migration had just been completed ; crowds lingered on

the opposite bank, whom all the efforts of the general, though exercised through the agency of one or two old priests, failed to bring back to their homes.

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At Sarrawah were many handsome kioums, or monasteries, containing large collections of Gaudmas,\* ranged on stands, richly ornamented with stained glass and gilding fancifully disposed in several grotesque shapes, and surmounted by canopies. About the apartments were numerous offerings ; and in one of the houses a book was found, which was considered of great importance, as shewing the estimation in which Burmah was held by a religious power in Europe, at a time when the English in India, its neighbours, were ignorant of everything concerning it. This was a plain and simple exposition of the Christian faith, in the Latin and Burman languages, and printed at the press of "the Society for the Propagation of the True Faith" at Rome, in 1785. It appeared that some Italian priests were then settled near Ava, and had taught Latin to several people, and among others, to Mr. Gibson.† For many years past, no persons of the Roman Catholic persuasion visited Ava as missionaries ; but the religion is still followed by a few individuals, and is represented by priests called "Portuguese." From intermarriage with the natives of India, this race retains but little trace of its origin, except a dialect of the language of its forefathers.

The sound of cannon in the direction of Donoobew showed the falsehood of the report that it had been evacuated by Maha Bandoola. The water column reached Donoobew on the 8th of March ; attacked the place in two columns ; but being repulsed, General Cotton reembarked his men. As no one believed in the possibility of a repulse, Sir Archibald Campbell continued to advance for the purpose of occupying Prome, and cutting off the retreat of the Burmese. He had not proceeded two days' journey beyond Sarrawah, when he received the unwelcome intelligence that the attack on Donoobew had failed. It was, therefore, necessary to make a retrograde movement.

Late on the evening of the 24th, the column, after an exhausting march, reached a village, from whence the position which

The water column at  
Donoobew.

\* Gaudma is the image of "the Beneficent Being."

† A remarkable personage, a native of Madras, the son of an English father and a low-caste mother, who had spent all his days in Ava, and stood high in the confidence of the government. He joined the British army at Rangoon, and astonished the heads of departments by his knowledge of general history, and his acquaintance with the English, the Portuguese, the French, and a whole host of Eastern languages.

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Bandoola occupied at Donoobew became visible. The works were extensive, and full of troops ; while the river was crowded above the stockade by swarms of war-boats. As the army approached, bodies of cavalry hovered along its flank, and the war-boats, starting from their anchorage, came in close to the brink of the river, and opened their fire. On the 25th, a position was taken up within cannon-shot of the stockades ; while General Campbell, on reconnoitering, found that they embraced an oblong square, which measured about a thousand yards in length, by five hundred in breadth ; and that they masked the brick walls of an old Pegu fortress, round three sides of which a moat was drawn, the river washing the fourth.

March 29.

A night attack.

The day passed over quietly ; for an occasional attempt from the war-boats, scarcely sufficed to disturb tranquillity. The picquets, too, were strong and well posted : and as the night brought with it a bright and cloudless moon, both men and officers lay down to rest. Considerable uneasiness had prevailed because no intelligence of General Cotton's approach had been received, and the exhausted stock of the commissariat threatened, in the event of his protracted absence, to occasion a scarcity. Suddenly the rapid discharge of thirty or forty muskets, and the immediate running in of the picquet on the right flank, called the men to their guns, and to prepare for battle. Then arose a discordant yell, while a crowd of Burmans rushed towards the camp, and began a desultory fire. This bold manœuvre on Bandoola's part, failed to produce any effect. The latter part of the night was very dark, and enabled the enemy to carry off their killed and wounded. The loss of the British was three killed, and about twenty wounded.

March 27.

Donoobew bombarded, April 1.

Bandoola killed.

On the morning of the 27th, the flotilla conveying the marine column, was seen in full sail up the river. The Burmese made the most desperate efforts to resist its progress ; but thirteen of their war-boats were soon captured by the steam-vessel. In like manner a sortie, in which seven elephants took a part, was repelled with great slaughter ; the body-guard charging both elephants and cavalry, and overthrowing them. The result was, that mortars, battering guns, and all things needful, were landed at night. A heavy bombardment was commenced. The batteries opened a steady fire on the 1st of April, and, on the 2nd, dispositions were made to carry the place by assault. The day had scarcely dawned, when a couple of prisoners who escaped from the fort, came in with intelligence which excited astonishment. Bandoola had been killed on the previous day by a fragment

of a shell, and the troops refused to obey any other officer, or to remain in Donoobew. The works were evacuated in the dead of the night, with a degree of regularity which set the vigilance of the besiegers at defiance. Nothing remained but to take possession of the abandoned redoubt ; and to recommence the march to Prome.

As the troops advanced, efforts were made by the Burmese Prome to delay their march, by engaging the general in negotiations ; and when these proved ineffectual, the prince of Tharawadee laid the villages waste, driving thousands from their homes. Prome was abandoned as the English advanced, and cantonments were provided for the troops in its neighbourhood, as the setting in of the rainy season, early in June, put an end to the campaign. Encouragement was held out to the inhabitants to return to their homes. Their houses were unoccupied ; their property scrupulously guarded and preserved ; while proclamations, inviting them to return, and promising protection and liberal payment for the fruits of their industry, were distributed.

The persecuted inhabitants poured in from the woods, bringing their families, cattle, waggons, and other property ; but by far the greater number returned in a starving condition, having lost, or been plundered of all that they possessed. The tide of the population, having once over-leaped the barriers which restrained it, now flowed back towards the deserted provinces ; the natives retiring from their own armies, to seek for protection under the British flag. Plentiful bazaars at every station, soon bore ample testimony to the confidence of the inhabitants in the good faith of the invaders ; the troops lived in the midst of comfort and abundance. To the Burmese, unused to receive anything but stripes for their labour, the liberal conduct of the British was novel and pleasing. They worked diligently when they found the certainty of liberal payment. Large fleets of canoes, constructed to stem the torrents of the Irrawaddy, were soon placed at the disposal of the commissariat, and a stock of provisions conveyed to, and kept at Prome, adequate for the support of the British force, and the whole province.

Subordinate operations were directed from the frontiers of Bengal, against the Burmese provinces of Assam, Cachar and Arracan. On the 1st of February, Rungpore, the capital of Assam and the whole province submitted to Colonel Richards. Colonel Shuldham, pushed through Cachar in the direction of Munnipore ; while General Morrison, after a series of actions, which occupied the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th of March, succeeded

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The inhab-  
bitants  
contented.

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The
Burmese
raise
a new
army.

September.

Negocia-
tions.

Kee
Woongee,
the Prime
Minister,
at the head
of the
army.

Nov. 10.

in clearing Arracan of the Burmese. He then detached a force under Brigadier-general M'Bean, which occupied the islands of Ramree and Sandowey. Had it been practicable to cross the hills, so as to winter beyond the swampy forests of Arracan, the results of his campaign would have been highly satisfactory. The army, which had carried all before it in the field, became disorganized by disease, and was broken up.

While the British were preparing their magazines in Prome, the Court of Ava was making exertions to recruit a new army. Men were levied in every part of the country, and for the first time in its history, the Burmese government offered large bounties to induce men to enlist. The tributary Shan tribes bordering on China, were ordered to furnish their quotas; and an armed contingent of fifteen thousand men was embodied there. Filled with extravagant ideas of the powers of their masters, these wild tribes, under the command of their *chobwas*, or chiefs, hastened to take a share in defeating the strangers who had dared to profane the soil of Ava. Before the end of September, the Burmese had organized a force of about seventy thousand men, better armed and disciplined than any army which they had yet brought into the field.

Negotiations were not neglected; but the Burmese ministers were found so full of treachery, that the conferences were unsatisfactory; the armistice granted to afford them an opportunity of consulting with the Court of Ava, was violated, and no notice was taken of the remonstrances against this breach of faith. At length, the answer arrived from the Court, couched in these laconic terms:—"If you desire peace, you may go away; but, if you ask either money or territory, no friendship can exist between us. This is Burman custom."

The Burmese army began by attacking Prome in three divisions. Sudda Woon led the right division along the western bank of the Irrawaddy; Kee Woongee, the prime minister, took the command of the centre on the other side of the river, accompanied by a large fleet of war-boats; and the left, under the command of Maha Nemio, moved by a route ten miles distant from that of the central division, from which it was separated by an impervious forest. There was, besides, an army of reserve under the king's brother at Melloone; with a corps destined to repel invasion from the side of Arracan; and another watched the English garrison in Rangoon. On the 10th of November, Maha Nemio's army took post at Watty-goon, sixteen miles from Prome, with the intention of pushing forward to the British

rear. Colonel McDowall, with two brigades of native infantry was sent to prevent these operations; but the Burmese, receiving information of his advance, came to meet him. The British centre, driving the enemy before them, penetrated to the stockades of Watty-goon; at this moment, Colonel McDowall was slain, and the sepoyes, disheartened at the loss of their leader, retreated. This movement was conducted with regularity, but with severe loss. This slight advantage gave courage to the Burmese, and they resolved to advance upon Prome, stockading themselves at every mile. Maha Nemio's corps at Simbike, had come within a morning's walk of the English lines. Eight thousand of his men were Shans, who were accompanied by three young and handsome women of high rank, believed to possess the power of rendering bullets harmless, by sprinkling them with enchanted water as they passed through the air. These Amazons rode constantly amongst the troops, inspiring them with courage.

The last day of November was spent by the British in making arrangements for a movement on the enemy's stockades. Sir Thomas Brisbane, with the flotilla, was directed to cannonade the positions of the other Burmese divisions, while a body of sepoyes drove in Kee Woongee's outposts, so as to prevent any suspicion of the real attack on Maha Nemio. Early on the morning of the 1st of December, two columns marched against Nemio; one, commanded by General Cotton, proceeded direct to Simbike, while the second, under the superintendance of Sir Archibald Campbell, crossed the Nawine river, and moved along its right bank for the purpose of attacking the enemy in the rear. Sir Thomas Brisbane's cannonade so completely deceived the enemy, that General Cotton's division reached the first line of palisades before their approach was suspected. The storming parties were soon formed, and moved forwards with intrepidity; the Shans, encouraged by the presence of their veteran commander, who, unable to walk, was carried from point to point in a handsomely gilded litter, and further, cheered by the exhortations and example of the fearless Amazons, offered a brave resistance. At length, however, a lodgment was made in their crowded works; they fell into confusion, and were mowed down by the close and rapid volleys from the troops who had gained their ramparts. The strongly-built enclosures of their own construction everywhere preventing flight, the dead and dying soon blocked up the few and narrow outlets from the works. Horses and men ran in wild confusion from side to side, trying to avoid the fatal fire; groups were employed in breaking down and trying to force a

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The Shans
fight des-
perately.

passage through the defences, while the brave, who disdained to fly, still offered a feeble opposition to the advancing troops. The gray-headed Chobwas of the Shans, showed a noble example to their men, sword in hand singly maintaining the unequal contest; nor could signs or gestures of good treatment induce them to forbearance:—attacking all who offered to approach them with humane feelings, they sought the death which many of them found. Maha Nemioh himself fell, while urging his men to stand their ground; many of his attendants were likewise wounded, while in the act of carrying him off. His body, with his sword, Woongee's chain, and other insignia of office, was found. One of the Amazons also received a fatal bullet in the breast, but the moment she was seen, and her sex recognized, the soldiers bore her from the scene of death to a cottage, where she soon expired.

Sir Archibald Campbell's column met the defeated and panic-struck fugitives as they emerged from the jungle to make their escape over the Nawine river. The horse-artillery was instantly unlimbered, and a heavy fire opened upon the crowded ford; here another of the Amazons fell, with numbers of her countrymen. The consternation of the Burmese was such that they dispersed in small groups into the jungle. A few of the Shans assembled again in arms; but being obliged, in order to escape the Burmese, to follow a route through forests and deserts, perished from famine and disease in their attempt to return to their country.

The victors encamped on the banks of the Nawine river, in order to be ready to attack Kee Woongee's division at Napadee. On the morning of the 2nd of December, the first English division, after a march of two hours, through a thick forest, debouched upon a plain upon the river-side, opened a communication with the flotilla, and drew up in front of the stockaded heights of Napadee. The natural obstacles opposed to an advance upon those heights, independent of the artificial means which the enemy had not failed to employ, were the range of hills rising in succession, the second commanding the first, and the third the second; their base washed by the river on one side, and covered by the forest from the approach of any force upon the other. The road to the heights lay along the beach, until checked by the termination of the first hill, up the sides of which the troops had to scramble, exposed to the fire of every gun and musket upon its summit. In addition to these diffi-

The
stockades
at Napadee
attacked.

culties, the enemy had a numerous body of men stockaded along the wooded bank, which flanks and overlooks the beach.

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There was a considerable pause, as Sir Archibald Campbell had resolved to wait for the appearance of a detachment which had been sent to force a passage through the jungle, and turn the enemy's right. Every effort to penetrate the forest having failed, it was resolved to assail Napadee in front. The flotilla moved forward, and opened a spirited cannonade on each side of the river. A detachment under Colonel Elrington stormed some flanking outworks, while the main body of attack marched steadily up the hill, without returning a shot to the continued volleys of their opponents ; the crest of the hill was at length won, the British pressed forward with the bayonet, and, in the course of an hour, the whole position, nearly three miles in extent, was mastered. A prodigious carnage ensued, as the fugitives, crowding upon one another, strove to escape from their own enclosures. Thus in the course of two days, the main body of the Burmese army, which it had taken four months to assemble, was destroyed. Between forty and fifty pieces of artillery, with ammunition and stores, remained in possession of the conquerors. During the attack, the flotilla pushed past the works, and captured all the boats and stores which had been brought down for the use of the Burmese army ; in this service the steam-vessel was particularly useful. Her unusual appearance excited great alarm, as the Burmese had a tradition that their capital would remain unassailable, until a vessel should advance up the Irrawaddy without oars or sails !

On the morning of the 5th of December, a detachment was sent against the remaining division of the Burmese on the west bank of the Irrawaddy, under the command of Sudda Woon. The troops commenced the attack in flank and rear, while the batteries and men-of-war's boats cannonaded them in front, and the enemy evacuated their line upon the river, retreating to a second line of stockades which they had prepared in the jungle in their rear. The British, following up their first success, and not aware of the existence of any second line, came suddenly upon the crowded works, where the confused and disorderly defenders were slain in hundreds, in their desperate efforts to escape.

Sir Archibald Campbell, though disappointed in his hope of co-operation from the side of Arracan, resolved to bring the war to a conclusion, by marching with the army of the Irrawaddy direct on the enemy's capital, which was three hundred miles

Routing
and
slaughter.

Sudda
Woon
routed.

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~~~  
A.D 1825.  
The  
cholera.

distant. On the 9th of December, the army advanced. A storm of rain, on the third day of the march, caused considerable suffering, and was followed by the breaking out of malignant cholera. The army, however, pushed forward, and, on the 19th, reached the abandoned stockades at Meaday, where the ground was strewed with dead and dying, lying promiscuously together the victims of wounds, disease and want. Here and there a small white pagoda marked where a man of rank lay buried; while numerous new-made graves plainly denoted that what we saw was merely the small remnant of mortality which the hurried departure of the enemy had prevented them from burying. Several gibbets were found erected about the stockades, each bearing the remains of three or four crucified victims; thus cruelly put to death, for perhaps no greater crime than that of wandering from their post in search of food, or, at the very worst, for having followed the example of their chiefs in fleeing.

The Army  
moves to  
Melloone.

The army pursued its course towards Melloone, meeting frequent examples of similar suffering. At length they reached Patanagoh, a town upon the river, exactly opposite Melloone. The Irrawaddy, at this place, is six hundred yards broad, and the fortifications of Melloone, built upon the face of a sloping hill, lay fully exposed, within good practice of the artillery. The principal stockade appeared to be a square of about a mile, filled with men, and mounting a considerable number of guns, especially on the water face; and the whole position, consisting of a succession of stockades for two miles along the beach. In the centre of the great stockade, a handsome new gilt pagoda was observed, which had been raised to the memory of Maha Bandoola, as a testimony of approbation of the services of that chief. Under the stockade, a large fleet lay at anchor, consisting of war-boats, commissariat-boats, accommodation-boats, and craft of every description.

Its defences

After the British had reached their ground, their attention was excited by the clang of gongs, drums, and other warlike instruments. Crowds of boatmen, with their short oars across their shoulders, were seen running to the beach; in an instant every boat was manned and in motion. As the flotilla and steam-vessel had been detained below by the intricacies of the river, the artillery was ordered to open fire, upon which the boatmen either jumped into the river or returned to their former situations. In the meantime, the steam-vessel and flotilla having got under weigh, passed close to the enemy's works, without a shot

being fired on either side, and anchored at some distance above the place, thus cutting off all retreat by water.

Offers of negotiations having been renewed, a large accommodation-boat was moored in the middle of the river, and the first diplomatic meeting fixed for January 1st, 1826. After a long discussion, the treaty was accepted and signed, fifteen days being allowed for sending it to receive the King's ratification. Long before that period elapsed, the British had reason to believe that some treachery was intended, and when the armistice expired, a formal notice was sent that hostilities would be renewed at midnight of the 18th. When the specified hour arrived, the English began to erect batteries and to land their heavy ordnance ; so heartily did they labour, that before ten o'clock on the following morning, twenty-eight pieces of artillery were in position. Shortly after eleven, the batteries opened and maintained a heavy fire, without intermission, for two hours, during which time the troops intended for the assault were mustered and embarked in boats, forming four brigades. The first brigade arrived at its point of attack before the others, moved forward to the assault with regularity, and established themselves in the interior of the works. The Burmese officers could not induce their dispirited soldiers to make any defence ; they abandoned every position, until the other brigades, having cut in upon their line of retreat, they were driven with severe loss from all their stockades, leaving behind them the whole of their artillery and military stores. The booty included eight gilt war-boats, three hundred other boats of different descriptions, forty thousand rupees in money, Melloone with gold chains, gilt umbrellas, and swords without number. In Prince Memiaboo's house, a decisive proof of dishonesty in the late negotiations was discovered—the identical treaty which the Commissioners had signed on board the barge, and which it was now evident had never been sent for approval.

Memiaboo and his army retired with all possible haste, and the British commander prepared to continue a close pursuit. Before, however, commencing his march, he sent the unratified treaty to Kee Woongee, telling him that, in the hurry of his departure from Melloone, he had forgotten a document, which he would probably find more useful and acceptable to his government, than he had considered it some days previously. The Woongee and his colleague returned their best thanks for the paper, but observed that the same hurry which had caused the loss of the treaty, had compelled them to leave behind a large sum of money, which they also

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Fifteen  
days' truce,  
Jan. 1.

Melloone  
bombarded.

The  
Burmese  
retreat.

**CHAPTER XIX.** much regretted, and which, they were sure, the British general only waited an opportunity of returning.

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On the 25th, the army resumed its march over the worst roads which had been met since leaving the frontiers of Henza-waddy. They passed through a barren but interesting country, abounding with "oil wells," or reservoirs of petroleum. Every village and cabin was in ruins ; along the road-side, the bodies of men and women were attached to gibbets—terrible proofs of the ferocity of those who determined to exterminate their own subjects.

The king  
sues for  
peace.

On the 31st a boat was seen coming direct from Ava, having on board Dr. Price, an American missionary, Surgeon Sandford, of the Royals, three European soldiers, and the master of a little gun-boat, who had been made prisoners in the course of the war. These poor fellows had their hair uncut and beards unshorn ever since they had been taken. These were accompanied by one or two Burmese of rank, who came with full powers to conclude a peace, and who, on Sir Archibald Campbell's positive refusal to abate one jot of his demands, assured him, without hesitation, that all would be granted. Not all their entreaties could, however, prevail upon him to suspend his march. Sir Archibald Campbell, however, consented not to pass Pagahm Mew for twelve days, as he knew the army was not within ten days' march of that city.

Colonel  
Conroy  
killed  
in Pegu,  
Jan. 7.

Unpleasant news was received from the small British force which had been left in Pegu ; part of it had been repulsed with heavy loss, in an attack upon the strong stockade of Zitoung, the commanding officer, Colonel Conroy, and another officer killed, and several wounded. No time was, however, lost in remedying this failure. Colonel Pepper, who held the chief command in Pegu, immediately advanced upon Zitoung with a stronger detachment than that which had been defeated, and, after some sharp fighting, routed the enemy.

As Sir Archibald Campbell advanced towards Pagahm Mew, he received intelligence that the Court of Ava had resolved to renew hostilities, at the instigation of a savage warrior of mean birth, who had boasted, that with thirty thousand men he would utterly annihilate "the rebellious strangers." The Burmese monarch, influenced by his queen, a zealous supporter of the war-faction, accepted the offer of the boaster, and conferred upon him the title of Nooring Phooring which signifies "Prince of Darkness," or rather "Prince of Sunset." A new levy was speedily made, and the soldiers were honoured with the

"The  
Prince of  
Darkness."

flattering appellation of Gong-to-Doo, or "Retrievers of the King's glory." Though the British army was much diminished by the absence of two brigades, and did not amount to two thousand fighting men, Sir Archibald Campbell pressed forward to Pagahm Mew, and on emerging from the jungle, he saw the Burmese army, amounting to more than sixteen thousand men, drawn up in an inverted crescent, the wings of which threatened the little body of assailants on either flank. Undismayed by the position of the enemy, the British pushed for their centre, which was instantly overthrown, leaving the wings severed from each other, so that it required the utmost activity on their part to reach the second line of redoubts, under the walls of Pagahm Mew.

The British column, following up the enemy's retreat with celerity, afforded them little time for rallying in their works, or in the city, into both of which they were closely followed and again routed ; hundreds, to escape their assailants, jumped into the river and perished. Of the army which thus endeavoured to protect the capital, only thirteen hundred men, with their leader, "the Prince of Sunset," returned to Ava. The fate of the latter was tragical. Notwithstanding his disaster, he had the audacity to present himself before his sovereign, and to assure him, that if his majesty would grant him a thousand more men, and allow him again to try his fortune, he would positively defeat the invaders. The king allowed him to finish his tale ; but then making a motion with his javelin to his surrounding attendants, they seized the unfortunate chief and dragged him off. He was hurried forth, and whilst on his way to the place of execution suffered every indignity. Yet, even at this awful moment, a sentiment of loyalty burst from him ; for when on the point of losing sight of the imperial palace, he suddenly turned round, and inclining his head, said, "Let me make one parting obeisance to the residence of my sovereign." In a few moments more he was thrown under the feet of horses and elephants, and trampled to death.

The army continuing to advance until it reached Yan-daboo, forty-five miles from the Burmese capital, the king of Ava consented to accept peace on any terms, sent back the prisoners, and commissioned two ministers of state to sign the articles of treaty.

At four o'clock on the 24th the commissioners assembled, and signed and sealed the Treaty of Yandaboo, the Burmese affixing, as their signet, the impression of a peacock.

On the morning of the 26th, Captain Lumsden, of the horse-

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The  
Prince of  
Darkness  
is beaten at  
Pagahm  
Mew.

Executed  
by order of  
the king.

The king  
signs a  
treaty,  
Feb. 24.

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artillery, Lieutenant Havelock, Deputy-Assistant Adjutant-General, and Dr. Knox, proceeded up the river and reached the Burman camp at Yeppandine, when they were stopped in consequence of the king having expressed his determination not to receive the British officers.

Deputation recalled.

On this conduct of the King being made known to Sir A. Campbell, he immediately sent to recall the deputation ; but, in the interim, the "Golden Foot" had changed his mind, and sent a handsome gilt war-boat to convey the officers to Ava. He received them, and signed the document. By this treaty the king of Ava renounced his right of sovereignty over Assam, Cachar, and Jyntee ; permitted Munnipore to be erected into an independent kingdom ; recognised the mountains of Arracan as the boundary between his dominions and those of the Company, and gave up the whole of Tenasserim to his conquerors. He pledged himself to pay in four instalments one crore of rupees ; engaged not to molest any of his subjects on account of any part which they might have taken against him during the war ; agreed to include the King of Siam in the general pacification ; and granted to British vessels, trading or otherwise, which might visit his ports, the same privileges which were enjoyed by his own ships. The English, in return for all this, undertook to fall back to Rangoon immediately ; to evacuate the country altogether, as soon as the second instalment should have been paid ; and to send in all the prisoners taken during the war with as little delay as might be compatible with their removal from a distance. It deserves to be recorded, that the Burmese promptly and honourably discharged all the conditions to which they had engaged themselves ; and that, while the monarch who signed it held the sceptre, there was no reason to complain of the infraction of a single article.

The king submits.

The  
Burmese  
negociations.

It was discovered, that the breaking off of the former treaty, which had been concluded at Melloone, was owing to the perfidious conduct of a priest called Raj Gooroo, who had been intrusted with a pacific message from the British commander to the King of Ava. Instead of executing this commission, he persuaded the weak monarch that the English were a mere handful of desperate adventurers, anxious only to extort money. Ample evidence was also obtained that the Burmese monarch had not only sanctioned, but commanded the outrages of the Arracan chieftains, which had been the original cause of the war ; and that twelve months before hostilities had commenced, his majesty had been engaged in devising plans, and making arrangements for

the conquest of Bengal. Maha Bandoola, then high in favour, was the great projector of the plan, and, with a hundred thousand men, a number which it was believed that the king could easily assemble, pledged himself for its execution. So high were the hopes of conquest entertained by the court, that when Maha Bandoola went to commence his campaign in Arracan, he was furnished with golden fetters, in which he was to bring the Governor-General of India a captive to Ava.

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On the 5th of March, Sir Archibald Campbell began his retrograde march, which was marked by no important incident. But all the troops did not come home by way of Rangoon. A battalion of sepoys, with a few elephants, being supplied with Burmese guides, received orders to penetrate across the country of Arracan ; and it accomplished the task with comparatively little trouble, and a total absence of all suffering. While this proved that Ava was accessible over land, it also showed that the misfortunes which overwhelmed General Morrison's army, might have been avoided by a little more knowledge of the country on the frontiers, and a greater exertion of promptitude and enterprize. The march of that division of the army passed over the mountains of Arracan, and brought the English acquainted with the Kieaans, one of the most singular races in Asia.

Throughout the course of the Burmese war, the Madras government, which was then administered by Sir Thomas Munro, gave efficient support to the operations of the army. His exertions were the more valuable on account of the ignorance which prevailed at Calcutta, respecting the country, the habits and the resources of the enemy. Sir Thomas Munro died of cholera at Putteecondah, near Gooty, in July, 1827, regretted by the company whom he had so well served. In England a strong feeling was raised against Lord Amherst, on account of the length to which the war was protracted, and the strange errors in the commissariat department, by which the advance of the troops was delayed, and the men exposed to a series of sufferings at Rangoon, which would have demoralized and destroyed any but a British army.

T. Munro  
at Madras.

Excited  
feelings in  
England  
against  
Lord  
Amherst.

In the early part of 1825, during the operations against the Burmese, the attention of the Bengal government was called to certain proceedings, at Bhurapore, where Doorjan Sal, aided by his brother Mundoo Sing, attempted to usurp the rights of their cousin, Bulwunt Sing, a minor and the rightful heir to Baldeo Sing, the late Rajah. The failure of Lord Lake before Bhurapore, had filled the inhabitants with the most extravagant pride, and had

Doorjan  
Sal.

Bhurapore.

**CHAPTER XIX.** produced a very strong impression, not only on the neighbouring principalities but throughout India. Much importance was attached to the fortress of Bhurtpore. Even in the Carnatic, the native princes would not believe that it ever could be taken, or that the forts were not destined to be the rallying point of India. The expression had become a sort of proverb, that India was not yet conquered, for Bhurtpore had not been taken. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that a strong anti-English party had been formed in Bhurtpore, and that the reluctance of the Rajah to engage in hostilities, gave offence to the ambitious and enthusiastic portion of his subjects, but especially to his nephew, Doorjan Sal, who had been regarded as his probable successor.

In his old age, the Rajah, hitherto childless, was made happy by the birth of a son. Aware of the ambitious temper of his nephew, Baldeo Sing made haste to secure the especial protection of the English, by soliciting, while he was yet alive, the *khelat* or robe of inauguration for his son as heir to the throne. He had not long done so, when he died, leaving the prince Bulwunt Sing in his sixth year, surrounded by enemies.

**He usurps the throne.** Scarcely was the Rajah dead, when Doorjan Sal usurped the throne, seized the young prince, and murdered his uncle. The guardians of the boy fled with him to Calcutta, and besought the assistance of the Governor-General. Sir David Ochterlony, who was Political Agent at Delhi, collected troops and a large battering train, and issued notice to the Jats not to obey the usurper. The measures of this gallant officer would have reduced the fort in a short time, but the Council at Calcutta directed him to withdraw the troops, and to adopt no hostile proceedings. He resigned his political appointments, and soon afterwards died at Meerut on the 15th of July, 1825, regretted by the natives and Europeans. He was born in America of Canadian royalist parents, and died in his sixty-eighth year, fifty of which had been spent in the service of the Company. He was succeeded at Delhi by Sir Charles Metcalfe, who, on being consulted, gave it as his opinion that arms alone could settle the dispute with Doorjan, and that it was desirable to remove the unfavourable impression produced by our former failure before Bhurtpore.

When the arrangements were nearly completed, Lord Combermere arrived in India, to take the command of the army. The enterprise was one of difficulty and danger, as will appear from a description of Bhurtpore.

The city stands in a plain, begirt by an extensive forest. That

**The gallant Ochterlony is badly treated. He dies.**

forest constituted, in former times, a preserve for the Rajah's game ; but on the first hostilities, care was taken to open a space of six or seven hundred yards round the ditch. The ditch was wide and deep ; and from a jeel or lake, by piercing a narrow embankment, the whole might be filled with water. A wall runs round the town, flanked at intervals by towers and bastions, but the curtains are low, while the bastions, by reason of their circular form, stand exposed to the fire of a besieging artillery, There was a citadel apart from the town.

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Siege of  
Bhurtpore,  
Dec. 10.

On the 10th of December, Lord Combermere appeared before the walls with twenty thousand men, and a field of a hundred pieces of artillery. During the night the enemy had cut the embankment to the northward, for the purpose of filling the ditch. The British troops arrived in time to make themselves masters of the embankment and repair the breach, before a quantity of water had flowed into the fosse.

Lord Combermere, to save the women and children from the horrors of a siege and of a bombardment, addressed a letter to Doorjan Sal on the 21st, promising them a safe conduct through the British camp, and allowing four and twenty hours for that purpose. Having received an evasive answer, his lordship again sent a further extension of the time for twelve hours, but the offer was not accepted.

On the 23rd, the north-east angle of the works having been fixed upon as the point of attack, the besiegers took possession of a ruined village called Kuddum Kundee, and of Baldeo Sing's garden, and completed their first parallel at the distance of about eight hundred yards from the fort. On the morning of the 24th, two batteries erected at these two points, opened upon the town, and on the 25th, another more advanced battery between them, having likewise begun its fire within two hundred and fifty yards of the north-east angle, the defences of the east side of that part of the works was in a great measure destroyed. A battery was then constructed, bearing on the north face of the same angle, at a distance of about two hundred and fifty yards. The rest of December was employed in strengthening the old batteries, erecting new ones, and pushing forward the works ; a constant fire being kept up against the town ; while the enemy seemed to be reserving their resources to the last. On the 3rd A.D. 1826. of January, 1826, the artillery began to breach the curtains : the ditches in front were found to be dry, and from the raggedness Jan. 3, Breaching. of the counterscarp, offered few obstacles. Such, however, was the tenacity of the tough mud walls, that they resisted the effects

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of shot better than masonry ; the batteries were insufficient to reach them, and recourse was had to mining. On the evening of the 6th, a mine was commenced in the scarp of the ditch on the northern side-face of the work ; but the engineers, fearing that they might be discovered if they continued their operations during the day, sprung it at daylight on the following morning, when it was not sufficiently advanced to have any material effect upon the wall ; in making a second attempt, the miners were driven away, having been countermined from the interior before they had entered many feet, and the gallery was subsequently blown up. On the 14th, another mine, under one of the bastions, was exploded precipitately and failed. Two more mines were immediately driven into the same work, which were sprung on the 16th so successfully, that with the aid of a day's battering, they effected a breach, which was reported practicable. On the 17th, the mine under the north-east angle was completed, and the following day fixed for the storm.

One of  
its bastions  
blown up.

Early in the morning of the 18th, the troops destined for the assault, established themselves in the advanced trenches. The left breach was to be mounted by the brigade under General Nicholls, headed by the 59th regiment ; that on the right by General Reynell's brigade, headed by the 14th regiment, the explosion of the mine under the north-east angle was to be the signal. At eight o'clock the mine was exploded with terrific effect ; the whole of the salient angle, and a part of the stone cavalier in the rear, were lifted into the air, which for some time was in total darkness ; but from the mine having exploded in an unexpected direction, or from the troops having crowded too near it, the ejected stones and masses of earth, killed in their fall, several men of the regiment at the head of the column, and severely wounded three officers.\* They fell so thickly about

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\* An eye-witness has given the following description of this fearful scene :—" The general had departed but a few minutes, and we were all in that state of breathless excitement which our situation was calculated to produce, when a spectacle was presented to us, to which I have never beheld, and shall probably never behold, any thing akin. I had fixed my eyes intently on the angle of the bastion, beneath which I was aware that the mine had been formed, when, suddenly, the ponderous wall heaved as if shaken by the power of an earthquake. There was no noise, no explosion, and, as it happened, the very firing had for the instant ceased, but the wall rocked like a ship lifted upon a wave, and then sunk down again. This occurred twice, and then, with a sound, to which the loudest thunder was soft music, stones, earth, logs of wood, guns and men, flew into the

Lord Combermere, Brigadier-general M'Coombe, who was standing next to him, was knocked down, and two sepoys who were within a few feet, were killed. The troops immediately mounted to the assault, and, notwithstanding a determined opposition, carried the breaches. The left breach was the most difficult; the ascent was steep, but the troops quickly surmounted it, the grenadiers moving up it resolutely, without drawing a trigger, in return for the volleys of round shot, grape and musketry fired upon them. Some of the foremost of the enemy defended the breach for a few minutes with great resolution, but the explosion of the mine had blown up three hundred of their companions, and they were compelled to give way, and were pursued along the ramparts. Whenever they came to a gun which they could move, they turned it upon their pursuers, but they were immediately killed by the grenadiers, and the gun upset. In two hours the rampart surrounding the town, although defended at every gateway and bastion, along with the command of the gates of the citadel, were in possession of the besiegers, and in the afternoon the citadel surrendered. Brigadier-general Sleigh, commanding the cavalry, having been entrusted with preventing the escape of the enemy's troops after the assault, made such a disposition of his forces, that he succeeded in securing Doorjan Sal, who with his wife, two sons, and one hundred and sixty chosen horse, attempted to force a passage through the 8th Light Cavalry.

The loss of the enemy could not be computed at less than four thousand killed; all the stores, arms, and ammunition fell into the possession of the victors. The fortifications were demolished; the principal bastions, and parts of several curtains, were blown up on the 6th of February. The Futtah Bourg, or "Bastion of Victory," built, as the Bhurporeans vaunted, with the bones and blood of British soldiers who fell in the assault under Lord Lake, was laid low, and among its destroyers were some of those very men who, twenty years before, "had been permitted," in the boasting language of the natives, "to fly from its eternal walls." The fort was in a state of ruin, open in

air. Of more I cannot speak, except that shrieks and groans burst upon the ear, as soon as that tremendous crash was over, giving evidence, but too decisive, that the engineer's assurances as to the safety of our position were groundless; but as to seeing the objects from whence they came, that was out of the question. A dense cloud of smoke and dust was over us: to breathe, far less to command the sense of sight, amid which was no easy matter."

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every direction, and would require as much expense to render it formidable, as would raise another in a new position. All the other fortresses within the Rajah's dominions immediately surrendered, the inhabitants returned to their abodes, and the Rajah was reinstated in his authority.

Lord Combermere broke up his camp to return to Calcutta, on the 20th of February, and arrived there early in April. Thanks were speedily voted by Parliament, and by the East India Company; the prize-money arising from the capture, granted to the Company by the King, was ordered by the Court of Directors to be distributed among the army. Lord Amherst was made an earl.

Slight disturbances took place in different small states, which were sufficient to keep the attention of the British awake to the spirit of disaffection prevailing against their rule.

Disturbances at Kolapore.

In January 1826, the Bombay Presidency was involved in a discussion with the Rajah of Kolapore, a small independent Mahratta state, in the province of Beejapoor. The British government, anxious to avoid a rupture, endeavoured, through the Resident, to adjust the difference which had arisen, without having recourse to extreme measures.

The Rajah, deaf to all remonstrance, and blind to the real interests of his state, continued to disregard the advice offered to him; he levied troops, and at once placed himself in a hostile attitude, which rendered it incumbent on the government to prepare against aggression. Their remonstrance not only remained unanswered, but the Rajah, at the head of large bodies, commenced plundering the properties and territories of his own dependant chiefs, and those under the especial protection or guarantee of the British government, extorting money from the inhabitants, by means of excessive cruelties. Thus forced into active operations, Colonel Welsh marched from Belgaum, with the whole of the disposable troops of that station, crossed the Gutpurba river, on the 12th of September, and subsequently took up a position in the vicinity of Katbughee, in the Kolapore territories, the inhabitants of which flocked in numbers to Colonel Welsh's camp, soliciting protection. These measures had the desired effect; the questions pending with the state of Kolapore, were brought to a satisfactory conclusion without recourse to actual hostilities; arrangements were entered into for securing the peace and tranquillity of the country, and to prevent, on the part of the Rajah, any violation of his engagements.

Treaty signed.

The articles of agreement were confirmed by the Governor-General, on the 24th of January, 1826.

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Earl Amherst proceeded to the Upper Provinces in 1827. A.D. 1827.  
On his Lordship's visit to Delhi, a final settlement took place Earl Amherst in Delhi.  
of the relations in which the British Indian government in India The independence stood towards the king of Delhi. It terminated the implied of the British vassalage previously rendered, or which was supposed to exist, government established towards the Royal Family by the Indian government. The event created very naturally a strong sensation at the time, as it was the first instance of our openly and decidedly asserting the independence of the British Indian power: it was generally believed that the crown of Hindustan had been transferred to the British nation.

The event is said to have been viewed with deep melancholy by the Delhi family and their dependents. They felt, whatever privations they might have suffered from the Mahrattas, their title to the sovereignty of India had been acknowledged. The feeling of the public corroborated the opinion expressed by General Wellesley, that the natives were indifferent as to who were their governors. They contemplated without surprise our assumption of a character "which had been purchased with the talents, treasure, and blood of our nation."

Earl Amherst, having returned to the Presidency, embarked in A.D. 1828. H. M. S. *Herald* at the close of March, 1828, for England, resigning W. Butterworth Bayley, the government into the hands of W. Butterworth Bayley, Esq.

Mr. Bayley performed the duties of provisional Governor-General until the 4th of July. He returned to England, and became a Director on the 23rd of July, 1833. Governor-general,  
*ad interim.*

## CHAPTER XX.

GOVERNMENT OF LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK, 1828—1835.

*Lord Wm. Bentinck arrives in Calcutta, July 4, 1828.—Financial Difficulties of the Government.—Great Increase of Debt.—Extensive Reforms required.—Discussions about Batta.—Great Discontent at Calcutta and elsewhere.—Public Meetings to protest against Innovations.—Opium Monopoly.—Restrictions on the Trade in Malwa.—Bad Effects of the Restrictions.—The Freedom of the Press asked for.—Suttee abolished.—The Ex-Emperor of Delhi dissatisfied.—He sends Rammohun Roy to England.—The Progress of the Governor into the Provinces.—He visits the Eastern Settlements and the Straits.—Great Improvements.—Encouragement given to the Natives to learn English.—Suppression of Thuggism and Dacoity.—Changes in the Administration of Justice and Civil Department.—The New Settlement and its Provisions.—The Influence of Public Opinion.—The Bill is hurried through Parliament, and the Settlement is accepted by the Directors and Proprietors after a Discussion.—Lord Wm. Bentinck arranges the Legislative Council at Calcutta.—His Progress through the North Western Provinces.—He becomes Commander-in-Chief, 1833.—Discussions at Bombay between the Government and the Supreme Court respecting the Rights of the Habeas Corpus Writ.—The Dispute settled.—Disturbances at Coorg.—Mudgherry taken and the Rajah deposed.—Disputes at Gwalior.—Baiza Bhaee forced to resign the Government.—Severe Strictures on the Governor-General's Conduct.—Treaties with the Rajpoot Chiefs, who are dissatisfied.—Lord Wm. Bentinck holds a Congress of them (1832) at Ajmeer.—Maun Sing of Joudpore becomes refractory and is forced to submit.—The Shekhawattee Marauders suppressed.—Jeypore disturbed by a plotting Minister.—Mr. Blake murdered, June 4, 1835.—The Assassins punished.—Rammohun Roy's Mission to England fails.—He dies at Bristol, 1833.—Delhi disturbed.—Mr. Frazer murdered at Delhi, March 1, 1835.—Lord Wm. Bentinck has in view two grand Objects; to promote Trade in Central Asia, and to establish a Steam Communication from India to Europe.—*

*His Efforts.—His Interview with Runjeet Singh.—Lieutenant A. Burnes sent on a Mission into Central Asia.—Fears of Russian Intrigues.—Results of Burnes' Mission.—Steam introduced into the River Navigation of India, and the three Routes to Europe tried.—Commercial Derangements in India.—Great Failures.—Criticisms on the Government for ruining their Servants.—Addresses presented on Lord Wm. Bentinck's Departure, March, 1835.—Sir Charles Metcalfe succeeds as Provisional Governor-General.—Lord Heytesbury appointed in England, but his Appointment is cancelled.—Sir C. Metcalfe grants the Liberty of the Press, Aug. 3, 1835.—He returns to England and resigns the Company's Service.—His subsequent Acts, until his Death in 1846.*

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK, who was appointed by the Canning ministry, entered on the duties of Governor-General of India under circumstances of delicacy and difficulty. The expenditure in the Burmese war and in the reduction of Bhurtpore had added thirteen millions to the debt of the Company ; there was an increasing expenditure in every branch of the administration, and the outlay of the government far exceeded the resources. The necessity of retrenchment was earnestly and imperatively urged by the Court of Directors ; and the new Governor made his appearance in Calcutta under the unpopular character of a financial reformer. Two committees were formed, one charged with the reduction of the civil, and the other of the military expenses. The resistance to the latter was so great, that its functions were soon suspended. Reductions were, however, made in the batta, or extra allowances of pay, at five of the military stations. Urgent remonstrances, including one from the Commander-in-Chief, were made ; but the Directors insisted on their right to effect retrenchments. General discontent was excited by the imposition of a stamp duty ; the Europeans in Calcutta were unanimous against the justice and expediency of the measure : they questioned its legality ; and counsel were heard for three days against the registration of the act. Public meetings were summoned to prepare petitions to the Court of Directors and the English parliament ; these assemblies were prohibited by the Council, but were nevertheless held and the petitions were adopted.

In order to protect the monopoly of opium at Patna, the Opium government entered into treaties with the native princes of Rajpootana and other districts to paralyse, as far as possible, the culture of the poppy in those states. Exorbitant duties were

CHAPTER  
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A.D. 1828.  
Lord W.  
Bentinck  
Governor-  
General,  
July 4.  
Great debts.

Great  
reforms.

meetings  
and  
protests.

**CHAPTER XX.** also levied upon its passage through the Company's states. Thence ensued smuggling of the drug into Scinde and the Portuguese ports of Diu and Damao, as well as dissensions with the native princes and merchants, and seizures and confiscation of various parcels passing through the Company's territory. Discontent and injury to the revenue followed. A partial remedy was then devised, of granting licenses or passes for the removal of the drug to Bombay. This mode, although it has brought large sums to the Company, is one of the measures that tend to injure the commerce, and to demoralise the habits of the people of India. The produce of any district of India ought not to be overwhelmed by taxation before it is exported.

The restrictions on the press resisted.

Great opposition was made to the restrictions placed on the press ; the regulations prohibiting the publication of any periodical work, without an express license from the Supreme Council, were resisted by a strong party in Calcutta, and were absolutely rejected in Bombay, the three judges refusing to register the act, as being contrary to law. While the Europeans were thus agitated, not a little excitement was produced among the natives, by the publishing of a proclamation, strictly forbidding the practice of *Suttee*, that is of burning or burying alive the widows at the same time as the remains of deceased Hindus. It was feared that this interference with the usages of the natives might provoke an insurrection ; but Lord William Bentinck was not to be daunted in enforcing obedience to the laws of humanity ; and, in a short time, many of the Hindus themselves expressed their satisfaction at the abolition of the detestable practice.\*

The Ex-Emperor of Delhi sends Rammohun Roy to England.

The still self-styled Emperor of Delhi began to feel sensibly the degradation of his condition ; and after he had made representations on the subject to the authorities in Calcutta, he sent an agent to represent his case to the government of England. He chose the Rajah Rammohun Roy, a Hindu of distinguished literary attainments, and well acquainted with the English language and literature. The mission was unsuccessful ; indeed, during the tour which the Governor-General made in the Upper provinces, he found the natives contented with the Company's government ; and the readiness with which he afforded access to

Natives contented.

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\* It was easy to prevent the *suttee* ; but the fanatical feelings which lead a woman to sacrifice her life on the pyre, require also to be repressed by correct instruction. In India some women look upon burning with their husband's body as an honour. That is Brahminical doctrine, and not yet extinct.

any who had a real or imaginary cause of complaint increased these feelings of loyalty.

After having examined the provinces of Bengal, Lord William Bentinck embarked, in February, 1829, on board the *Enterprise* steamer, to examine the condition of Penang, Singapore, and the other Eastern settlements. On his return, he recommended that the government of these provinces should be placed under the council of Calcutta, and that many reductions should be made in other offices. He gave private audience to the natives of respectability ; he acquired information from various sources.

A.D. 1829.

The Governor-General visits the straits and the Eastern settlements, Feb.

While he exerted himself to improve the affairs of the Company by judicious retrenchments, he was not negligent of the improvement of the people ; his exertions to promote the diffusion of education and knowledge among the native Hindus were incessant ; he founded schools, used every means in his power to procure proper teachers, and encouraged by personal distinction any young students who were remarkable for their industry. He also laboured with considerable success to suppress the practices of Thuggism and Dacoity, as the notorious associations for murder and robbery were called, and tranquillity prevailed in India.

Encourages the natives to learn.

Thuggism and Dacoity suppressed.

Changes were effected in the administration of justice, particularly in the civil department. Natives were employed to decide, and the two Courts of Ameens and Sudder Ameens established, together with the Courts of Appeal of Sudder Dewanee and Sudder Adawlut, at Allahabad. Similar arrangements were adopted for the revenue department. In the Presidencies, the best measures were adopted for the administration of justice and the collection of the revenue. It must not be forgotten that Madras and Bombay were then possessed of their own special legislative powers, of which they were afterwards deprived, when Calcutta was constituted the capital of India, and a special legislature for all fixed there.

At this time, the approaching termination of the Company's Charter rendered it necessary for the British parliament to take into consideration the principles on which the government of the British dominions in the East were hereafter to be conducted. On the 13th of June, 1833, the President of the Board of Control, Mr. Charles Grant (now Lord Glenelg) introduced the subject to the reformed parliament, and developed the ministerial arrangements in a series of resolutions, which were sanctioned by both houses. It was determined that the government of India should be entrusted to the Company till the 30th of April, 1854, on the ground that its administration during the last forty years

The new settlement of India.

**CHAPTER XX.** had, with all its faults and imperfections, proved of the greatest benefit to the people of that country. It was next resolved, that, from the 22nd of April, 1834, the trade with China should be thrown open to the public, and that the Company should abandon all its exclusive privileges as a commercial body.

**A.D. 1833.**  
Arrange-  
ments of  
the new  
settlement.

Of the new Settlement, the other principal arrangements are as follow :—The property of the Company was vested in the Crown, but declared to be held in trust by the Company. The privileges and powers granted in 1813 were continued. The Company was required to close its commercial concerns, all its debts being charged to the revenues of India. Powers to legislate were vested, to a certain extent, in the Governor-General, under the control of the home authorities. A legislative commission was appointed for India, to enquire into and to examine the jurisdictions of existing Courts—into the police establishments, and the operations of the laws. The right of trading and of purchasing lands in India was granted to all British subjects. No native, or other British subject resident in India, was to be disabled from holding office or employment by reason of his colour, birth, or descent. Slavery was to be abolished. Two additional Bishops were to be created, viz., of Madras and of Bombay ; the Bishop of Calcutta to be metropolitan. The island of St. Helena was to belong to the Crown.

The influence of the Board of Control was extended considerably by this Settlement, and the whole powers of India were concentrated in the hands of the Supreme Government at Calcutta. The Governors of Madras and Bombay became merely lieutenants of the Governor-General, for they were restricted even in laying out any sum for improvements, without the previous authorisation of their chief.

**Reasons for granting it.** The reasons adduced for continuing the old system were found in the good which the Company's government had done in India. There were, no doubt, evils in the system of administration ; there was sometimes too great a weight of taxation ; there was often a delay of justice ; but what had been the condition of the people of India under previous governments ? The wise administration of one of the Mogul monarchs was still a subject of praise amongst them to the present day. But the Company did great good ; for although its government had been sluggish, and not calculated to make any great or rapid strides of improvement, yet it gave ample security to person and property—it excited vigilance against any encroachment of violence and rapacity, and insured to the people that which they most required, viz. repose,

security, and tranquillity. The very jealousy hitherto caused by the Company's monopoly had been a security to the natives against the encroachments of others. Within the last twenty years the native population had acquired a political existence, which was fully recognised by the British government; a circumstance which would formerly have been treated as quite chimerical. The consequence of this improvement was, that the people of India began to acknowledge the value of the English system. Public opinion and public feeling in England acted on the governments of India; not by producing violent effects, but by operating to the amelioration of the condition of the natives by the slow but certain process of kindness. Such were the reasons which justified the continuation of the political government of India in the hands of the Company for some time longer.

It was, however, contended, by the opposition, that to entrust the political administration of the British East-India possessions, with the interests of 100,000,000 human beings, to the direction of a Joint Stock Company, and to grant to that company, consisting of ever-varying holders of East-India stock, the power of taxing these natives for the payment of the dividends of their mercantile concerns, was a question involving too many important considerations to be hastily decided on, and more especially for so long a term as twenty years. The Bill for the new settlement was nevertheless, hurried through both the Houses of Parliament.

On the 12th of August, the Court of Directors came to the resolution:—That the East-India bill, having arrived at its last stage in the House of Lords, it became their duty to submit to their constituents, the proprietors, a final opinion regarding that Bill:—that, although they were still impressed with the belief that the cessation of the Company's trade would greatly weaken its position at home, and consequently impair its efficiency in the administration of the government in India, and although they regarded, with much anxiety, the increase of powers given by the said Bill to the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, and greatly regretted that Parliament had not provided some rule of publicity to act as a salutary check, both upon the said Board of Control and the Court of Directors; yet, reviewing all the correspondence which had passed with his Majesty's ministers, trusting that the extensive powers of the Board would be exercised with moderation, and so as not to interfere with the independence of the Company, as a body acting intermediately between the King's government and the government of India, (an independence all parties had admitted it to be of vital

CHAPTER  
XX.  
A.D. 1833.

The Bill  
hurried  
through  
Parliament.

CHAPTER  
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The  
Directors  
and the  
Company  
accept it.

importance to maintain) and relying, with confidence, that parliament would interpose for the relief of any financial difficulties into which the Company might unavoidably be cast through the operation of such extensive changes, the Court of Directors felt they could not do otherwise than recommend the Proprietors to defer to the pleasure expressed by both Houses of Parliament, and to consent to place their right to trade for their own profit in abeyance, in order that they might continue to exercise the government of India for the further term of twenty years, upon the conditions and under the arrangements embodied in the same Bill. After some discussion, the Proprietors assembled in a very thin General Court, and resolved by ballot, and by 173 balls against 64, that the Bill ought to be accepted. The Bill was read a third time in the House of Lords, on the evening of that day; and on the 28th of August it became law. The rapidity with which it was carried through parliament was considered extraordinary; and such, also, have the changes been which it has since effected in the proceedings of the Company.

One of the local discussions excited, at this time, considerable interest in India and England; it arose from the conduct of the Judges of the Supreme Court at Bombay. The administration of justice to the Europeans in that Presidency was, in August, 1798, established in a Court under a Recorder, of which the duties were for several years performed by the celebrated Sir James Mackintosh. In May, 1824, it was raised to the dignity of a "Supreme Court," and the then Recorder, Sir Edward West, was appointed Chief Justice, having two puise judges to assist him. A conflict soon arose with the government. The judges being educated in the principles of a free country, and appointed to secure the rights of all British subjects within their jurisdiction, claimed the power of compelling the natives to obey their writs. This claim was more than the Company's government could bear; for if the judges could order the attendance of natives from a distance on their writs, the next step would necessarily be to try the cases in which the writs were issued. The risks of exposure, the numberless irregularities, the strange discrepancies, and the want of sound and solid justice, to which the natives are too often forced to submit, would speedily be detected in a British Court of Judicature. Resistance was therefore offered to a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, issued to bring before the court a Mahratta youth, of some wealth, who was detained by his grand uncle at Poonah. The magistrate at Poonah refused to obey the writ, on the ground that the youth or the uncle had never been at Bombay, one hundred

The  
*Habeas*  
Corpus at  
Bombay.

miles distant, and was, therefore, not subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. Two of the judges died, and Sir J. P. Grant was alone on the bench ; and he resolved to maintain his right to administer British justice to every applicant. The Governor, Sir John Malcolm, and his Council were equally resolved not to permit the writs of *Habeas Corpus* to extend into the interior. Soldiers were placed at the defendant's door to prevent the writ being executed. Application was made to the home authorities ; and in the mean time Sir J. P. Grant suspended the sittings of the Supreme Court. The Governor issued a proclamation declaring his determination to protect the lives and properties of British subjects in Bombay. The government at Calcutta refused to interfere, and awaited the decision from the Privy Council. The Supreme Court was re-opened after a suspension of its proceedings from the 21st of April to the 17th of June, 1829. The discussion was of high interest, as involving some of the highest prerogatives of the Court of King's Bench, which exercises the right to demand the cause of the imprisonment of any subject : but the Governor of Bombay claimed the right of the Indian laws, and the natives of India are still ruled by military regulations, mixed up with their own peculiar notions of jurisprudence ; for the Privy Council decided that writs of *Habeas Corpus* do not extend to natives without the immediate local bounds of the island of Bombay. Fortunately for Europeans their birth-right remains intact and intangible for them, within or without those bounds, and they claim to be personally subject in all cases, civil or criminal, to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. Sir J. P. Grant, who had two judges (called by Lord Ellenborough the "tame elephants") appointed to quiet him, resigned the office in September, 1830 ; and of the two "tame elephants," one died within a few months after he was sworn into office, and the other died soon after the resignation of Sir J. P. Grant.

Lord William Bentinck, who had the advantage of the counsels of Sir Charles Metcalfe, was about to send that gentleman to China, when news arrived, at Calcutta, that the disputes with the Canton authorities were temporarily arranged, and a good understanding restored. A measure was then brought forward for constituting a Legislative Council in India ; and it was subsequently introduced amongst the arrangements of the new settlement. Finding that his presence, as Governor-General, would be useful in the regulation of several important questions relating to the revenue, the police, and the judicial systems, in

Lord Wm.  
Bentinck  
settles the  
Legislative  
Council.

## CHAPTER

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A.D. 1830.

His  
progress  
through  
the north-  
western  
provinces.

A.D. 1831.

He  
becomes  
Command-  
er-in-chief,  
A.D. 1833.  
May.

the upper and western provinces ; he proposed to have the members of Council and the secretaries of government removed with him to the various stations ; but, although Sir Charles Metcalfe concurred in the proposal, it was discovered that the law did not permit their exercising their functions except at Calcutta. Lord William Bentinck was, therefore, obliged to proceed as Governor-General alone, and he issued a proclamation, in October, 1830, declaring his intention, and stating the different places at which, on the days named, he should be able to receive letters and petitions. He soon after proceeded leisurely on his progress, and ascended the hills at Simla, in April, 1831. While there, the camp was joined by Lieutenant Alexander Burnes, of the Bombay military service, who had navigated the Indus, and was anxious to explore the countries of central Asia, between that river and the Caspian. Lord William Bentinck gave him every encouragement. Colonel Pottinger was despatched from Bombay to Scinde, as envoy, with powers to effect a treaty, and was ultimately successful. In October, 1831, an interview took place, at Roopur, between Lord William Bentinck and the Maharajah of Lahore, Runjeet Sing. The latter being always desirous to conciliate the good-will of the British authorities, formed an alliance with Shah Soojah, who had for twenty years lived at Loodiana, under British protection. Some alarm was subsequently manifested by Runjeet in consequence of the proceedings of Lieutenant Burnes and of Colonel Pottinger ; and Captain Wade was commissioned to repair to the Court of the Maharajah and to satisfy all his doubts. This object was speedily effected. Lord William Bentinck afterwards visited Delhi, where he introduced some very salutary regulations, and thence proceeded by Agra to Ajmeer, where, in 1833, he was joined by Lord Clare, then Governor of Bombay, who communicated the results of his negotiations with the Guicowar at Baroda, with whom satisfactory arrangements had been completed. His Lordship arrived in Calcutta, 2nd February, 1833, and in the following month he received the appointment of Commander-in-Chief, in addition to that of Governor-General. He was the third possessor of that supreme power. Lord Cornwallis in 1786, and the Marquis of Hastings in 1813, had previously held it.

During the absence of the Governor-General from Calcutta, some disturbances occurred, which were promptly suppressed. An ignorant Mohammedan fanatic collected a mob and committed outrages in the Baraset district. His pretext was that a fine was levied on beards. The government sent a force and

soon dispersed the rioters. Disturbances were also suppressed in Chota Nagpore and Malacca. CHAPTER XX.

The Rajah of Mysore was deprived of his authority, and the administration of his territories assumed by the Company. Changes were made in various places, but none involved any serious operations, save the expedition against the Rajah of Coorg. His father was a zealous ally of the English, during the war with Mysore; and the memory of the services he had then performed, induced the British to tolerate many equivocal acts of the reigning prince. His cruelties and oppressions, rendered him very unpopular amongst his own subjects, whilst his haughty demeanour was very offensive to his neighbours. At length, he behaved so violently towards his sister and her husband, that they were forced to seek refuge in the British territory. The Rajah, indignant at the escape of his intended victims, addressed letters to the Governor-General, couched in the most insulting terms; he assumed an attitude of defiance, instigating and encouraging others to pursue the same course. Many of his excesses had been passed over or only noticed with gentle remonstrance, but this forbearance served only to increase his pride, and intoxicate him with the belief that he was dreaded by the British government. At length, the Governor-General was convinced that further endurance was equally impracticable and impolitic; a large force was assembled under the command of The Colonel Lindesay, and a proclamation issued, announcing that Vera Rajendra Woodier should no longer be considered Rajah of Coorg, and that his territories were about to be occupied by British troops. All British subjects in his service, were ordered to withdraw, under pain of being considered traitors.

On entering the Coorg territory, the British troops at first met but little resistance, but upon approaching the capital, they found that strong stockades had been erected. The defences were spiritedly, and, save in one instance, successfully, attacked by the British divisions. The attack on the Bak stockade was repulsed, with the loss of seventy men and four officers. It was however a work of considerable strength, having ramparts of masonry, together with a ditch and a stockade, and was memorable as the spot where Hyder Ali was routed in the preceding century, with prodigious loss. Mudgherry, the Rajah's capital, however, having been captured by another division, that prince lost all courage, and voluntarily surrendered himself a prisoner. He entered Mudgherry, attended by two thousand unarmed men, April 10. and preceded by fifty palanquins, containing the females of his

**CHAPTER  
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**A.D. 1824.** establishment ; in front of the procession were two fiddlers, who struck up the “*British Grenadiers*” on passing the guard at the Fort-gate. Notwithstanding this musical compliment, the Rajah was sent off under an escort to Bangalore, and subsequently to Benares. The province of Coorg was annexed to the Madras Presidency.

The conquest of Coorg was dignified as a war, on account of the difficulty of the country and the approved valour of its inhabitants. Accordingly, prize-money to the amount of thirteen lacs of rupees was distributed to the victorious troops. The expeditions which had been previously undertaken against the Chooars, in the eastern districts of Bengal, and the Filloorydas, in the hill-country behind the Circars, were not regarded as wars, for they were in truth rather expeditions to break up gangs of robbers, than hostilities against an enemy. The robbers were hunted from place to place, and their fastnesses destroyed. Their leaders were taken and executed.

Dowlut Rao Scindiah was the most powerful of the Mahratta princes who had been permitted to retain their independence, and his administration of his dominions greatly added to his strength. The stationary camp, which he had established at Gwalior, in process of time became a considerable city. Experience had taught him his inability to cope with the English, he therefore avoided anything which would excite their jealousy or hostility ; but his success in consolidating his power naturally produced some anxiety, and a close watch was kept on the interior movements of the court of Gwalior. Scindiah's death, without male heirs, in March, 1827, placed the regency in the hands of his widow, the Baiza Bhae ; but she felt the difficulty of maintaining a female administration, over such turbulent subjects as the Mahratta chiefs, and, to ensure a male successor, she adopted a youth, who took the name of Jhundkoo Rao, and was invested with the title of Maharajah. During the minority of this favoured young man, Baiza Bhae administered the government with great ability, but when he came of age, he aspired to the actual possession of supreme power, which the Bhae was by no means willing to grant. The intrigues and disputes of their several partizans, filled the court of Gwalior with confusion ; those who favoured the maintenance of tranquillity being anxious to continue the regency, while the youthful and ardent, wished to enforce the claim of Jhundkoo Rao, who, without any regard to his obligations to his benefactress, determined to enforce his claims. Such was the condition of

Scindiah's  
death and  
results.  
His relict,  
Baiza  
Bhae,  
rules.

Jhundkoo  
Rao is  
adopted.

affairs, when Lord William Bentinck, in one of his tours, visited the Mahratta capital; the young prince immediately applied to the Governor-General to place him upon the *musnud*, promising in return, a faithful adherence to the policy of the British government. Lord William intimated in reply, that Gwalior being an independent state, the British government could not interfere with its internal arrangements; he then reminded him of what he owed to his patroness, recommended him to pay the utmost deference to her wishes, and to wait patiently for the time when she would voluntarily resign by surrendering the government into his hands. Jhundkoo Rao, though he feigned acquiescence, was by no means disposed to follow this advice, and in July 1833, made an attempt to seize the supreme power. This being frustrated, he repaired to the mansion of the Resident, who, unwilling to interfere, had left it locked. The young prince sat the whole day in the court of this official dwelling, without food, and under a burning sun; but having at last obtained an audience, and being refused all support, he made his submission to the Bhaee. Meantime, however, a large body of the military, impatient of a female government, discontented with Baiza Bhaee, and desirous of change, applied a ladder to the Maha-rajah's apartment, brought him out, and proclaimed him their sovereign. The lady took refuge with some troops who still adhered to her; but they were unequal to contend with the opposite party, who were more numerous, and possessed all the artillery. An agreement was made, under the mediation of the Resident, that Jhundkoo Rao should be placed on the *musnud*, and acknowledged by Britain; while the regent should retire unmolested to Dholpoor. There she attempted to make a stand; but being closely invested and reduced to great distress, she at length surrendered, was allowed a revenue of ten lacs of rupees, and took up her residence near Futtyghur.

There were many persons who condemned the course of policy pursued by the Governor-General at this crisis, believing that it approached too closely to the mischievous system of non-interference, adopted by Sir George Barlow. They deemed it dangerous to have the sovereignty of the most powerful of the Mahratta states transferred from the hands of a female of pacific habits, to a young and ambitious man, surrounded by warlike and violent chiefs, ready to lead him into the most perilous and desperate enterprizes. In fact, there were some threatening appearances both in the court and army of Gwalior, which at one time seemed to menace a renewal of hostilities, or, at least,

CHAPTER  
XX.  
A.D. 1833.

Baiza  
Bhaee.

Public  
strictures  
on the non-  
interference  
of the  
Governor-  
General.

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XX.**  
 A.D. 1832.

an interference with British interests. Jhundkoo Rao was, however too prudent to gratify the warlike inclinations of his chiefs ; he vigorously exerted himself to suppress their demonstrations of discontent, and finally compelled them to acknowledge his uncontrolled sovereignty. Although it cannot be said that the Mahratta powers were reconciled to British supremacy, yet they seemed to feel that if they provoked a contest it would end in their utter ruin ; they were even doubtful of the fidelity of their own subjects.

The  
Rajpoot  
chiefs.

The Rajpoot princes, although they never possessed such authority as the chieftains of the Mahrattas, are far more haughty ; so great is their pride of birth, that they generally murder their infant daughters through fear, that if they were permitted to attain maturity, they might degrade their families. When the Mahratta power was at its summit, the Rajpoots would gladly have availed themselves of British protection, to escape the heavy impositions of *chou*, or tribute ; but their offers having been rejected by Lord Cornwallis, it was subsequently found difficult to prevail upon them to accept the terms of protection which they had so earnestly solicited. Even when they had concluded subsidiary treaties, they looked upon themselves as persons who had granted a favour, and were generally reluctant to fulfil the obligations they had contracted. During his tour through the Upper Provinces, in the year 1832, Lord William Bentinck convened a congress of the Rajpoot princes at Ajmeer, where he exerted himself with considerable success, to impress upon their minds the necessity of observing the faith of treaties. Promises of obedience were lavishly made ; but, as their sincerity was rather questionable, it was resolved that an example should be made of the first Rajah who failed to fulfil the conditions of his

**Maun Sing,  
the Rajah  
of  
Joudpore,  
refractory.**

tenure. Maun Sing, Rajah of Joudpore, had been restored to power by the Governor-General on the usual terms of subsidiary dependence. It soon appeared that he had no intention of discharging his obligations ; he absented himself from the conferences at Ajmeer, he allowed his stipulated tribute to fall two years into arrear, and he afforded shelter to bands of marauders chased from the British provinces. It was also believed that he had engaged in intrigues to induce other Rajpoot princes to imitate his contumacy, if not to join in a confederacy for the purpose of recovering their independence. When remonstrances were made against these equivocal proceedings, Maun Sing evinced no desire to comply with the requisitions of the Governor-General ; his answers were not only equivocating, but

insinuated menaces of hostility. It was at length resolved that CHAPTER  
XX.  
a force should be assembled, sufficiently numerous to compel him to an unqualified submission, or, if he continued obstinate, to deprive him of his throne. For this purpose an army of ten thousand men was ordered to assemble at Nusserabad, on the 10th of October, 1834, and the greatest activity was displayed in preparing the equipments necessary for the force. Maun Sing was far from expecting such promptitude; no sooner had he learned that matters were coming to so serious a crisis, than he sent a deputation of thirty of his principal courtiers, with a gorgeous train of attendants, to Ajmeer, for the purpose of holding an amicable conference with the British Residents in that city, Major Alves and Captain Trevelyan. The envoys made lavish professions of their master's attachment to the British government; they protested that he never had any intention of giving dissatisfaction, and that it was with surprise and regret he learned that offence had been taken. These protestations were received by the Residents for their worth; it was obvious that Maun Sing His  
schemes. was anxious to gain time by protracted negotiations; in reply, the Residents informed the envoys that words were of no value without actions, and that the hostile demonstrations must proceed, unless Maun Sing immediately proved his sincerity by delivering up the criminal refugees to whom he had given shelter, and by paying down a sum of money sufficient to defray his arrears and the expenses of the forces collected at Nusserabad. This plain dealing perplexed the envoys; they made many apologies, pleading their master's inability to fulfil such conditions, and making use of every evasion to escape compliance. But when the Residents informed them, that the only alternative would be the immediate dethronement of the Rajah, they showed the utmost consternation, and humbly requested a delay of three days that they might consider the proposals. At the end of that time a second conference was held; the envoys again made every exertion to evade yielding to the conditions demanded, but, finding that the Residents were inexorable, they finally acceded to an unqualified submission.

The peace of Western India was otherwise menaced. A rude tribe, called the Shekhawattees occupied the almost desert territory west of Rajpootana, and were divided into marauding hordes, under petty chiefs. They had long been accustomed to subsist by plundering the neighbouring districts. Acquiring courage from continued impunity, they at length began to extend their incursions into the British territories. A portion of the The Shek-  
hawattee  
marauders.

**CHAPTER XX** force levied to punish Maun Sing was sent against these freebooters, under the command of General Stephenson. Very little resistance was made to the invasion ; the bands of the Shekhawattees Suppressed. did not venture to meet the regular troops in the open field, and their forts were either abandoned, or surrendered. Finally, the district of Sambhur was retained as a security for the expenses of the war, and a detachment was left to overawe the rude inhabitants.

Jeypore disturbed by a plotting minister.

A tragical and distressing event occurred about the same time in the Rajpoot state of Jeypore. The Rajah, a thoughtless youth, left the whole administration in the hands of Jota Ram, originally a banker, an able but unprincipled man. The prince died suddenly ; and the inspection of his body was refused to the public. A strong suspicion arose that the minister, finding his master about to shake off his influence, had murdered him. The British Resident interposed, and procured the removal of Jota Ram, and the transference of the government to a regency,—measures entirely accordant with public feeling. Soon, however, a jealousy was entertained, that public affairs were placed under the dictation of a few foreigners, and a feeling of enmity arose.

A.D. 1835.  
June 4.

Mr. Blake murdered.

On the 4th June, 1835, Major Alves, the Resident, with Mr. Blake, Cornet M'Naghten, and Lieutenant Ludlow, had an interview with the Bhjee Saheb, or dowager-princess. After taking leave, as the first-mentioned gentleman was mounting his elephant, a man rushed out of the crowd with a drawn sword, and inflicted three wounds, one in the forehead ; these were immediately dressed, and he was placed in a palanquin, and conveyed home. The assassin having been seized, Mr. Blake undertook to conduct him to the place of confinement ; but as he proceeded, the cry was raised, "The Feringees have shed blood in the palace!" A crowd instantly assembled, and were joined by many of the police ; stones were thrown, and attempts made to stop him by maiming his elephant. He reached the city gate, which was shut, whereupon he turned back, and sought shelter in a mundur or temple, which he then fastened on the inside ; but the mob burst in, and he fell pierced by numerous wounds. He was a very promising officer, and generally popular. M'Naghten, by galloping in another direction through the crowd, though assailed by stones and other missiles, reached the residency. The government disowned all knowledge of this outrage ; but five individuals, whose guilt was clearly proved, were condemned and executed. Suspicion, however, soon fell upon Jota Ram, the late minister, and, after long preparation, he and several grandees

connected with him, were brought to trial before a native tribunal. Being found guilty of instigating and abetting the crime, sentence of death was pronounced ; but it was commuted to exile and imprisonment.

CHAPTER  
XX.  
A.D. 1835.

Rammohun Roy's mission to England excited little attention in Europe ; but in India, and particularly in Delhi, it made an impression in favour of the imperial family, and tended to revive the hereditary respect felt for the house of Timur\*. The emperor's reviving popularity was not a little increased by the conduct of the acting British Resident at Delhi. He insulted and beat the passengers in the streets whenever they omitted to make obeisance to him. This treatment naturally gave great offence to the people, and even excited an angry sensation throughout northern India. The injured natives had no means of redress ; there was no law to which an appeal could be made, no regular process by which they could procure relief from such oppression ; they were subject to the arbitrary will of the acting Resident, whose distance from all authority by which he might be controlled, left him at liberty. At length, a general resolution was taken by the natives, to abstain from appearing abroad when the acting Resident was expected to take his daily rides. None but the emperor himself was free from the caprice of this gentleman ; and, though the monarch sensibly felt his dependence, he long abstained from such a confession of inferiority as appeared to be involved in an appeal to the Governor-General. When, however, the appeal was made, it was received by Lord William Bentinck, with the respectful attention due to fallen royalty : the Resident was removed by the Governor-General, and this circumstance tended to strengthen the growing opinion of the influence, which of right belonged to the emperor of Delhi, being acknowledged by the English authorities, since so high an officer had been removed through his interference.

These occurrences, and some others scarcely less annoying, showed the necessity for erecting a fourth Presidency in the north-western provinces, and the introduction of a regular system of law and judicial administration. Until this was done, the situation of acting Resident at Delhi was one of great difficulty and even danger, for he had to act in direct opposition to

\* Rammohun Roy, originally a Brahmin, was born in Burdwan in 1780. Having, when a boy, learned Persian and Arabic, he studied Sanscrit and English. In after life he adopted Monotheism. His courteous Asiatic manners rendered him a favourite in England. He died at Bristol, Sept. 1833.

**CHAPTER XX.** the prejudices and feelings of all by whom he was surrounded. Even the greatest exertion of caution and prudence was insufficient to overcome these perils. In March, 1835, Mr. Frazer, the acting Resident and commissioner at Delhi, was shot dead by a hired assassin, who fired three balls into the body of the unfortunate gentleman, and galloped off before he could be seized by the escort. It would have been perilous to the security of British power if such a crime had been allowed to have passed unpunished. A very strict enquiry was made ; and it was discovered that this atrocious crime had been contrived by a native chieftain, the Nabob of Ferozepore, an unprincipled debauchee, who had hired Kurreem, the actual murderer. Both were brought to trial, condemned, and executed.

**A.D. 1835.**  
The Nabob of Ferozepore found guilty and hanged.

The general tranquillity of India during Lord William Bentinck's administration afforded an opportunity for the prosecution of two great projects, the consequences of which have not been thoroughly developed : the opening of communications with the countries west of the Indus, between that river and the Caspian Sea ; and the establishment of a steam communication between England and India. The primary object in forming any connection with the countries west of the Indus was the extension of British commerce. It was believed that it would be possible to open markets for the sale of British manufactures in the great trading cities of Central Asia, the goods being conveyed in steam-boats up the Indus, and then transported by native merchants across the mountain-passes of the Indian Caucasus. In order to facilitate this desirable object, Lord William Bentinck, as already stated, had an interview, in October, 1831, with Runjeet Sing, the ruler of Lahore, which was one of the most gorgeous displays of Oriental magnificence that can be imagined. The king of Lahore expressed himself favourable to such an extension of intercourse, and, with marked reluctance, the Ameers of Scinde were induced to adopt the same course of policy. Lieutenant, afterwards Sir Alexander Burnes, was encouraged by the Governor-General to undertake an exploring tour through the countries of Central Asia. This enterprising traveller collected important information respecting the political condition, the commercial relations, and the geographical features of the countries between the Caspian and the Indus ; and his subsequent publication of his travels excited public attention in England.

**Lord Wm. Bentinck's commercial policy in Central Asia.**

**Interview with Runjeet Sing, Oct. A.D. 1831.**

**Lieutenant A. Burnes sent on a mission.**

But these countries were interesting in a different and important point of view. It had been for some time suspected

that the Russians, adopting the policy of Napoleon, looked with a covetous eye on the supremacy which the British had acquired in India ; and that plans for destroying the English power in that peninsula had been discussed in the cabinet of St. Petersburg. It was, therefore, part of the instructions given to Lieutenant Burnes, that he should examine the military capabilities of the countries between the Caspian and the Indus. The general opinion founded upon his enquiries was, that no danger can reasonably be dreaded from a Russian invasion proceeding through the desert countries east of the Caspian, which are destitute of the provisions necessary to support a large army, and which present obstacles in the nature of their surface to the transport of a commissariat and military stores. The tribes of the Desert were found to be jealous of strangers, and especially of the Russians, as they have been long in the practice of kidnapping Russian peasants from the frontiers, and reducing them to slavery. The investigations of Lieutenant Burnes were not so fruitful in beneficial results as it was at first supposed that they would have been. It is not easy to see how trade can be opened with the natives of Central Asia, until they produce commodities which they can offer in exchange for British manufactures.

CHAPTER  
XX.

A.D. 1834.  
Fears of  
Russia.

Three routes were proposed for steam-communication with India. The first was the course taken by sailing-vessels round the Cape of Good Hope ; this was tried by a vessel called the *Enterprise*, in 1825, and, though she made the voyage in safety, yet little appeared to have been gained in the saving of time. The second route was from Bombay, through the Red Sea to Suez, and thence through Egypt to the Mediterranean. The experiments by this route, and in particular those carried on by Mr. T. Waghorn, were decisive, and a monthly line of packets was established. A third route by the Euphrates and Persian Gulph, was examined by an expedition under the command of Colonel Chesney. He demonstrated the practicability of navigating that river, and the tractability of the Arabs ; but before further enquiries could be set on foot, the feasibility of the passage by the Red Sea was fully proved.

The navigation of the Ganges by river-steamers also occupied the attention of the Governor-General, and under his patronage the system was commenced. It has had the most complete success, both in affording security and rapidity to communication.

Commercial derangements threw a gloom over the close of

**CHAPTER XX.** Lord William Bentinck's Indian administration. The fluctuations to which the government loans were liable, induced many persons to invest their capital or their savings in the houses of agency established at Calcutta. Unfortunately, the command of money induced many of these houses to enter into ruinous speculations, which soon led to a commercial crisis. One house after another became bankrupt, until the last failed in January, 1834, inflicting a fearful loss on the commercial community of Calcutta, and reducing many worthy officers to a state of the greatest distress, as they lost in the crash the accumulated savings of their lives.

**Lord W.  
Bentinck's  
retrench-  
ments.**

Measures relating to the civil branches of the Company's service, by no means palatable to its members, were also introduced, by which zeal and energy were infused into some breasts, in which inertness and apathy had previously been tolerated. The difficulties of the Governor-General's position were enhanced by reports calculated to unsettle the public mind regarding the future system for governing India. An extensive enquiry, instituted by parliament, had been prosecuted amidst shifting ministers, each entertaining opposite views of the principles upon which a settlement was to be made between the public and the Company : the whole frame of Indian society, but more particularly that portion at the seat of government, was thereby shaken. Publications, emanating from members high in the services, evinced little respect for the authority of the Company in whose name affairs were administered, while free comments were made on the conduct of the heads of the government in India. These feelings were embittered by the effects of the ruin caused by the failures of the agency houses, which scattered havoc and dismay. Savings had been deposited by many, in the cherished expectation that they would be enabled to return to close their lives in their native land ; but, at one fell swoop, they saw their all swallowed up, their prospects blasted, and themselves left to prolong an unwilling and cheerless service, with broken spirits, and minds soured by severe disappointment.

**His conduct  
appreciated.** Lord William Bentinck, nevertheless, received a series of addresses, bearing the strongest testimony which could be offered to a public functionary.

The addresses from the mercantile community declared, that they felt themselves impelled by a sense of duty to contribute their testimony in approval of numerous measures, completed

or in preparation, having for their object the improvement of the country, the moral and social advancement of its population, and the development of its commercial and agricultural sources.

At a public meeting at the Town-hall, a resolution was passed, requesting his lordship to permit his statue to be erected in some conspicuous part of Calcutta, to be of bronze, and equestrian, and to be executed by Chantrey.

Lord William Bentinck quitted Calcutta in March, 1835.

March.

The Court of Directors, on learning that his lordship's health constrained him to relinquish the government, passed the following resolution on the 26th of September, 1834:—

A.D. 1835.

Resolved, That this Court deeply lament that the state of Lord William Bentinck's health should be such as to deprive the Company of his most valuable services; and this Court deem it proper to record, on the occasion of his lordship's resignation of the office of Governor-General, their high sense of the distinguished ability, energy, zeal and integrity, with which his lordship has discharged the arduous duties of his exalted station.\*

After the intelligence of Lord William Bentinck's resignation had been received, the Court of Directors appointed Lord Heytesbury Governor-General. The choice was approved by Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington, then ministers; but, before his lordship could sail to his destination, the Whigs returned to power, and an intimation was conveyed to the Court of Directors, that the restored Whig ministers annulled the appointment of Lord Heytesbury. Some dissatisfaction was expressed by the Court of Directors, and long discussions took place between them and the government. In the meantime, the supreme authority of Calcutta devolved on Sir Charles Metcalfe, whose administration, although briefer than the Directors wished, was marked by several concessions to popular opinion, particularly by the abolition of all restrictions on the freedom of the press.

Lord Heytesbury's appointment.

Sir Charles Metcalfe returned to Europe in 1837, and in consequence of some differences with the Court of Directors, he resigned the East India Company's service. He was soon afterwards appointed Governor of Jamaica; but after a residence of

Sir C.  
Metcalfe  
Provisional  
Governor  
General.  
August 3.

\* After his return to England, Lord Wm. Bentinck became Member of Parliament for Glasgow. He died at Paris, June 17, 1889.

CHAPTER two years he was compelled, by ill health, to resign that office.

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A.D. 1837.

His conduct was such as to ensure him a marble statue, which was erected in the chief town of the island. He was subsequently placed in Canada, as Governor-General of Her Majesty's North American Colonies. A cruel disease, which inflicted on him the most painful ravages, forced him to resign on the 26th of November, 1845. His parting address speaks his generous and patriotic feelings. He was raised to the peerage on his return to England, where he died on the 12th Sept., 1846.

## CHAPTER XXI.

GOVERNMENT OF LORD AUCKLAND, 1836—1842.

*Lord Auckland lands at Calcutta, March 5, 1836.—His Intentions are highly pacific.—The Rajah of Gumsoor is refractory.—He submits.—The Khoonds subdued.—Anarchy in Oude.—Irregular Adoption by the King.—He dies.—Conflicts respecting the Succession.—The Queen Dowager forced to submit.—A Claimant comes to England, but gains nothing.... Details of Afghanistan.—Futteh Khan is Vizir.—He is cruelly put to Death by Shah Mahmood.—The Barukzye Family take up Arms.—They select a King whom they soon depose.—The Country is divided into many small Principalities.—Dost Mohammed obtains Power.—His early Ferocity and Treachery.—His Treatment of Khoja Khanjee.—He uses Power moderately.—His deranged Finances cause Revolts.—He is attacked by the Sikhs, who take Peshawur. Kamran's Rule at Herat.—Persia influenced by Russia.—The Afghans ally themselves with Persia.—The English begin to negotiate West of the Indus.—The Persians attack Herat.—It is well defended by Lieutenant Pottinger.—The English Minister quits Persia.—Karrak occupied.—The Persians repulsed from Herat.—Lord Auckland's Grand Manifesto, Oct. 1, 1838, shewing his Reasons for interfering in Afghanistan.—The Details given in the Manifesto—of Burnes' Mission—of the Attack on Herat—of the Afghans being influenced by Persia—of the Propriety of supporting Shah Soojah—of the Necessity of reinstating him on the Throne of Cabul, and of the Determination of the British Government to send an Expedition for that Purpose.—A tri-partite Treaty is concluded between the British, Ranjeet Sing, and Shah Soojah.—The Army is prepared.—Bombay Troops proceed by the Indus.—Sir J. Keane commands.—Kurrachee taken.—The Ameers of Scinde resist, but are terrified into Submission.—The Bengal Division comes to Bhawulpore and crosses the Indus under General Nott.—The whole Army assembled at Shikarpore.—Passage of the Bolan.—The Beloochees annoy the Troops.—The Khan of Khelat is the Leader of the Marauders.—The Army reaches Candahar.—Shah Soojah*

installed.—*Ghusnee stormed.*—*Hyder Khan taken Prisoner.*—*The Army advances to Cabul.*—*Colonel Wade's Column passes through the Khyber.*—*Death of Runjeet Sing, June 30, 1839.*—*The Army reaches Cabul, Aug. 6.*—*Dost Mohammed escapes to Bokhara*—*Is pursued in vain.*—*Disturbances in the Districts suppressed.*—*Khelat stormed by General Willshire and the Khan killed.*—*Shah Soojah enthroned at Cabul....Menacing Appearances in Nepaul and Burmah.*—*The Rajah of Sattara deposed.*—*Troubles suppressed at Kurnoul and Joudpore.*—*Aden taken after a long Negotiation, Jan. 22, 1839....Shah Soojah's Position not stable.*—*Colonel Orchard at Pooshut.*—*Dost Mohammed makes great Efforts.—His Escape from Bokhara....Various Encounters with the Murrees.*—*Lieutenant Clarke killed at the Pass of Surtoff.*—*Major Clibborn's Disaster at Nuffoosk.*—*His Troops routed.*—*The good Conduct of Captain Brown at Kahun.*—*Review of the Russian Progress to Khiva.*—*Details of the Russian Manifesto.*—*Expedition against Khiva fails.*—*Captain Abbott at Khiva....Dost Mohammed levies Troops, which are soon routed.*—*Several Officers slain.*—*Dost Mohammed surrenders himself to Sir W. M'Naghten at Cabul, and is sent to India.*—*The Arabs attack Aden.*—*Afghanistan disturbed.*—*The Eastern Ghilzies revolt, because Payment is refused for passing through the Khyber Defiles.*—*General Sale sent to suppress their Revolt.*—*A fearful Outbreak at Cabul.*—*Sir A. Burnes and several Officers killed.*—*Causes of the Outbreak.*—*The Insurrection promoted.*—*The Troops concentrate on the Cantonments.*—*General Elphinstone an enfeebled Commander.*—*Brigadier Shelton's Unfitness.*—*The Afghans take the Forts near the Cantonments.*—*Confusion in the Council.*—*Brigadier Shelton brave, but nothing more.*—*Major Pottinger forced to quit Charekar.*—*Frightful Difficulties of the Troops.*—*Negociations are tried and fail.*—*Akbar Khan arrives*—*Negociations again tried*—*Shah Soojah rejects the Convention.*—*The British Troops evacuate the Bala Hissar.*—*Exorbitant Demands of the Afghans.*—*Sir W. M'Naghten murdered.*—*Major Pottinger becomes Political Agent.*—*He makes a Convention on the most humiliating Terms.*—*After various Delays the Army moves, Jan. 6, 1842.*—*The infuriated Ghilzies enter the Cantonments, to which they set fire.*—*Hundreds die on the March.*—*Continual Attacks by the Afghans.*—*Akbar Khan proposes his own Terms, and obtains Hostages.*—*Pottinger, Lawrence, and M'Kenzie delivered up.*—*Butchery at Khoord Cabul.*—*The Ladies demanded and are surrendered.*—*Disorganisation of the Army.*—*Akbar demands the Arms, and that the Camp followers*

*should be left to their Fate.—These Conditions refused.—The Remnant reaches Texeen.—Twelve Thousand Persons killed in four Days.—Akbar Khan requires the Generals to come to confer and makes them Hostages.—The Remnant of the Troops try to force their Way, but they are cut to Pieces at Jugdulluk.—Massacre at Gundamuk.—One Man reaches Jellalabad....Sale defends his Position at Jellalabad.—Disasters at Ghuznee.—The Garrison surrenders.—Khelat-i-Ghilzie well defended.—General Nott's Gallantry at Candahar.—He is well seconded by Major Rawlinson, the Political Agent.—His signal Victory.—Earl Auckland panic-stricken.—He leaves India.*

LORD AUCKLAND, who was named Governor-General by the Whigs, landed at Calcutta, on the 5th of March, 1836, and assumed the reins of government. It was then expected that his administration would be pacific. He was known to be a supporter of peace, and eager to carry out schemes of social improvement. His attention was at first devoted to the promotion of schemes formed for the advancement of native education, and the communication of knowledge to the Mohammedans and Hindus. But circumstances occurred, which induced Lord Auckland to enter into the troubled politics of Central and Western Asia, and to involve the empire in a dangerous struggle.

CHAPTER  
XXI.

A.D. 1836.

About the time of his lordship's accession to power, the Rajah of Gumsoor, a mountainous tract, inhabited by a race called the Khoonds, displayed a refractory spirit; a considerable force was sent to reduce him to obedience. The troops experienced some difficulty in ascending the rugged mountain chain which fenced the frontiers of Gumsoor; and when they reached the summit, they were surprised to see, expanded before them, an extensive and fertile tract of country, covered with flourishing villages, and richly cultivated. At first they encountered but little resistance; Gumsoor and the principal forts were occupied with difficulty; the Rajah, and, afterwards his son submitted to the English. Several subordinate chieftains, however, continued to resist, confiding in the strength of their fastnesses and jungles. Two campaigns were spent in this desultory warfare; the troops suffered severely from sickness in this unhealthy country, and several casualties were sustained in desperate skirmishes. At length the Khoonds were subdued, and their chief fortresses demolished.

The kingdom of Oude is an important dependency of the Anarchy government of Bengal, and its internal condition is a source of in Oude.

**CHAPTER XXL** continual anxiety. Anarchy and confusion were produced in Oude by the misgovernment of the monarch, so that the Governor-General was induced to make some preparations for transferring its management, at least for a time, to the English authorities; but the court of Lucknow took the alarm, and averted the danger by the introduction of several reforms. In 1837, before his death, the king acknowledged as his sons two youths, Kywan Jah and Moonah Jaun;

**A.D. 1837.** but it was generally believed that they were not his children, and that he had been induced, by undue female influence, to recognise them. His family interfered, and obtained from him a formal declaration of the fraud; on his death, the question of succession was referred to the British authorities. After a long consideration, it was resolved to set the two young men aside, and, according to the Mohammedan law, to confer the crown on Nusseer-ud-Dowlah, the eldest surviving uncle of the monarch. In the mean time, the queen, a bold and ambitious princess, espoused the cause of Moonah Jaun, whom she treated as her adopted child.

**Death of the king July 7.** On the night of the 7th of July, 1837, Colonel Low, the Resident at Lucknow, received a message that the king was taken suddenly ill, and believed to be dying. This officer ordered his troops to be in readiness, when he found that the king had expired. Having, in this crisis, obtained from Nusseer-ud-Dowlah an engagement to sign such a treaty as the Governor-General should dictate, he led him to the royal residence, where preparations were made for his installation. Suddenly, however, a great noise was heard, and it soon appeared that the Padishah Begum (queen dowager), with an armed force of

**The Queen Dowager tries to rule.** about two thousand men, was approaching the palace, which, as the British soldiers had not come up, was slightly guarded. In spite of a warm remonstrance, the natives burst open the gates, filled the edifice with shouts and clamour, seized both the prince and the Company's servants, in presence of whom Moonah Jaun was placed on the throne, the Begum being seated in a palanquin beneath him. The insurgents, after some violent proceedings towards the Resident, allowed him to retire, when, upon finding that his men had assembled, he sent repeated messages to the Begum, calling upon her to surrender. As she returned evasive answers, a battery was opened, and, in a short time, she and her minions were made prisoners. The old prince was immediately seated on the throne, and his accession announced by a royal salute.

**She is forced to surrender.**

Claims were advanced by two nephews, sons of a deceased elder brother, who urged that, as their father, if alive, would have succeeded, they ought to inherit. This question had

attracted the attention of the Indian government; and, after reference to high authorities, as well as precedents (among which was that of the present king of Delhi), it was decided that, according to the principles of the Sonnee sect, a son cannot succeed to rights or property to which his father was heir, if he died before coming into actual possession. In this case, the inheritance goes to a brother. A curious contest also arose between the two princes, which was the eldest. One of them spent a considerable time in England, but without being able to obtain any attention either from parliament or from the Company.

CHAPTER  
XXI.  
A.D. 1888.  
A Moham-  
medan  
claimant  
comes to  
England.

We shall now enter into the details of the war in Afghanistan.

The revolutions in Afghanistan have been already noticed, which terminated in the dethronement and exile of Shah Soojah, who,

after a brief residence at the court of Lahore, became a pensioner on the bounty of the English government, and made the frontier town, Loodiana, his principal abode. Shah Mahmood, who expelled him, was equally unfit for the throne, to which he was elevated by the vizir Futteh Khan. He was menaced with danger from Persia, the monarch of which country claimed tribute from Herat. It was refused, and he advanced to besiege that city. The Afghan king sent his able vizir, Futteh Khan, Shah Mahmood and his vizir. to aid in its defence. The Persians were defeated with loss, but the Afghans gained no advantage; for being seized with a sudden panic, they abandoned the field, after they had achieved the victory. Futteh Khan effaced the memory of his services by seizing the person of the ruler of Herat, although he was the brother of his sovereign, by depriving him of the whole of his wealth, and by violating his harem while searching for concealed treasure. Prince Kamran, Shah Mahmood's eldest son, vowed revenge for the insult offered to his uncle; he watched his opportunity, seized the unfortunate vizir, and deprived him of sight. After a lapse of five or six months, Shah Mahmood followed up this cruelty, by putting to death the minister to whom he owed his crown.

The tragedy, which terminated the life of Futteh Khan, Barukzye,\* is, perhaps, without parallel in modern times. Blind and bound he was led into the court of Mahmood, where he had so lately ruled with absolute power. The king taunted him for

Kamran blinds  
Futteh  
Khan.  
A.D. 1818.

\* The Barukzye, or Barak Zai tribe, to which the vizir belonged, had long been regarded as the rivals of the Dooranee, or royal tribe, from which the Afghan monarchs were descended.

**CHAPTER XXI.**

**A.D. 1818.**

his crimes, and desired him to use his influence with his brothers, then in rebellion. He replied, with great fortitude, that he was now but a poor, blind man, and had no concern with affairs of state. Mahmood, irritated at his obstinacy, gave the last orders for his death, and this unfortunate man was deliberately cut to pieces by the nobles of the court ; joint was separated from joint, limb from limb, his nose and his ears were lopped off ; nor had the vital spark fled till the head was separated from the mangled body. Futeh Khan bore these cruel tortures without a sigh ; he stretched out his different limbs to those who thirsted for his blood, and exhibited the same cool indifference, the same reckless contempt for his own life, which he had so often shown for that of others. The bloody remains were gathered in a cloth and sent to Ghuznee, where they were interred.

The Barukzye family take up arms.

Mohammed Azeem Khan, a brother of the murdered vizir, had recourse to arms, and his first intention was to restore Shah Soojah. Shah Soojah might have re-ascended the throne ; but before Azeem Khan had reached Peshawur, he (Soojah) prematurely displayed his notions of royal authority, by insulting some friend of his benefactor, whom he considered to be encroaching on his dignity *by using a palanquin*. The Barukzye family took offence at such ill-timed pride, and Azeem Khan determined to place a compliant master on the throne. A favourable opportunity presented itself. Ayoob (or Job), a brother of Soojah, entered the camp of Azeem Khan, and sued for the throne as an abject slave. "Make me but king," he said, "permit money to be coined in my name, and the whole power and resources of the Afghan kingdom may rest with yourself ; my ambition will be satisfied with bread, and the title of king." This was the person the Barukzyes wanted, and his conditions were accepted.

Afghanistan is divided into small states.  
A.D. 1823.

Ayoob was a mere puppet ; Azeem Khan possessed the supremacy ; but on his death, in 1823, the country fell into confusion : a series of civil wars arose between his children and his numerous brothers, which ended in their parcelling out the empire into petty principalities. Herat, one of these principalities, however, remained in the possession of Shah Mahmood, and was long retained by his son Kamran. Ayoob, forced to become an exile, was supported by a pension from Runjeet Sing.

Although the Barukzye brothers never formed a perfect confederacy, they for the most part recognised the supremacy of Dost Mohammed, who, after having overthrown his nephew, took possession of Cabul. Next to him, the important rulers were

Shere Dil Khan, who took possession of Candahar, and Sultan Mohammed Khan, who established himself in Peshawur. Cashmeer was conquered by Runjeet Sing : and the province of Balkh was seized by the Sultan of Bokhara, while the Ameers of Scinde proclaimed their independence.

CHAPTER  
XXI.A.D. 1819.  
Cashmeer  
taken,  
June.

Dost Mohammed was the son of an inferior wife, and not regarded as of equal rank with his twenty brothers. His education was neglected ; and he is said not to have learned reading and writing until after his accession to power. When the death of Senafraz Khan left his mother without a protector, and Dost Mohammed a young orphan, she destined the boy to a menial situation in the mosque erected to the Afghan saint, Lamech. He took no share in the several revolutions organised by his active brother, Futteh Khan, which ended in the dethronement of Shah Zeman, the expulsion of Shah Soojah, and the elevation to royalty of Shah Mahmood, with Futteh Khan as vizir. On the second assumption of power by Shah Mahmood, he was advancing in youth, and was always about the person of his brother the vizir, rather as a dependent than a relative, serving him with wine and preparing his chillam. Events led the court to Peshawur, when Dost Mohammed brought himself into notice by an atrocious deed, which well marked the reckless and daring disposition of a true Afghan. Amongst the brothers of the vizir, Mohammed Azeem Khan, of nearly the same age, was distinguished by his dignified deportment and propriety of conduct in the administration of affairs. The vizir was so indifferent to his personal matters that frequently no dinner was prepared for him, and his horses were often without barley ; he was piqued at the better management of his brother, and annoyed when he heard him lauded. He imputed the prosperous condition of his establishment to the ability of the steward, Mirza Ali Khan, who had made a man of his brother. One day, exhilarated by wine, he exclaimed, "Would to God that some one would kill Mirza Ali, and deliver me from the dread of Mohammed Azeem Khan." Dost Mohammed, present, asked if he should kill the Mirza ; the vizir replied, "Yes, if you can." Next morning Dost Mohammed, in the bazaar of Peshawur, proceeded to pay his respects to Ali Khan, and accosted him with "How are you, Mirza ?" while he placed one hand upon his waist-shawl, and with the other thrust a dagger into his bosom. He immediately galloped off, not to the quarters of the vizir, but to the tent of Ibrahim Khan Jemsetjee, a Sirdar. Here he was within the circle of the royal tents, and it would have been indecorous to remove him. Mo-

CHAPTER  
XXI.  
A.D. 1825.

The  
Afghan  
treachery  
exemplified.

hammed Azeem Khan, incensed upon hearing of the catastrophe, vowed that nothing but Dost Mohammed's blood could atone for the murder, and sought the vizir. That profligate man expressed his regret, that a remark made by him should have caused the perpetration of a foul crime; but pointed out that the Mirza could not be recalled to life, that Dost Mohammed was still a brother, and could not be taken from his asylum.

Dost Mohammed obtained supreme power during the distractions that followed the dissolution of the Afghan monarchy; by his means the sturdy leaders of the Kohistan, were fully circumvented. One of the most cautious, Khoja Khanjee, of Karrezaee, was nearly the only one who remained, and he rejected every overture, and refused to attend the camp of the Sirdar. It was felt by Dost Mohammed, that nothing was done while Khoja Khanjee remained; and he redoubled his exertions to ensnare him. He sent Koran after Koran; engaged to marry his daughter; but the old chieftain was not enticed from his castle. The Khoja, like other men, had enemies. The chief most inimical to him, was in attendance upon Dost Mohammed, who, as a means of winning the confidence of the Khoja, put his enemy to death, claiming the merit of having proved the sincerity of his desire to become friendly with him, at the risk of incurring disgrace in the eyes of the world. The murder took place at Baiyan, and Dost Mohammed invited the Khoja to meet him, and cement their friendly understanding, at the castle of his former foe. The Khoja was now overcome, and repaired to Baiyan with a numerous retinue. Dost Mohammed received him with a thousand protestations of friendship, and addressed the old man as his father. At night, Dost Mohammed took the hand of the Khoja, and led him within the castle, that he might witness the preparation of an inventory of the effects of the slain. As soon as the castle was entered, the gates were closed, and as the Khoja passed into an apartment, said to be the Tosha Khana, Dost Mohammed gave the word, in Turkee, to his attendants, who cut the victim down. His head was thrown from the battlements amongst his followers. In the first transports of their indignation, they commenced an attack upon the castle; but disunited and disconcerted, they retired before morning. Dost Mohammed was left at leisure to rejoice in his victory, and the triumph of his dexterity, by which he proved that he was a true Afghan in principle and action.

His power, thus erected on the basis of fraud and overreaching, was always liable to be destroyed by the same weapons. Had

he been born to legitimate power, his talents would have had a fair field for their development and exercise, and he might have been spared the commission of many enormities. In youth he had been dissipated, and prone to the vices of the country; when Master of Cabul, he abjured wine and pleasure. In matters where political questions were not involved, he was fair and impartial; free from haughtiness, and accessible to all. By his vigilant administration of the country, crimes became few, for people ceased to commit them, fearful they should be called to account.

CHAPTER  
XXI.  
A.D. 1832.

It was not in the power of Dost Mohammed Khan to repress the ambition of his brothers, or the turbulence of the Afghan chiefs, especially as he was prevented by the war with the Sikhs, and the repeated attempts of Shah Soojah to recover the crown. At the beginning of the year 1836, Cabul was in a state of Anarchy at Cabul. Dost Mohammed could think of no better mode of insuring tranquillity, than by treacherously seizing all the chiefs whom he suspected of intriguing against him. This design was defeated by his taking as his adviser their chief agent, who, of course, revealed his intentions to the chiefs. It would be tedious to enter into the detail of Dost Mohammed's plans for the destruction of his brothers, or of their machinations against him. The condition of Afghanistan in 1836, was fearful.

The large force the Ameer, as the Dost was also entitled, His levying money causes revolts. deemed it advisable to keep up, pressed heavily upon his finances. No opportunity was neglected of seizing property; and extreme dissatisfaction prevailed. An effort made to increase the revenues derived from the Ghilzie districts of Ghuznee, threw them into insurrection, and the Ghilzie districts of Cabul were on the verge of revolt. In both instances the Ameer gained a trifle, notwithstanding the Ghuznee Ghilzies defeated his troops. In the autumn, his son, Akbar Khan, marched into Taghow, and after some severe fighting, in which men of consideration were slain, possessed himself of the valley. Here tribute was enforced. Many of the troops employed in this expedition, went provided with barats, or orders for their pay, drawn out in anticipation. Such orders are described as being on the stag's antlers, meaning that the stag must first be caught.

In such a state of affairs, it was difficult to resist such active enemies as the Sikhs; and Runjeet Sing having crossed the Indus, made himself master of Peshawur, which had belonged to the sultan, Mohammed Khan, an elder brother of Dost Mohammed. attack him.

CHAPTER  
XXI.

A.D. 1835.  
Kamran's  
rule at  
Herat.

Events more perilous to the peace of central Asia, occurred in other quarters.

We have mentioned that one branch of the royal family of Afghanistan had retained possession of Herat. When Kamran assumed the sceptre in that city, he was daunted by the success of the Persian prince, Abbas Mirza, and consented to become a tributary to the Shah of Persia, and to raze his strong fortress of Ghoriah on the frontiers of Khorasan. The death of Abbas Mirza, which was soon followed by that of his father, Futteh Ali Shah, exposed Persia to the hazard of civil war, which was averted by the prompt interference of the English. The confusion appeared to Kamran a favourable opportunity for evading the fulfilment of his engagements: he refused to demolish Ghorian; or to permit the Persian families in Herat to return to their homes; and to pay the tribute. He went farther, and allowed his vizir to invade Khorasan, and to carry away twelve thousand persons, who were sold as slaves. Such was the aspect of affairs when the English envoy, Mr. Ellis arrived at Teheran on a mission of condolence to the king of Persia. He found the young Persian king, Mohammed Shah, bent on attacking Herat, to punish the perfidy of Kamran, and disposed to extend his claims to Ghuznee and Candahar, which had formed part of the Persian monarchy in the time of Nadir Shah.

Persia in-  
fluenced by  
Russia.

The causes of war against the prince of Herat were not to be denied; but it was felt that serious interests would be endangered by the approach of the Shah of Persia, either in the way of direct conquest, or by the admission of his right of dominion to the frontiers of India. Such an event would unsettle the minds of the Mussulman population throughout the Peninsula, and awaken a dangerous fanaticism. There were, moreover, considerations still more serious; Mr. Ellis found the Russian influence predominant in the councils of Persia, and the Russian ambassador, Count Simonich, anxious to precipitate the march of the Shah's army on Herat. There was reason to believe that the Persians would be the advanced guard of the Russians, who would thus be brought into proximity with the most exposed frontier of British India.

Dost  
Moham-  
med leans  
to Persia.

The Barukzye brothers were at this time alarmed by the progress and victories of the Sikhs, and they hated Shah Kamran as the bitter enemy of their family. They were anxious to secure the friendship of Persia, though they professed that they would rather gain their objects by the intervention of the British

government. No effort had been made by the authorities in India, to mediate between the Sikhs and Afghans, whose wars at a distance from the English frontiers, had excited but little attention. The hatred, however, which the Afghans and other Mohammedans bear to the Sikhs is so intense, that any war between them ought to be carefully observed, lest it lead to outbursts of Mohammedan enthusiasm. Dost Mohammed's inclination to form an alliance with Persia, was not wholly caused by his dread of the Sikhs. By his mother's side he was descended from the Persian tribes, which had been sent to colonize Afghanistan in the reign of Nadir-Shah ; they are called Kuzzilbashes, that is, "Red-heads," from their retaining the cap which forms part of their costume ; and they follow the Shahi form of the Mohammedan faith, in opposition to the Afghans, who are strongly attached to the Sonnee creed. His connection with these tribes, disposed Dost Mohammed to form a Persian alliance, and, in the state of the court of Teheran, it was scarcely possible to negotiate an alliance, without also entering into diplomatic relations with Russia.

The attempt which Shah Soojah made to recover his throne, in 1834, was believed at Cabul to have been favoured by the English authorities. Its failure was not expected at Calcutta, and there is no doubt that many subordinate officers gave the English negotiation west of the Indus. Shah assistance. But, notwithstanding these suspicions, Dost Mohammed sought the interference of the British to prevent the encroachments of the Sikhs, and made a strong application to Lord Auckland. The Governor-General resolved to embrace the opportunity of opening negotiations with the countries west of the Indus, and to secure to British merchants the free navigation of that river. He therefore sent Captain Burnes, on a mission to Cabul.

The Afghan chiefs, however, could not appreciate the advantages of a commercial treaty. They were willing that the English should mediate between them and the Sikhs ; and they felt grateful for the acknowledgment of the independence of the Barukzyes, which had been obtained from Shah Kamran, in return for his being secured against the attacks of Persia. Captain Burnes reached Cabul in September, 1837, when recent events appeared to give him the power of accomplishing the objects of his mission with little difficulty, for Dost Mohammed was anxious to recover Peshawur from the Sikhs.

It is now known that Dost Mohammed, having an agent named Vicovich at his court, was secretly negotiating with

Captain  
Burnes at  
Cabul.

**CHAPTER XXI.**

**A.D. 1837.** The Persian king sends an army to Herat.  
Mr. M'Neil quits Persia.

**A.D. 1838.** Karrak occupied.

**Herat well defended.**

**The Persians repulsed.** Siege raised, Sept. 9.

the Persians and the Russians, and that the Persian king, Shah Mohammed, was slowly advancing on Herat, with the prospect of being joined by the Barukzye brothers. In December, 1837, the Persian army laid siege to Herat, and the Russian emissary Vicovich, made his appearance in Cabul, where he was received with studied attention. Mr. M'Neill, the English envoy in Persia, offered to mediate between the Persian monarch and the ruler of Herat, but the Russian ambassador counteracted his exertions, and the siege was continued. The envoy soon after quitted that country, and an expedition was sent from Bombay to occupy the island of Karrak, lying off the harbour of Bushire; the island was occupied on the 19th of June, 1838. Herat was vigorously defended; the Persians lay several months before the walls, and did not hazard an assault until they had battered the city for six days with an incessant fire from forty pieces of cannon. When the signal for attack was made, the Persians planted their standards three several times upon the breach, but were unable to maintain that position. The Afghans attacked them, sword in hand, and drove them across the ditch. The loss of the assailants amounted to nearly two thousand men, including a number of officers. More than three-fourths were found to have fallen by sabre wounds. The preservation of Herat was owing, in a great degree, to the abilities and valour of Lieutenant Pottinger, who happened to be present; he taught the Afghans how to resist the military arts of the besiegers, and he thwarted the attempts of the Russian agents to excite dissensions in the garrison.

Such was the situation of affairs in Persia and Cabul, when the Indian government deemed it necessary to interfere. The principles by which such an interference was justified are laid down in a manifesto issued by Lord Auckland from Simla, as follows:

Oct. 1.  
Lord  
Auckland's  
grand  
manifesto.

1. The Right Honourable the Governor-General of India having, with the concurrence of the Supreme Council, directed the assemblage of a British force for service across the Indus, his lordship deems it proper to publish the following exposition of the reasons which have led to this important measure.
2. It is a matter of notoriety that the treaties entered into by the British Government in the year 1832, with the Amirs of Sind, the Nawab of Bahawalpore, and Maharajah Ranjeet Sing, had for their object, by opening the navigation of the Indus, to facilitate the extension of commerce, and to gain for the British nation, in Central Asia, that legitimate influence which an interchange of benefits would naturally produce.
3. With a view to invite the aid of the *de facto* rulers of Afghanistan to the measures necessary for giving full effect to those treaties, Captain Burnes was deputed, towards the close of the year 1836, on a mission to Dost Mohammed Khan, the

Chief of Cabul. The original objects of that officer's mission were purely of a commercial nature. 4. Whilst Captain Burnes, however, was on his journey to Cabul, information was received by the Governor General that the troops of Dost Mohammed Khan had made a sudden and unprovoked attack on those of our ancient ally, Maharajah Runjeet Sing. It was naturally to be apprehended that his highness the Maharajah, would not be slow to avenge this aggression; and it was to be feared that the flames of war mission ; being once kindled in the very regions into which we were endeavouring to extend our commerce, the peaceful and beneficial purposes of the British government would be altogether frustrated. In order to avert a result so calamitous, the Governor-General resolved on authorizing Captain Burnes to intimate to Dost Mohammed Khan that, if he should evince a disposition to come to just and reasonable terms with the Maharajah, his lordship would exert his good offices with his highness for the restoration of an amicable understanding between the two powers. The Maharajah, with the characteristic confidence which he has uniformly placed in the faith and friendship of the British nation, at once assented to the proposition of the Governor-General, to the effect that, in the meantime, hostilities on his part should be suspended. 5. It subsequently came to the knowledge of the Governor-General, that a Persian army was besieging Herat; that intrigues were actively prosecuted throughout Afghanistan, for the purpose of extending Persian influence and authority to the banks of, and even beyond, the Indus; and that the court of Persia had not only commenced a course of injury and insult to the officers of Her Majesty's mission in the Persian territory, but had afforded evidence of being engaged in designs wholly at variance with the principles and objects of its alliance with Great Britain. 6. After much time spent by Captain Burnes in fruitless negotiation at Cabul, it appeared that Dost Mohammed Khan, chiefly in consequence of his reliance upon Persian encouragement and assistance, persisted, as respected his misunderstanding with the Sikhs, in using the most unreasonable pretensions, such as the Governor-General could not, consistently with justice and his regard for the friendship of Maharajah Runjeet Sing, be the channel of submitting to the consideration of his highness; that he avowed schemes of aggrandizement and ambition, injurious to the security and peace of the frontiers of India; and that he openly threatened, in furtherance of those schemes, to call in every foreign aid which he could command. Ultimately, he gave his undisguised support to the Persian designs in Afghanistan, of the unfriendly and injurious character of which, as concerned the British power in India, he was well apprised, and by his utter disregard of the views and interests of the British government, compelled Captain Burnes to leave Cabul without having effected any of the objects of his mission. 7. It was now evident that no further interference could be exercised by the British government, to bring about a good understanding between the Sikh ruler and Dost Mohammed Khan; and the hostile policy of the latter chief showed too plainly that, so long as Cabul remained under his government, we could never hope that the tranquillity of our neighbourhood would be secured, or that the interests of our Indian empire would be preserved inviolate. 8. The Governor-General deems it in this place necessary to revert to the siege of Herat, and the conduct of the Persian nation. The siege of that city has now been carried on by the Persian army for many months. The attack upon it was a

CHAPTER  
XXI.  
A.D. 1838.  
Details given of Burnes' mission ;  
attack on Herat ;  
of the Afghans being influenced by Persia ;  
of the gallant defence of Herat.

## CHAPTER

## XXI.

—  
A.D. 1838.

of the  
dangers  
from  
Persia;

of the  
rightful  
claims of  
Shah  
Soojah.

Shah  
Soojah  
to be  
supported.

most unjustifiable and cruel aggression, perpetrated and continued, notwithstanding the solemn and repeated remonstrances of the British envoy at the court of Persia, and after every just and becoming offer of accommodation had been made and rejected. The besieged have behaved with gallantry and fortitude worthy of the justice of their cause, and the Governor-General would yet indulge the hope that their heroism may enable them to maintain a successful defence, until succours shall reach them from British India. In the meantime, the ulterior designs of Persia, affecting the interests of the British government, have been, by a succession of events, more and more openly manifested. The Governor General has recently ascertained, by an official despatch from Mr. M'Neil, Her Majesty's envoy, that his excellency has been compelled, by the refusal of his just demands, and by a systematic course of disrespect adopted towards him by the Persian government, to quit the court of the Shah, and to make a public declaration of the cessation of all intercourse between the two governments. The necessity under which Great Britain is placed, of regarding the present advance of the Persian arms into Afghanistan, as an act of hostility towards herself, has also been officially communicated to the Shah, under the express order of Her Majesty's government. 9. The chiefs of Candahar (brothers of Dost Mohammed Khan of Cabul) have avowed their adherence to the Persian policy, with the same full knowledge of its opposition to the rights and interests of the British nation in India, and have been openly assisting in the operations against Herat. 10. In the crisis of affairs consequent upon the retirement of our envoy from Cabul, the Governor-General felt the importance of taking immediate measures for arresting the rapid progress of foreign intrigue and aggression towards our own territories. 11. His attention was naturally drawn, at this conjuncture, to the position and claims of Shah Soojah-ool-Mookl, a monarch who, when in power, had cordially acceded to the measures of united resistance to external enmity, which were at that time judged necessary by the British government, and who, on his empire being usurped by its present rulers, had found an honourable asylum in the British dominions. 12. It had been clearly ascertained, from the information furnished by the various officers who have visited Afghanistan, that the Barukzye Chiefs, from their disunion and unpopularity, were ill fitted, under any circumstances, to be useful allies to the British government, and to aid us in our just and necessary measures of national defence. Yet, so long as they refrained from proceedings injurious to our interest and security, the British government acknowledged and respected their authority. But a different policy appeared to be now more than justified by the conduct of those chiefs, and to be indispensable to our own safety. The welfare of our possessions in the East requires that we should have on our western frontier, an ally who is interested in resisting aggression, and establishing tranquillity, in the place of chiefs ranging themselves in subservience to a hostile power, and seeking to promote schemes of conquest and aggrandizement. 13. After a serious and mature deliberation, the Governor-General was satisfied that a pressing necessity, as well as every consideration of policy and justice, warranted us espousing the cause of Shah Soojah-ool-Mookl, whose popularity throughout Afghanistan had been proved to his lordship by the strong and unanimous testimony of the best authorities. Having arrived at this determination, the Governor-General was further of opinion, that it was just and proper, no

less from the position of Maharajah Runjeet Sing, than from his undeviating friendship towards the British government, that his highness should have the offer of becoming a party to the contemplated operations. Mr. M'Naghten was accordingly deputed in June last to the court of his highness, and the result of his mission has been the conclusion of a tripartite treaty, by the British government, the Maharajah, and Shah Soojah-ool-Mook, whereby his highness is guaranteed in his present possessions, and has bound himself to co-operate for the restoration of the Shah to the throne of his ancestors. The friends and enemies of any one of the contracting parties, have been declared to be the friends and enemies of all. Various points have been adjusted, which had been the subjects of discussion between the British government and his highness the Maharajah, the identity of whose interests with those of the honourable Company, has now been made apparent to all the surrounding states. A guaranteed independence will, upon favourable conditions, be tendered to the Amirs of Scinde; and the integrity of Herat, in the possession of its present ruler, will be fully respected; while by the other measures completed, or in progress, it may reasonably be hoped that the conditions general freedom and security of commerce will be promoted; that the name and just influence of the British government will gain their proper footing among the natives of Central Asia, that tranquillity will be established upon the most important frontier of India; and that a lasting barrier will be raised against intrigue and encroachment. 14. His majesty Shah Soojah ool-Mook, will enter Afghanistan surrounded by his own troops, and will be supported against foreign interference, and factious opposition, by a British army. The Governor-General confidently hopes that the Shah will be speedily replaced on his throne by his own subjects and adherents, and when once he shall be secured in power, and the independence and integrity of Afghanistan established, the British army will be withdrawn. The Governor-General has been led to these measures, by the duty which is imposed upon him of providing for the security of the possessions of the British crown; but he rejoices that, in the discharge of this duty, he will be enabled to assist in restoring the union and prosperity of the Afghan people. Throughout the approaching operations, British influence will be sedulously employed to further every measure of general benefit; to reconcile differences; to secure oblivion of injuries; and to put an end to the distractions by which, for so many years, the welfare and happiness of the Afghans have been impaired. Even to the chiefs, whose hostile proceedings have given just cause of offence to the British government, it will seek to secure liberal and honourable treatment, on their tendering early submission; and ceasing from opposition to that course of measures, which may be judged the most suitable for the general advantage of their country.

A tripartite treaty was concluded, between the British government, Runjeet Sing and Shah Soojah, whereby the Maharajah of the Sikhs, was confirmed in his possessions, and bound to co-operate in the restoration of the Shah. It was also resolved to tender a guaranteed independence to the rulers of Scinde, and to leave Herat under the government of Kamran. Shah Soojah was to levy an army of his own, but was to be supported by a British

CHAPTER  
XXI.  
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A.D. 1838.

Offers
of good
treatment
made
to the
Afghans.

A.D. 1838.
June 26.
British
treaty with
Runjeet
Sing and
Shah
Soojah.

**CHAPTER
XXI.**

A.D. 1838.
The
Bombay
army
moves up
the Indus.
Sir John
Keane
commands
it.

force, until his restoration was effected and the security of his dominions established. Two corps of the army were prepared ; one from Bombay was to ascend the Indus, and enforce, if necessary the co-operation of the rulers of Scinde, while another from Bengal was to descend by the left bank of the Sutledge so as to form a junction with the Bombay division, at Shikarpore, a town containing about 6,000 houses and 30,000 inhabitants. It was then a place of much resort, between Rohree and Dadur, near the entrance to the Bolan pass.

The news of the raising of the siege of Herat, and the retreat of the Shah of Persia reached the Governor-General, and led to some changes. It was resolved, that only a portion of the Bengal force should be sent forward, and that the command of the entire expedition, should be given to Sir John Keane, the chief of the Bombay division. At the same time, a personal interview took place between the Governor-General and Runjeet Sing, which was conducted with extraordinary magnificence, and tended to secure for the expedition, active aid from that energetic sovereign.

A.D. 1839.
Kurrachee
taken,
Feb. 2.

Treaty
with the
Ameers.

The Bengal
division
comes down
by the
Sutledge
under
General
Nott.

The army
at Shikar-
pore.

It soon appeared that the rulers of Scinde were unwilling to fulfil their stipulations, and to permit the march of a European force through their territory ; it was, therefore, necessary to force a passage. A strong division marched upon Hyderabad, the appearance of which soon induced the Ameers to succumb. This was followed by the capture of Kurrachee, the chief seaport of Scinde, which so terrified them, that they submitted to a new treaty, agreeing to make an immediate payment of 300,000*l.*; to maintain an auxiliary force of 4,000 men, under the command of British officers ; to pay a tribute amounting to nearly one-half of their revenue ; and to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Company, to whom their sovereign, Shah Soojah, had resigned it.

In the meantime, the Bengal division pursued its course along the Sutledge, until it reached Bhawulpore. In pursuance of a treaty with the Ameers, possession was obtained of the fortress of Bukkur, where a bridge of boats was constructed, for the passage of the Bengal army over the Indus, and upon the 14th of February, General Nott had the honour of leading the first body of disciplined Bengal troops, to the opposite banks of this noble river, with all the "pride, pomp, and circumstance" of military progress.

Towards the beginning of March, the whole army assembled at Shikarpore, and soon began to thread its way through the

difficult country leading to the Bolan pass. Here their sufferings commenced ; the wild tribes of Beloochees, who could never be got to attack them in front, hung upon the flanks and rear of the army, sweeping off the camels and the baggage. These marauders were well-mounted, and carried sometimes a sabre in each hand, in addition to their daggers, bucklers and guns. One of their means of defence, was to inundate the country, by damming up the rivers, so that the troops were forced to march through the water, until they came to the dykes. Their progress was also impeded by the dense jungles which they were obliged to clear for their encampments.

It was in the passage of the defiles of the Bolan pass, that their hardships really began ; as the Bengal column entered them on the evening of the 18th of March. Although the heat in the plain which they had left was intolerable, a hurricane of snow swept over the Bolan, and the way was encumbered with great fragments of rock ; the troops were compelled to abandon their tents, together with the greater number of their camels, to the wild robbers who hovered day and night on their flanks. The principal promoter of these outrages was Mehrab Khan, the chief of the strong fortress of Khelat, who instigated the plundering tribes to assault and murder the followers of the army, at the same time that he was ostensibly negotiating a treaty with the representative of the British government.

On the 26th of March, the army reached Quetta, where, from the want of provisions, the soldiers were placed on limited allowance. As they advanced towards Candahar, the want of water caused the death of nearly sixty horses ; but fortunately, when their distress was at the highest, a supply of water and forage was discovered at the Doree river.

The scene which ensued there was most appalling. The moment the horses saw the water, they made a sudden rush into the river, as if mad ; both men and horses drank till they nearly burst themselves. Officers declare that their tongues cleaved to the roof of their mouths ; the water was very brackish, which induced them to drink the more. The river was three feet deep, and more in some places, and was five or six miles off the proper road.

Candahar having been abandoned by the Barukzye chiefs, was occupied by the British troops, and the army halted for some weeks in its vicinity, to recover from its recent fatigue. The Commander-in-chief addressed the soldiers, and gave a lively description of the difficulties. "The engineers had to make roads,

CHAPTER
XXI.
A.D. 1839.
The
Beloochees
obstruct
the passage
through the
Bolan.

CHAPTER XXI. and occasionally, in some extraordinary steep mountain passes, over which no wheeled carriage had ever passed. This was a work requiring science, and much severe labour; but so well has it been done, that the progress of the army was in no manner impeded. The heavy and light ordnance were alike taken over in safety, by the exertion and good spirit of the artillery, in which they were most cheerfully and ably assisted by the troops, both European and native, and in a manner which gave the whole proceeding the appearance, that each man was working for a favourite object of his own."

**Shah
Soojah
installed.
May 8.**

During the delay at Candahar, the ceremony of Shah Soojah's installation was performed. The whole of the British army (Bengal and Bombay) amounting to about seven thousand five hundred men, was drawn up in line, at the dawn of day, in front of the city of Candahar to the north. A platform, or throne, was erected in the midst of an extensive plain. At sunrise, the guns of the palace announced the Shah's departure from the palace. On his ascending the throne, a salvo was discharged from one hundred and one pieces of artillery. Sir J. Keane, and the Envoy and minister at his court, offered presents on behalf of the British government, and then the officers, British and Native, in the King's service, offered *nuzzurs* (presents). The "army of the Indus" then marched round, in front of the throne.

**Ghuznee
stormed.**

On the 27th of June, the army advanced from Candahar, to assail the celebrated fortress of Ghuznee. The fort, which looked formidable, with its fortifications rising upon the side of a hill, Sir John Keane found much stronger than he had anticipated; it was surrounded with a ditch and a high wall, flanked by towers and protected by a citadel. There was no heavy artillery suitable for sieges, with the army, and the garrison seemed decided on making a resolute defence. A heavy fire was opened on the British troops, as soon as they came within range of the guns. It was resolved to take it by storm, and the whole of the 22nd was spent in making preparations. By three o'clock the next morning, the detachments were all at their respective posts, and the guns, chiefly field-pieces, in position at points which commanded the eastern face, as well as the Cabul gate of the fortress. So secretly were these proceedings conducted, that not a single shot was fired by the Afghans until they were aroused from their security by a feigned attack on the opposite quarter. The storming party under Colonel Dennie, then marched up to the Cabul gate, where they opened a fire upon

July 23.

the ramparts and parapets which commanded the entrance, whilst Captains Thompson and Peat attached the bags of powder to the gates. These exploding, burst the gates open, and before the defenders could recover from their astonishment, the gallant Colonel Dennie, at the head of the storming party, rushed into the town. As at Herat, so here; the Afghans disputed the ground, inch by inch, hand to hand, with pistol, dagger and sabre. The darkness was more favourable to the assailants, than to the besieged: every street was strewn with the slain; out of the garrison, which consisted originally of three thousand five hundred men, more than five hundred were killed within the walls, and fifty men fell in the defence of a single fortified house. "There was a heap of straw here," says an eye-witness, "some stray shot struck it, a moving was observed, a shower of balls was poured in, the straw fired, only one man escaped, and he was shot close to the burning mass. This house was the residence of the Governor, Hyder Khan, a son of Dost Mohammed, and the females of the principal people of the place were collected here. They became prisoners, and were treated with respect." The centre square exhibited a scene of blood and confusion; horses, many wounded, were kicking and biting, and running furious at every one they saw; so dangerous had these animals become, that the men were obliged to shoot them in self-defence, as they endangered the lives of all, and particularly of the wounded men. Before sunrise, the British banners were waving from the citadel. Protection was granted to the women, and to such of the garrison as laid down their arms. Hyder Khan, a son of Dost Mohammed was among the prisoners.

Hyder
Khan
taken
prisoner.

The capture of one of the strongest places in Asia, with such apparent ease, made a deep impression on the minds of the Afghans. Dost Mohammed, believing that the fortress would keep the English for some time, was proceeding towards the capital with his cavalry and a park of artillery; but when the news of the fall of Ghuznee arrived, his army dispersed, apparently in despair.

While Sir John Keane was advancing leisurely towards Cabul, through the rich valley between Ghuznee and that city, Colonel Wade was making his way forward to that capital, through the formidable Khyber Pass. The Khyber Pass is about twenty-eight miles in extent. From the entrance on the Peshawur side it is seven miles to Ali Musjid, from which it is two miles to Lalibeg Ghuree, a valley which is about six miles long, and one and a quarter broad; hence is the Pass of Lundeekhana; in fact,

The army
advances to
Cabul.

Colonel
Wade's
column
passes
through the
Khyber.
June 22-27.

CHAPTER XXI. excepting the valley, the rest of the Pass, or for twenty-two miles, can be commanded by Jinjals (wall-pieces), or even by the mountain rifle (Juzzail) fired with a rest, and in many places by the common musket. The road being stony, the movements of troops with guns is necessarily slow. The first four miles, after the entrance to the Pass, the road is contracted, and the hills on each side, are nearly perpendicular ; to the left, two miles up the Pass, there is a road which leads up to the top of the hills. The Pass widens after the third mile, but still the road is exposed to a fire from either side. At about five and a half miles is the town of Jaghir on the right, which could fire on any enemy moving by either road. From this tower, Ali Musjid is one and a half mile ; on the left is the range of hills by which one ascends to the fort ; on the right is the hill which runs parallel to, and which is commanded by the fort. The range of hills to the left leads to the cantonment of the Khyberees ; that of Choorah is about eight miles from the fort ; that of Teerah seven or eight marches off. The town of Jaghir was filled with the enemy. The fort contained a considerable garrison. There were breast-works thrown up on the hills : so that it was necessary to move on slowly, and at each halt to stockade the troops, as well as to protect the position.

Death of
Runjeet
Sing.
June 30.

The death of Runjeet Sing created some difficulties in the management of the auxiliary Sikhs, who acted under Colonel Wade ; but he steadily pressed onwards, and easily made himself master of Ali Musjid, on the 27th of July. The garrison evacuated it, after a very slight resistance. Colonel Wade reached Cabul on the 3rd of September.

The army
reaches
Cabul,
Aug. 6.

On the 6th of August, "the army of the Indus," after a march of more than fifteen hundred miles, reached its destination at Cabul, and on the following evening, Shah Soojah made his entry into his capital. Dost Mohammed, abandoned his baggage and artillery, and fled with a few followers over the Hazareh mountains into Bokhara. He was pursued by some British troops, under the guidance of an Afghan, who led them a "wild-goose chace."

Disturbed
districts
subdued.

In order to follow out the conquest, Major Outram was sent into certain disturbed districts, between Cabul and Candahar, to tranquillize the disaffected Ghilzie tribes, which had not yet acknowledged Shah Soojah. Nor was the treachery of the Khan of Khelat forgotten ; General Willshire, led a strong detachment against his fortress. After some smart skirmishes in the neighbourhood of Khelat, the besiegers resolved to adopt the same

course of tactics which had proved so successful at Ghuznee CHAPTER XXI.
A storming party succeeded in blowing open the gate, and made their way into the town, the enemy disputed every inch of ground up to the walls of the inner citadel. After a sharp struggle, the troops forced an entrance into the last stronghold of the capital of Beloochistan. A desperate defence was made there by Mehrab Khan in person, and he with several of his chiefs fell. With his death all resistance ceased.

After leaving a detachment for the protection of Shah Soojah, Shah Soojah enthroned. the main body of the troops returned home by the route of the Khyber Pass and Peshawur, and were rewarded by a liberal distribution of honours and pensions. Shah Soojah instituted an order of knighthood on the occasion.

During this campaign, menacing appearances on the part of the Nepaulese and Burmese seemed to threaten wars on the north and eastern frontiers of India; but the fall of Ghuznee induced the chiefs of both nations to abstain from any attack. Rumours were rife of a plot having been formed, for a general insurrection of the Native princes throughout India, which excited alarm in Calcutta. Whether true or false, they led to the dethronement of a prince who was indebted for his sovereignty to English generosity. The Rajah of Sattara, as mentioned in a former chapter, having been drawn from the prison in which the Mah-ratta chiefs held him, and having been invested with that sovereignty, on condition of his being guided by the advice of the British Resident, and holding no intercourse with foreign states through any other channel, was found to have violated this engagement, and even to have taken a share in hostile negotiations. Yet, he was offered a continued enjoyment of power, provided he would renounce unfriendly measures, and dismiss the minister who was supposed to have prompted them.* Having refused to comply, he was seized, and Appah Sahib his brother, placed on the throne. Slight disturbances also took place at Poonah. At Hyderabad, a serious conspiracy was formed among thirty or forty leading men, headed by the Nizam's brother, a proud and daring chief; but, being discovered, it was baffled, and the prince conveyed to the fort of Golconda. During the investigation which followed, the Nabob of Kurnoul, a place situated about one hundred and twenty miles farther south, was found implicated. A force marched to reduce that town, which

The Rajah of Sattara removed, and his brother made ruler.

Dec. 7.

Conspiracy in the Deccan.

* Sir James R. Carnac the Governor of Bombay, went to Sattara to point out the futility of the Rajah's acts, and to request him to observe good faith.

CHAPTER XXI. was entered without opposition, and the Nabob was pursued and captured after a sharp conflict. Within the fortress were found

A.D. 1840. Troubles at Kurnoul. and at Joudpore suppressed. a number of well-constructed furnaces, in which cannon and shot had been cast on a large scale, and in forms fitted not for defence only, but for active proceedings in the field. These preparations had been secretly carried on for a considerable time. The Rajah of Joudpore, after yielding in 1834, to all the demands of the Governor-General, had evaded their fulfilment, and now showed himself refractory. Six regiments, with cavalry and artillery, were sent against him ; he abandoned his stronghold, which was entered without resistance. Thus the troubles brooded in many quarters were crushed, and British ascendancy was fully established throughout Hindostan.

Aden taken. **A.D. 1839.** **Jan. 22.** The possession of the fortress of Aden, at the entrance of the Red Sea, was deemed necessary to the completion of the plans for a regular steam-communication between England and India, on account of its convenient position as a station ; a treaty for its surrender was therefore concluded with the Sultan, which was signed both by him and the Abdallah chiefs. Notwithstanding these arrangements, the Sultan's nephew resisted an English expedition, sent to take possession of the town. A combat ensued, which was of short duration, but vigorously maintained ; it ended in the defeat of the Arabs, on the 22nd of January, 1839 ; but several months passed before the tribes in the neighbourhood could be induced to abstain from hostilities.

Shah Soojah not settled. Although the prowess of British arms obtained for Shah Soojah possession of the throne of Afghanistan, it soon became obvious that it would be impossible for him to retain possession of it without European protection. The Afghans, who are among the most bigoted of the Mohammedan races, asserted that he had sold his nation to the Feringhees (foreigners)—that he was a traitor to his country, and a renegade to his religion. One influential nobleman, Syed Hossein, chief of Kooner, sent an insulting letter to the king, upbraiding him with his apostacy, and declaring that if the Russians were on their march, it was his intention to join them. Such an insult could not be passed over, and Sir Willoughby Cotton, who commanded one division of the force returning to India, despatched Colonel Orchard with a strong detachment to attack the fort of Pushoot, where the Kooner chief resided. The soldiers suffered severely from the weather ; rain fell in torrents, and the snow on the neighbouring hills rendered the cold so intense, that the men's limbs became quite benumbed. On arriving before the fortress, the Colonel com-

Colonel Orchard at Pooshut.

menced operations by battering down the gate with cannon ; the soldiers were on the point of rushing in, when they discovered a second gate and a second wall, from which a murderous fire was opened. The British, unable to return this fire with effect, as their muskets and ammunition had suffered from the rain, were obliged to retire. After some delay, an attempt was made to blow open the inner gate, but the powder was too damp to explode. It was then resolved to renew the assault on the following morning. Syed Hossein evacuated the place during the night, and on the 18th of January, 1840, it was occupied. The continued rain and the deep mud prevented any pursuit of the insurgent chief, which was unfortunate, as his escape gave encouragement to the disaffected throughout the country.

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A.D. 1840.
Jan. 18.

Dost Mohammed at first despaired of recovering his power ; but the unpopularity of Shah Soojah revived his hopes, and the intelligence that the Russians were advancing upon Khiva, led him to hope that he would obtain from them an auxiliary force. He laboured diligently to form a confederacy of the Mohammedan powers, north and west of Afghanistan, for the purpose of expelling the Feringhee infidels from Central Asia. The king of Bokhara affected to enter warmly into the project, and invited Dost Mohammed to his court. He accepted the invitation, but soon had reason to suspect the sincerity of the Bokhara monarch, whose object was simply to seize and imprison Dost Mohammed and his family, until he had extorted from them their valuable jewels. Dost Mohammed refused to allow his family to follow him, which so enraged the king of Bokhara that he threw his guest into prison, and would have put him to death but for the active interference of the Khan of Kokan. The king of Bokhara refused to relinquish his prisoner, who would have been sacrificed at the first opportunity, had he not contrived to make his escape in the Afghan fashion.—Dost Mohammed, who was confined in a small mosque, succeeded in bribing an Uzbek guide to procure a good horse, which he posted a few miles from the city, and to remain himself close by for the purpose of shewing the way. He then assumed the Uzbek dress, and finding an opportunity of joining his conductor, who was ready and mounted in the thronged bazaar, jumped up behind him. The Dost and the Uzbek trotted unnoticed through the city, and reached the spot where the other horse was stationed. In a few days he discovered that the animal had become lame, and, dreading the chance of being detected, and unable from that circumstance to accomplish his own deliverance, he thought it more safe to have

His escape
from
Bokhara.

CHAPTER XXI. recourse to an inferior steed, which was sound in wind and limb.

A.D. 1840. He changed with his guide. Proceeding onwards, the Uzbek, who had obtained the bribe, repented of his undertaking, and, apprehensive of the consequences, considered in what way he might avert any punishment. He was not long in forming the scheme of getting the ex-ruler back to Bokhara, and delivering him up. Next day he fell in with a few horsemen, with whom he entered into conversation about Dost Mohammed and the Feringhees ; and finding they were enemies of his charge, he said to them, " Perhaps you would like to gain a prize. Do you see that horseman ? that is Dost Mohammed, who has just escaped from prison at Bokhara," pointing to the Cabui chief, a few hundred yards a-head of them. " No ! no !" they replied, " that is impossible ; Dost Mohammed would never ride on such a sorry hack, and you, his follower, mounted on this fine horse ; no, no ! you are yourself Dost Mohammed in disguise. We know you well, so come back with us to Bokhara." The consternation depicted on his countenance was to the horsemen an additional proof that they had " the real Simon Pure," who, in spite of his remonstrances, was borne away, and Dost Mohammed left to pursue his course to Kholoom, eastward of Balkh.

Lieutenant
Clarke
killed
at Surtoff
Pass.
May 7.

During the progress of these events, several disasters were experienced by the British troops in various encounters with the Murees. Lieutenant Clarke, who was escorting a convoy of five hundred camels through the dangerous defiles in the hills, on his return from Kahun, was surrounded and slain, with the greater part of his detachment. On this and other subsequent occasions, it was observed that the sepoys did not display their usual firmness and gallantry in fighting with the Murees, a mountain tribe of the Beloochees.

Major
Clibborn
routed at
Nuffoosk.

A second encounter with the Murees, at a later period, was scarcely less disastrous. Captain Brown, who commanded the garrison in the fort of Kahun, being closely besieged by them, Major Clibborn was sent to his relief on the 12th of August, with a convoy consisting of about five hundred infantry, fifty of the Scinde cavalry, and two pieces of cannon. After a fatiguing march for fifteen days, the troops reached the pass of Nuffoosk, about eight miles from Kahun, on the 28th.

Two days afterwards, while engaged in defiling through the pass, the enemy appeared in front, and commenced a destructive fire. The Beloochees had destroyed the regular road, and obstructed the only path left, by breastworks covered with thorny bushes. The guns of the convoy were immediately placed in

position to enfilade the pass in front, and the major ordered the left flank companies of the 1st and 2nd Grenadiers to storm the heights where the enemy were posted. The enemy rushed down with such impetuosity, that the troops had hardly time to form ; there was hard fighting on both sides, but the well applied rounds of grape from Captain Stamford's howitzers, soon repulsed them with considerable loss.

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The heat was intense, and the sufferings of the men and cattle were painfully apparent ; the little water remaining from the last halting place was dried up, and no water was procurable unless the pass was carried, and the post of Kahun was distant about six miles. The water carriers with the gun-horses and officers' horses, under an escort of fifty regular cavalry, went for water. The cries of the wounded and dying for, " Water ! water !" gave rise to scenes of frenzy and despair, while awaiting the arrival of the water-party. Some stragglers came in and reported that the water-party was surrounded in a nullah. They had lost Aug. 31. one hundred and fifty men, the remainder were enfeebled by thirst, and most of the camel-drivers, dooley-bearers, etc., had absconded, after plundering the commissariat. The gun-horses were gone, and the men of the Golundauze (native artillery), prostrated from fatigue and thirst, could scarcely rise to fire a gun. Major Clibborn, an unlucky commander, found he could not throw provisions into the fort of Kahun, and moved off with as much quietness as the state of the men permitted. Everything was abandoned ; baggage, stores, and treasure, fell into the hands of the enemy. A number of camp-followers were massacred. Without food and tents, and marching in the burning heat of the sun, they made one forced march to Poolajee, and arrived nearly famished. The good conduct of Captain Brown Sept. 28th. was such, that he was permitted by the Murrees to evacuate the fort of Kahun, and retire with all his troops, materiel, and stores, to Shikarpore without molestation.

It is necessary here to glance at the proceedings of the Russians, who had declared war against the Khan of Khiva in the December of 1839. Khiva is a Mohammedan principality, situated on the eastern side of the Caspian Sea ; having on its north vast steppes traversed by Cossacks, nominally dependent on Russia, and by the wild tribes of Turcomans ; it has Bokhara and Balkh on the east, and Persia on the south. It is sufficiently near Afghanistan to render any movement of Russia for its acquisition a matter of grave importance ; but it was difficult for the English government to remonstrate against the expedi-

War
declared
by Russia
against
Khiva.

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—
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The
Russian
Manifesto.

tion, as the people of Khiva had frequently committed atrocious ravages on the Russian frontier. The manifesto issued by the Russian government, describing the situation of Khiva and the nature of the insults provoking the war, is a document of interest, from the distinctness with which it sets forth the designs of the Russians on Central Asia. It is as follows :

Khiva, which borders on the Kirghiz-Cossacks, the inhabitants of which are Russian subjects, has constantly, for a series of years, shown, by acts of hostility, the little esteem it entertained for a power with which, for its own sake, it should have kept up a friendly intercourse. Our trade with the provinces of Central Asia was a source of prosperity for the inhabitants of Khiva, who drew from it their principal resources, and possessed through it in Russia the rights and privileges granted to the other inhabitants of Asia; but Khiva, far from appreciating advantages and benefits, has been guilty of the most flagrant disloyalty and unparalleled audacity. It daily harasses the wandering tribes that encamp on our frontiers, interrupts the intercourse the other states of Asia keep up with us, detains the caravans of Bokhara on their way to and from Russia, obliges them to pay extravagant duties, and compels them, by main force, to pass through its territory, and there seizes a considerable portion of their merchandize. These insults to foreigners holding commercial intercourse with Russia are, however, of less importance than the attacks which have been made on Russian caravans. Not one of these can now cross the deserts without danger. It was in this manner that a Russian caravan from Orenburg, with goods belonging to our merchants, was pillaged by the armed bands of Khiva. No Russian merchant can now venture into that country without running the risk of losing his life, or being made a prisoner. The inhabitants of Khiva are constantly making incursions into that part of the country of the Kirghiz which is at a distance from our lines, although the Kirghiz recognized the sovereignty of Russia under their khan, Abul Chaix; they destroy their camps, lay them under heavy tribute, excite them to disobedience against the legal authority, give an asylum to those who revolt; and to crown all these insults, they detain several thousand Russian subjects in slavery. The number of these unfortunate wretches increased daily, for the peaceful fishermen on the banks of the Caspian are continually attacked and carried off as slaves to Khiva. The unfortunate condition of so many victims has naturally excited the solicitude of our government, which, of course, considers it to be a most sacred duty to protect and insure the lives and tranquillity of all the subjects of the empire. But the generous manner in which it called the attention of the inhabitants of Khiva, to the consequences to which their criminal conduct would infallibly give rise, has unfortunately been disregarded. Deaf to entreaty, they despise the indulgence we have shown, and, confounding in their ignorance moderation with weakness, they have calculated on impunity. In their blindness they have gone so far as to construct two forts beyond the frontiers, on the road of the caravans proceeding to Bokhara, in order to attack our merchants with less danger. Since then their incursions and robberies have daily increased, and, at present, their implacable hatred against Russia knows no bounds.

As a last resource to bring these barbarians to reason, the Khiva merchants in Russia were arrested, and the release of the Russian prisoners and the cessation of hostilities, were announced as the condition of their liberty. But this measure was not attended with success, for, after having waited three years, at most 100 persons were sent back, though last spring, on the borders of the Caspian, 200 Russian subjects were carried off as prisoners. But now every means of persuasion has been exhausted. The rights of Russia, the security of her trade, the tranquillity of her subjects, and the dignity of the state, call for decisive measures, and the emperor has judged it to be high time to send a body of troops to Khiva to put an end to robbery and exaction, to deliver those Russians who are detained in slavery, to make the inhabitants of Khiva esteem and respect the Russian name, and, finally, to strengthen in that part of Asia the lawful influence to which Russia has a right, and which alone can insure the maintenance of peace. This is the purpose of the present expedition, and as soon as it shall be attained, and an order of things conformable to the interest of Russia and the neighbouring Asiatic states, shall be established on a permanent footing, the body of troops, which has received orders to march on Khiva, will return to the frontiers of the empire.

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A Russian force of twenty thousand men with ten thousand camels, was despatched under General Peroffsky, in the beginning of the year, on the pretext of liberating the slaves: they marched through the steppes of Kirghiz, between the Caspian sea and the lake of Aral. Their arrangements were well made, but the cold was intense, the climate so rigorous, and the ground so difficult for movement, that they marched not more than twenty German miles in a month. Each column was obliged to cut out a road through the heavy crust of snow which was falling and freezing around them. Having lost half their men and their camels and beasts of burden before they had reached half way, they, instead of facing, a little further on, that death which was inevitable, retreated to Orenburg. By the intervention of the British government, the slaves were subsequently restored to Russia, and the independence of the Khan of Khiva was for a time secured.

The
Russian
expedition
fails.

Dost Mohammed having escaped from the clutches of the king of Bokhara, began to levy troops for the avowed purpose of expelling the English and Shah Soojah from Afghanistan. Accounts were received at the same time, that Khelat, which had been so gallantly taken by General Willshire in the preceding year, had been retaken by the son of its late ruler, Mehrab Khan, and that the Beloochees were rising to join in an attack on the English. It was difficult to obtain any correct information of the motions of the enemy, so completely had the insurgents closed up every source of intelligence. On the night of the 17th

CHAPTER XXI. of September, Dost Mohammed actually slept within three miles of the English camp ; and the knowledge of his proximity was derived from the appearance of some hundreds of Uzbeks on the heights at the dawn of the following morning. Brigadier Dennie, who commanded the detachment at Bameean, though his forces did not amount to one thousand men, consisting entirely of native corps, resolved at once to attack Dost Mohammed's forces, which were more than eight times his number. The Uzbeks broke at the first charge, and suffered severely from the active pursuit of the cavalry in the flight. Dost Mohammed lost his tents, baggage, kettle-drums, standards, and his only piece of artillery. A series of petty expeditions against the chiefs, who were known to be in correspondence with Dost Mohammed, engaged the attention of the British during the greater part of the summer, until intelligence was received that the Khan had succeeded in assembling a new army, and had taken post at Purwan. On the 2nd of November, a detachment under Colonel Salter advanced against this position ; as he proceeded, he was informed that Dost Mohammed was endeavouring to escape by a flank movement through the hills. Two squadrons of cavalry were sent to intercept the fugitives, accompanied by the Political Agent, Doctor Percival Lord, who had accompanied the late mission to Cabul, and being personally acquainted with Dost Mohammed, might, as it was hoped, induce that chieftain to a peaceful surrender, if any opportunity for opening communications should be afforded. As the cavalry approached the enemy, some unexpected resistance was offered, upon which the men, seized with an unaccountable panic, galloped back to the rear, leaving their officers without protection. Dr. Lord and three officers were killed, and others were severely wounded. Dost Mohammed contrived to escape in the confusion. It was supposed that he would hasten into Kohistan, which was ripe for revolt, but on the evening of the day after the battle, to the great surprise of everybody, he surrendered himself to Sir William M'Naghten, the British Resident at Cabul, whilst taking his ride. A horseman, passing his escort and the gentlemen with him, rode suddenly up and said, "Are you the envoy ?" "Yes." "Then," rejoined the horseman, "here is the Ameer." "What Ameer ?" "Dost Mohammed Khan !" Sir William M'Naghten in an instant afterwards, beheld the ex-chief himself alighting from his horse, and claiming protection. The scene was electrical. The Dost was requested to remount and ride on to the gateway, where both alighted. The envoy then took his arm, and led him through

Nov. 2.

Dr. Lord and three officers killed.

Nov. 3.

the garden up to the house, saying, "Why have you persevered so long in opposing our views, and subjecting yourself to so much vexation and anxiety, aware as you must have been of the good faith and liberality of the British government, as well as of its power?" but his only reply was in the true Asiatic spirit—"that it was his fate! he could not control destiny!" Arrived at the house, and seated in the room where, a year before, he was monarch, he delivered up his sword, observing that he had no further use for it; but the envoy begged him to keep it.

From Cabul Dost Mohammed was sent to Peshawur, where he was joined by his nine wives and the rest of his family; from thence he was removed to Loodiana, where he became a resident in the house which had long been inhabited by Shah Soojah.

Pleased with the successful movement to Cabul, the British government distributed honours with a lavish hand. Lord Auckland was created an earl, Sir John Keane was raised to the peerage, Mr. M'Naghten and Colonel Pottinger were created baronets, Captain Burnes, Colonels Wade and Thackwell were knighted, and many other distinctions were given.

In the course of the year, several desperate attacks were made on the fortress of Aden by the discontented Arabs; and, though they were all repelled with great slaughter of the assailants, yet the garrison suffered severely from the incessant vigilance which was rendered necessary by their inveterate hostility. So ferocious were these fanatics, that it was unsafe to give them quarter; in many instances they attempted the lives of those who mercifully endeavoured to rescue them from danger, or even to dress their wounds. Indeed, at this period, a great increase in the enthusiasm and fanatical spirit of the various Mohammedan races was manifest throughout Asia; they seemed to feel that a time was come when the existence of their religious system was menaced by the progress of the Christian influence, and they therefore prepared to defend it with all the zeal and fury of ignorant bigotry. The appearance of the English west of the Indus increased this feeling; for Christians were thus introduced into the lands where Mohammedanism retained its pristine fanaticism.

Afghanistan had been too long a prey to anarchy, for the chiefs to appreciate the blessings of order and tranquillity; the heads of the Ghilzie tribes had been accustomed to receive from the government a regular stipend, for keeping open the roads between Cabul and Peshawur. As this was nothing better than a payment of "black mail" to marauding hordes, Sir William M'Naghten resolved to diminish and finally to abolish the allowance, which

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Dost
Mohammed
sent to
India.

The Arabs
attack
Aden.

CHAPTER XXI.
A.D. 1841.
 The Ghilzie tribes plunder the British caravans.

was a heavy drain and a great degradation to the government. The chiefs protested vehemently against this curtailment of their accustomed gains ; but, finding that their remonstrances were disregarded, they resolved to adopt retaliatory measures. A caravan, valued at twenty thousand rupees, was seized at Tezeen ; the *dâks*, or post-messengers, were intercepted, and all communication with India was cut off. A large detachment, under Sir Robert Sale, was sent to open the passes ; but, though the Ghilzie chiefs pretended to negotiate, the column had to fight its way forward during a toilsome march of eight days, and the rear-guard suffered very severely from the attacks of the mountaineers, who rushed upon the troops from their fastnesses whenever they saw them entangled in the defiles. General Sale's energetic exertions finally prevailed over the untrained ferocity of the assailants.

Formidable outbreak at Cabul. In the month of October, the districts around Cabul presented an unusual appearance of tranquillity, and the envoy, Sir W. M'Naghten, who had, in consequence of his distinguished services, been appointed by the Court of Directors to be Governor of Bombay, was making arrangements for proceeding to his new post, and for leaving Sir A. Burnes to be the Political Agent at Shah Soojah's court, when one of the formidable and fanatical outbreaks, which are peculiar to the Afghans, scattered destruction amongst the English troops. Sir John Keane, who was raised to the peerage, had withdrawn in 1840, and left the command of the army in Afghanistan to Sir Willoughby Cotton, who had also retired, and resigned the command to Major-General Elphinstone. He and the two Political Residents, M'Naghten and Burnes, were not apprehensive of any danger, when the insurrection burst forth in the city of Cabul on the 2nd of November, 1841. So unexpected was the attack, that letters were written the previous week by the envoy, in which he declared that the affairs of the Shah were in a prosperous condition, and that the capital was tranquil.

Cause. The causes of this outbreak are variously told : some asserted that it was a sudden burst of Moslem fanaticism, produced by supposed attacks on their religion and their females, both of which attacks are violently resented by the Afghans, who adhere to the extreme prejudices of the Sounnee creed, and who were indignant at being governed by Christians, and by Shah Soojah, whom they regarded as a renegade. Others attributed the popular rage to their indignation at some wanton massacres perpetrated on the insurgent eastern Ghilzies, who obstructed the road to India. Whatever may have been the immediate

occasion, no doubt exists that a general confederacy was previously formed of all the Afghans to expel the English from their country. The favourite son of Dost Mohammed, who had always refused to surrender his person and family, was stopping at Khooloom, waiting for a favourable moment to head the insurrection. Many of the chiefs of the tribes near Cabul, who lived from confusion and plunder, resolved to promote the turmoil, which promised them a rich booty. On the first of November the mosques were filled with enthusiasts, who became frantic at the denunciations by the Mollahs of the Feringhee invaders, and who sallied forth from their prayers with a determination to massacre the infidels.

Cabul is built on the river from which the name is derived. The cantonments. On an elevated position, to the north-east of the town, is the Bala Hissar or citadel, in which the king resided ; on the west, at about a mile distance, the British commander had fixed his entrenched cantonment, which was 1,000 yards in length and 600 in breadth. It was surrounded by a low rampart and a narrow ditch. A space to the north, of nearly half the size, was called the Mission compound, and was occupied by the Envoy, with his staff and attendants. By a fatal mistake, the old rules of occupying the stronghold in a hostile district were forgotten. Shah Soojah, as sovereign, claimed the Bala Hissar, and the English allowed him to occupy it. General Elphinstone, advanced in years and enfeebled by disease, was positively unable to discharge the active duties of his arduous position ; and, feeling his own weakness, had obtained permission to resign the appointment in favour of General Nott. Brigadier Shelton, the second in command, was not adapted to compensate for the deficiencies of his superior ; and the fate of the English army was sealed.

On the morning of the 2nd, the mob attacked the house of Sir A. Burnes, which was situated in the Kuzzilbash (Persian) part of the town. He endeavoured to pacify them, and would not permit his guard to fire ; as he was persuaded, that from his never having injured them they would not injure him ; but he was hated by Shah Soojah. Soon afterwards, he was tempted, under a wish to obtain some troops for his protection, to entrust himself to a Cashmeer Mussulman, who quickly betrayed him, and he was slain by Abdoola Khan Alchukzie, and his remains grossly maltreated. The rabble rushed into his house, and murdered not only his brother and Lieutenant Broadfoot, but every human being they found in the building. The alarm soon spread to the cantonment, and orders were sent to Brigadier

CHAPTER
XXI.A.D. 1841.
The insur-
rection
promoted.General
Elphin-
stone an
enfeebled
commanderBrigadier
Shelton
his second.

**CHAPTER
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Several officers murdered.

The Afghans take the forts.

Confusion in the council.

Brigadier Shelton is brave, but nothing more.

Shelton, who was encamped with some regiments near the Siah-Sung hills, above the Bala Hissar, to go with some troops to the Bala Hissar, while the rest were to return to the cantonment. Staff officers, while moving about on duty, were wounded by the long knives of the Afghans. On the 3rd, the 37th Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry arrived in the cantonment from Khoord Cabul, having brought its baggage safe from the attack of several thousand Ghilzies. On the 4th the assailants got possession, through an error of General Elphinstone, of the fort called Mohammed Shereef, which was situated within a hundred yards of the cantonment, and in which were placed the stores of rum, medicine, clothing, etc. The ensign, to whom the defence was entrusted, was forced, by the desertion of his men, to escape, when the enemy had set fire to the gate. The General and the three superior officers held a council in the night, when, at the instance of Sir W. M'Naghten, it was resolved to send a detachment in the morning; but, in the interval, the fort was abandoned, and the cantonment had not provisions for more than two days. The Kuzzilbashes, who had thus far observed neutrality, now joined the Ghilzies; and the doom of the British was easily foreseen. On the 5th an attempt was made to recapture the fort; but it failed from want of judgment. On the 6th the fort was stormed, and an attempt was made to take the Shah's bagh (garden), which was at hand; but the Ghilzies assembled in such numbers, that the Shah's bagh could not be taken. Doubts and hesitation prevailed among the superior officers. General Elphinstone was declared incapable, and Brigadier Shelton was invited to come from the Bala Hissar. He came, but his counsel added to the difficulties, for he could think of nothing but how to get back to India; and he urged an immediate retreat through the passes. Sir W. M'Naghten opposed this proposition, as likely to be attended with the most disastrous consequences. Shelton was brave, but unfit to command at this emergency. Despondency began amongst the officers, and soon spread amongst the men.

The Ghilzies increased their numbers, and soon occupied various forts around the cantonment. Brigadier Shelton on the 10th, went with a party to storm one of them, so as to allow the free admission of provisions. The officer who had to blow open the gate, mistook a wicket for it, and only a few soldiers got inside. Those on the outside were alarmed at a cry of the approach of cavalry, and fled in disorder; but Brigadier Shelton rallied them, and returned to the fort, where they found all their

comrades butchered except two. The loss of the British was two hundred men. Grain was found in some of the forts ; but although only one half was removed before dusk, the Brigadier refused to leave a guard to protect the rest, which was carried off during the night by the Afghans. Brigadier Shelton had some hard fighting on the 13th, and drove the enemy from a position on the hill which overlooked the cantonment. This was the last success ; all afterwards is a melancholy detail of reverses. On the 15th, Major Pottinger, the Political Agent in Kohistan, reached the cantonment. He and his assistant, Lieutenant Haughton, had been badly wounded and escaped from a position at Charekar, one hundred and thirty miles north of Cabul, and had fled with three men to join their affrighted countrymen, leaving the one hundred men who had been their escort, either dead or wanderers amongst the ferocious tribes. Captain Woodburn's detachment, coming from Ghuznee to Cabul, was cut to pieces.

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Major
Pottinger
forced
to quit
Charekar.

Frequent discussions took place as to the propriety of taking refuge in the Bala Hissar ; but some points of etiquette prevented the adoption of this plan. Brigadier Shelton continually recommended a retreat to Jellalabad and merely sent some ammunition into the Bala Hissar. Provisions had been hitherto procured, at an enormous cost, from the village of Behmaroo, about half a mile from the cantonment ; and the Afghans resolved to stop that source. They assembled in crowds on the hill which overlooked the village. Major Swaine of the 5th Regiment of Native Infantry was sent to drive them off ; but he kept his men under cover, and contented himself with firing at the houses. Lieutenant Eyre went with a gun, but could not obtain a secure position. On the 23rd, Brigadier Shelton sallied forth again in force, to clear the way for the foraging parties, but after a number of blunders, he was compelled to retreat with a severe loss. Winter was now set in at Cabul, and the poor sepoys were starved by the cold as well as by hunger.

A chief proposed that the British should retire, and leave the Negotiations fail. Afghans to govern themselves, and choose their own king. General Elphinstone willingly assented ; but other conditions proposed by two deputies who came from the chiefs, could not be accepted. These were, "that the British should surrender Shah Soojah and give up their own arms, and then they would be allowed to go away, on promise of never returning." Sir W. M'Naghten declared such conditions inadmissible, and that if persisted in, there was no recourse but to arms. "Then we

CHAPTER XXI. shall meet again in battle," said the deputies. "We shall meet on the day of judgment," replied the British envoy.

A.D. 1841.
Akbar Khan arrives.

Negotiations again tried.

Shah Soojah rejects the convention.

The British troops evacuate the Bala Hissar.

On the 22nd of November, Akbar Khan arrived at Cabul : he was accompanied by hundreds of mounted men. His appearance was the signal for the desertion of many chiefs, who had previously professed friendship for Shah Soojah and the English. He soon became the leader of the assailants. On the 8th of December, Sir W. M'Naghten asked General Elphinstone to state publicly whether any alternative remained but to negociate for permission to withdraw the troops from Afghanistan. General Elphinstone gave the fiat, and negotiations were attempted ; but negociation with the Afghans is merely " writing on water." On that day, Sir W. M'Naghten, with Captains Lawrence, Mackenzie and Trevor met, in the open plain, the leaders of the Afghans, who professed to be desirous of making a convention. Akbar Khan insisted on an unconditional surrender. During the conference, a bullet was heard to pass close to the head of Sir W. M'Naghten, whom Akbar Khan wanted to seize, but the other chiefs opposed that act. Terms were agreed that "the British troops should be allowed to quit all Afghanistan, that is, Candahar, Ghuznee, Cabul, Jellalabad, etc., and to be furnished with provisions ; that Dost Mohammed was to be allowed to return to Cabul; that Shah Soojah was to be permitted to act as he thought fit, but if he withdrew with the British troops, that he was to be allowed a lac of rupees per annum for his support, and that no British force was ever to be sent into Afghanistan unless called for by government." This convention was a waste of time, words and paper, for the Afghans never observe treaties. Shah Soojah knew his countrymen, and he would not assent to any conditions unless absolutely extravagant ones, and soon rejected the convention altogether.

On the 13th of December, the British troops commenced their evacuation of the Bala Hissar, at the gate of which Akbar Khan attended and endeavoured to force an entrance ; but Shah Soojah's agents were on the alert, and kept his bitter enemy out. Finding the attempt baffled, Akbar Khan stopped the British troops, and maintained that it was too late for their marching. Shah Soojah refused to open the gate, and to re-admit them ; and the poor soldiers had to spend the night without shelter or covering, and at nine o'clock in the morning Akbar Khan allowed them to proceed. On the 16th, Shah Soojah refused all assent to the convention, and the difficulties were as before. The chiefs insisted on obtaining possession of

the forts; and to this destructive proposition the British general and his council assented. Heavy snow fell on the 18th, and on the 20th the Afghan leaders demanded the surrender of the guns and ammunition, and that Brigadier Shelton should become a hostage for the British. But Shelton refused. The council of war fumed, fretted and did nothing. General Sale had sent word that it was then not possible for his troops to march back to Cabul, and the intelligence arrived that the snow prevented the troops from coming from Candahar and Ghuznee. There was treachery to each other among the Afghans; for on the 21st, Akbar Khan proposed to be vizir; to take Shah Soojah as his king, and that the British troops should occupy the Bala Hissar, and some of the forts. Sir W. M'Naghten accepted the proposal in despair; but it was but a feint of the Afghan. On the 23rd, the British Envoy, with Captains Lawrence, Trevor and Mackenzie, went to hold another conference with Akbar Khan. The party sat down on a small hillock unseen from the cantonment, and Sir W. M'Naghten presented a beautiful Arab horse to Akbar Khan, which he accepted. Many armed Afghans were seen around, and on Captain Lawrence remarking their presence, Akbar Khan said that it did not matter as they were in the secret. Seeing all ready for his plans, Akbar Khan cried out, "beeger," "seize them." The four Englishmen were suddenly caught from behind, and their arms were taken from them. Akbar himself seized the envoy, who made resistance and struggled. As he was dragging Sir W. M'Naghten down the hill, Akbar Khan, irritated by his struggles, fired a double-barrelled pistol into the body of his victim, by whom this pistol had been presented to the murderer on the previous day. The head of Sir W. M'Naghten was cut off, and his body treated with every indignity. His escort fled into the cantonment. Thus fell Sir W. M'Naghten, to whose counsels the first advance of the ill-omened Afghan expedition was attributed. His efforts in the fearful struggles were but weakly seconded by the superior officers, and with his spirit the courage of the British leaders fled.

The other three officers were forced to mount the horses behind the chiefs. A crowd of the Moslem fanatics, called Ghazees, strove to kill them. Poor Trevor, who slipped off and fell, was cut to pieces. The horseman before Mackenzie saved him from a similar fate, by receiving a cut on his own arm. The chiefs got into Mohammed Khan's fort, when the Ghazees tried to shoot the prisoners, who at midnight were removed into Akbar Khan's house in the town. The chief officers in the canton-

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Exorbitant demands of the Afghans.

Sir W.
M'Naghten
murdered.
Dec. 23.

Captain
Trevor
murdered.

CHAPTER XXI. ment requested Major Pottinger, upon whom the duties of Envoy devolved, to endeavour to patch up a convention for their safe retreat to India. The chiefs now required that all the guns but six should be left behind, that all the treasure should be given up, and that married men with their wives and families should become hostages. Lieutenant Eyre was the only officer who consented to these conditions; the others declared that they would sooner slay their wives than entrust them to the Afghans.

**A.D. 1841.
Major
Pottinger
becomes
political
agent.**

**He patches
up a con-
vention.**

**The terms
are humili-
ating.**

**A.D. 1842.
The army
marches.**

**The can-
tonments
burned.**

**Hundreds
perish.**

**Continual
attacks
by the
Afghans.**

Proposals for a safe escort to Peshawur were made by Osman Khan and others, who demanded large sums of money. Major Pottinger protested against binding the British government by any such negotiation; but the council of war resolved to pay and to promise every thing rather than to fight.

Four officers were accepted as hostages; they were Captains Drummond, Walsh, Warburton, and Webb. Preparations for the retreat were made, but the chiefs interposed various subterfuges, and caused delays while their agents in the mountains were collecting myriads for the slaughter and plunder of the victims.

At length, at nine o'clock in the morning of the 6th of January, 1842, the fatal retreat of the British army was commenced. Their number was about four thousand five hundred soldiers, with camp followers, amounting to nearly twelve thousand, besides women and children. The infuriated Ghazees, as the "murderers for religion" are called by the Mohammedans, were ready to begin the slaughter; and they butchered such of the wretched soldiers as remained in the cantonments, to which they afterwards set fire. It was mournful to see the unhappy, half-torpid British Indians dragging themselves through the snow; they had suffered from starvation during the siege of the cantonments, and were scarcely able to crawl. Numbers fell from exhaustion, and being soon benumbed by the cold, perished.

The frosty nights killed hundreds. The Afghan escort was commanded by Jubar Khan; but he exercised little control. Experienced persons wished that the army should get through the pass of Khoord Cabul on the first day, but the General halted when he had marched six miles; and the army bivouacked in the snow, in which many died before morning. The second day of the march was equally wretched. The mountaineers made an attack on the rear guard, and took two guns, while a detachment of Afghan cavalry charged into the midst of the baggage column, and carried off large quantities of plunder. Two more guns were abandoned, as the horses were found unable to

drag them. After some delays, Brigadier Shelton was sent with a detachment to drive off the plunderers, and he by scaling the heights kept them at bay for an hour. Akbar Khan was become the leader of the Ghilzies, and upon an appeal to him he said that the British army had been attacked because it had marched contrary to the will of the chiefs; but that he had come to escort it in safety to Jellalabad, provided it would halt at Tezeen, until Jellalabad was abandoned according to the terms of the convention. The army, at his demand, stopped at Boot-kak, having marched only four miles. This was the entrance of the Khoord Cabul pass, and there the army spent another night of horrors.

In the morning of the 8th, the Afghans were found ready for an attack, and they began by firing into the camp. Major Thain put himself at the head of Her Majesty's 44th regiment, and rushing forward, dispersed the enemy. Akbar Khan was again remonstrated with on this act of treachery; and he demanded as hostages, Major Pottinger, and Captains Lawrence and MacKenzie. They were delivered up, and hostilities ceased for the moment. Then began the march through the thread-like defiles of the Khoord Cabul pass, which gradually narrowed before them. The heights were covered with mountaineers, who with their *jezails*, or long rifles, fired into the mass below with terrible effect. The English ladies rode on rapidly in the advance, but they were fired at, and Lady Sale was wounded in the arm. The mountain torrent, which flowed rapidly, had to be waded through twenty-eight times, yet all the unfortunate beings, huddled together, strove to hurry out of the destructive fire which was poured on them from the mountain sides. Another gun was abandoned, and all its artillerymen were slain in the dark vale called Tungee Tareekee. Three thousand perished in this fatal pass, amongst whom was the gallant Lieutenant Sturt. At Khoord Cabul the remainder of the army bivouacked. Akbar Khan then proposed to take all the women and children under his protection, and to escort them, by keeping them one day's march behind the army. This offer was accepted, and the married officers, with their families, were entrusted to a party of Afghan horse. The motive of the Afghans was evidently to obtain many hostages.

The army was fearfully reduced; its advanced guard mustered about one hundred men of Her Majesty's forty-fourth regiment, with fifty troopers of the fifth cavalry, and the one gun remaining. As this miserable force came into a narrow gorge, the rocks

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Akbar
Khan
proposes
his own
terms.

Akbar
Khan
takes
several
hostages.

Butchery
at Khoord
Cabul.

The ladies
are de-
manded
and taken.

Disorgan-
ization of
the army.

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Akbar Khan demands the arms of the troops.

12000 killed in four days.

above showed a large body of Ghilzies who poured in a tremendous fire, which soon filled the pass with the dead and dying. The native regiments were disorganized, and the main and rear columns were cut to pieces. All that remained of the Cabul force were about fifty horse artillerymen, with one gun, seventy soldiers of the forty-fourth, and one hundred and fifty native troopers. A crowd of wretched camp followers came on as well as they could.

On the 10th, Akbar Khan came forward at Kubbur-i-Jubbar, and proposed that the remaining troops should surrender their arms, and that the camp followers should be left to their fate. General Elphinstone refused the disgraceful proposal, and the desperate march was resumed. On entering the steep and dangerous defiles of Huft Kotul (the seven passes), they saw the bleeding bodies of wounded officers, who, with some camp followers had attempted to precede the march by starting at an early hour. The Ghilzies assailed them, and having massacred all ascended the heights to wait for the other victims. Brigadier Shelton again showed his undaunted personal courage ; for with a few Europeans he kept the Ghilzies off until the troops passed the defile. They reached Tezeen and halted, having lost twelve thousand men, including the camp followers, in four days.

Negotiations were renewed with Akbar Khan ;* but Captain Skinner, by whom the labour of treating with the treacherous Afghan had been frequently discharged, found that no dependence could be placed on his promises. Efforts were made to push on for Jugdulluk, twenty-two miles in advance of Tezeen, and the last gun was abandoned, together with some wounded and exhausted officers. At eight o'clock on the morning of the 11th they reached Kuttur Sung, ten miles distant from Jugdulluk, when everything portended the annihilation of the little force. Every inch of the road was disputed, and Brigadier Shelton defended them with obstinacy ; the peaks of the pass were crowded with marksmen ; the want of water added to their

* Lieutenant Crawford, of the Bombay army, who, after a long confinement at Ghuznee, was removed to Cabul, and handed over to Akbar Khan, describes him as "giving the kindest reception ; so that I could not bring myself to believe that the stout, good-humoured, open-hearted looking young man, who was making such kind inquiries after our health, and how we had borne the fatigues of the journey, could be the murderer of M'Naghten, and the leader of the massacre of our troops. . . He chatted and joked away, on indifferent subjects, during the meal, calling himself the Wuzeer." It is the Afghan practice "to smile before they stab you."

sufferings. Akbar Khan sent a request for a conference with General Elphinstone, who gave over the command to Brigadier Anquetil. Brigadier Shelton and Captain Johnson were taken as hostages for the surrender of Jellalabad. The conference was an Afghan scheme to remove the Generals commanding ; for the troops, although every assurance had been given by Akbar Khan of their receiving food, were left to starve, and on the 12th Captain Skinner was treacherously murdered by a Ghilzie. The deepest despondency prevailed, and their miseries increased every hour, in the midst of hunger, thirst, cold, starvation, fatigues, and murders. For two days they waited in suspense : still the general came not. The handful of Europeans made sally after sally to drive off the Ghilzies, who were firing into the camp ; but, as fast as one mass were driven off, others rushed to the onslaught. Night came on, and they resolved to force their way to Jellalabad through the pass of Jugdulluk, which is two miles long. The Ghilzies were prepared ; they had barriers formed across the defile, which required time to break down. While the men were busy in clearing a passage, the enemy gathered in numbers, and poured in a most destructive fire. Massacre at Gundamuck. Brigadier Anquetil, Colonel Chambers, Major Thain, and thirteen other officers were slain. The survivors got through the barrier and hurried on to Gundamuck, where they, after having been forced to wade the Soorkab river, from the bridge of which they were galled by a severe fire, took up a position on a hillock. At daylight of the 13th the whole force of the Cabul army amounted to twenty British officers, fifty men of the 44th, and a dozen of sepoys and artillery-men. Under pretence of negotiating, the Afghans came upon the hillock, and tried to get possession of the muskets, but the soldiers drove them off with desperate energy. The tragedy was drawing near to its close. The Ghilzies, seeing the number so much reduced, made violent exertions ; volleys after volleys were discharged, until the heroic little band were reduced to thirty, when the Afghans rushed on them and slaughtered them, merely taking Captain Souter and some privates as prisoners. A few officers, who were well mounted, attempted to ride to Jellalabad, and six of them reached Futtéabad, where they stopped for food. Deceived by the apparent professions of the inhabitants, they halted too long, for to the last treachery was at work. The inhabitants sallied out and shot five. One—only one officer of the whole army reached Jellalabad. Doctor Brydon was the bearer of the disastrous intelligence. Akbar Khan had gained his object, for but one of the force in Cabul

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Akbar Khan requires the generals to come to a conference and makes them hostages.

The small remnant attempt to force their way to Jellalabad.

Massacre at Gundamuck.

Only one man reaches Jellalabad.

CHAPTER XXI. was to be allowed to carry the news of the Afghan revenge to the British authorities.

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The causes of the Afghan disasters are thus detailed by the then Commander-in-Chief of India :—“There were 33,000 men in our pay in Afghanistan, including Shah Soojah’s troops, but not the rabble attached to his person ; yet how insufficient that number has been to awe the barbarous, and at first disunited, tribes of Afghanistan and Scinde, our numerous conflicts—our late reverses, and our heavy losses—fully prove. I admit that a blind confidence in the persons around the late envoy—a total want of forethought and foresight on his part—unaccountable indecision at first, followed by cessions, which day by day rendered our force more helpless—inactivity, perhaps, on some occasions—have led to these reverses ; but we must not overlook the effects of climate, the difficulty of communication, the distance from our frontier, and the fanatical zeal of the Afghans.”

The British people heard of these disasters with feelings of indignation ; they saw that incapacity, vacillation, and treachery had brought about the destruction of a gallant army, and they resolved to remove the stain from the escutcheon of their country. Sale in Jellalabad, and Nott in Candahar, still maintained the honour of England ; and preparations were made to relieve them. In November, General Sale, while clearing the passes, found himself in the midst of enemies ; and he resolved to secure the important position of Jellalabad, which he did on the 12th. A letter, written by General Elphinstone on the 9th, ordered him to return to Cabul with all his force. General Sale, in reply, on the 15th, stated that “he had neither means of transport, nor sufficient ammunition, to force his way through the passes, while the whole country was up in arms and ready to oppose his march in every defile. They had, to the number of 5,000, attacked Jellalabad on the 14th, and, although repulsed by a sally of 700 men with the bayonet, many investments were to be expected.”

General
Sale
defends his
position.

Defence of
Jellalabad.

The defences of Jellalabad consisted of a mud *enceinte*, of upwards of 2,000 yards, with weak curtains and round towers, and a narrow rampart with an insufficient parapet. By great efforts it was put into a state of defence ; the women and children were told to withdraw, strangers and suspicious persons were excluded, and, with the exception of the shop-keepers, the male population was diminished as far as possible. Supplies were procured from the neighbouring country. The men worked cheerfully seven hours every day in making the defences ; without wine or spirits, and without money, even, in the general’s

chest, they did their duty nobly. On the 27th of December twenty-five horsemen arrived, each carrying one thousand rupees in his saddle-bags. They were sent, as well as others in succession, by Captain Mackeson from Peshawur. Forays were made by the garrison, and several hundred head of cattle driven into the fortress. During January and February the garrison were left in quiet ; but no aid reached it, for the Khyberees allowed but single horsemen to pass as messengers.

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In the meantime, great anxiety was felt for the troops at Ghuznee, Candahar, and Khelat-i-Ghilzie. The incapacity of the rulers at Cabul was felt at Ghuznee ; for, notwithstanding his repeated applications, Colonel Palmer, who commanded there, was unable to obtain the necessary sanction for repairing the works and laying in provisions for the winter. At length he attempted the task on his own responsibility.

Snow fell on the 20th of November, and the enemy appeared ; but they retired in the following week, on hearing that troops were coming from Candahar. Early in December they re-appeared in great numbers. Colonel Palmer, from motives of humanity, did not expel the inhabitants from the fortress, and they dug a hole under the wall and let their countrymen enter inside. A hard day's fighting ensued on the 17th, when the garrison were forced to take refuge in the citadel. The cold became severe, and increased the sufferings of the Indian sepoys to an unbearable extent. A kind of truce was concluded on the 15th of January with the assailants, by which the place was to be surrendered to Shumsood-deen ; and, after various negotiations, the citadel was surrendered to the Afghans, on the 6th of March, on condition of the garrison being retained until the road to Cabul was cleared. The Ghazees attacked their quarters on the following day and killed many. The Afghans offered terms to the officers, if the sepoys were abandoned, which they, of course, declined. Some sepoys attempted to escape through the country, and were cut to pieces. At length the remaining force were taken prisoners, and, after some months' confinement, were made over to Akbar Khan.

The little garrison at Khelat-i-Ghilzie did their duty most efficiently ; they maintained that position against the Ghilzies, and withstood a bold attack by escalade, which was made one morning after the moon had gone down, and in which the enemy lost four hundred men. The garrison resisted cold, hunger, and many other ills, until they were relieved in May, and the fortifications destroyed.

General Nott, who commanded at Candahar, was, during the

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General Nott's gallantry at Candahar well seconded by Major Rawlinson.

His signal victory.

disasters at Cabul, ably seconded by Major Rawlinson, the Political Agent there. A brigade was, in November, sent, under the command of Colonel M'Laren, to relieve the Elphinstone division at Cabul ; but the fall of snow, and the severity of the season, prevented its proceeding. It therefore returned to Candahar, and rendered Nott's force strong enough to resist every assailant. Precautions were adopted against surprise and treachery. By the judicious expenditure of some thousands of rupees, Major Rawlinson secured the attachment of several chiefs. Candahar was cleared of strangers and suspicious characters. During November, and the early part of December, all was tranquil. The Jaunbaz cavalry corps revolted and killed their commander, and fled with all their baggage : they were pursued by Captain Leeson's horse, and forty of them cut to pieces ; the rest escaped to Dalla, the focus of the rebellion in Southern Afghanistan. Suftur Jung, a son of Shah Soojah, fled from Candahar and joined the insurgents, who soon after approached that city with the intention of attacking General Nott. This gallant officer sallied out from the city on the 11th of January ; marched for four hours over a difficult country ; came up to the enemy ; attacked and routed them in twenty minutes. The rebels afterwards assembled and plundered the villages near Candahar. General Nott set out to attack them—they would not wait to meet him. A party burned one of the gates of the town, but they were repulsed by the garrison. Colonel Wymer was detached to protect the villages, in which the marauders had committed excesses. He drove them before him, like chaff before the wind.

Earl Auckland's departure.

Thus two divisions of the British army behaved admirably in Afghanistan—that commanded by General Sale at Jellalabad, and that by General Nott at Candahar. Preparations were going forward to send them aid, when a new Governor-General arrived ; and Earl Auckland, who seemed to have been panic-stricken, quitted India on the 12th of March, 1842, and proceeded to England. He afterwards joined the Whig administration, and died suddenly on the 1st of January, 1849.

CHAPTER XXII.

GOVERNMENT OF LORD ELLENBOROUGH, 1842-1844.—THE TERMINATION OF THE AFGHAN WAR—CAMPAIGNS IN SCINDE AND GWALIOR.

Lord Ellenborough arrives.—Alarming State of India.—Two Garrisons in Afghanistan.—Sale at Jellalabad.—Nott at Candahar.—Brigadier Wild's Failure in the Khyber Pass.—General Pollock's Success on reaching Jellalabad.—Sale's Defence.—Death of Dennie.—Lord Ellenborough orders a Retreat from Afghanistan.—Gives Reasons for such weak Conduct.—General Nott, eminently successful, objects to a Retreat.—Brigadier England is sent to relieve Nott.—Fails miserably.—He retreats and entrenches himself at Quetta.—Nott commands him to advance, which he does with ease.—Shah Soojah assassinated.—Lord Ellenborough moves into the Provinces.—The Prisoners are not to be ransomed for Money.—Reiterated Orders for a retreat cause annoyance to the Army.—Pollock's Delays.—State of Cabul encourages a forward Movement.—Pollock advances to Cabul.—He defeats the Afghans.—Nott's admirable Conduct.—He marches to Ghuznee and takes it.—His excellent Discipline at Rozeh.—The Prisoners are recovered.—Akbar Khan escapes.—General McCaskill destroys Istaliff and Charekar.—Cabul Bazaar blown up.—The Troops return through the Khyber.—The Afghans make every Resistance.—Good Generalship shown by Nott.—Dost Mohammed liberated.—The Troops received with Triumph at Ferozepore.—Nott brings back to India the Gates of Somnuth.—Lord Ellenborough issues an Eastern Proclamation.—Severe Criticisms.—Notification respecting the Evacuation of Afghanistan.—Discussions in Parliament.—Thanks voted to the Army . . . State of Scinde.—The System of the Ameer's Government.—Their Debaucheries and love of Hunting.—Noor Mohammed's Opinion of English Civilization.—Runjeet Sing forces them to yield him Tribute.—The English make various Treaties with them.—They do not observe the

Treaties.—They do not pay their Subsidies.—Sir Charles James Napier sent to Scinde to enforce the Treaties.—He discovers the Faithlessness of the Ameers.—He demands New Treaties.—The Ameers object.—He insists.—Meer Rustoom Khan flies to Emaum Ghur.—He is pursued by Sir C. Napier.—The Fort is blown up.—Major Outram tries to conciliate the Ameers.—The Ameers and their Soldiers plot against him.—They attack the British Residency.—The Ameers collect Armies.—Battle of Meeanee, Feb. 17, 1843.—Napier's Address to the Twenty-second Regiment. Battle of Dubba, March 24.—Scinde declared a British Province.—Napier is appointed its Governor.—His Measures conciliate the Inhabitants.—The Ameers removed as Prisoners.—Comments on the Conquest of Scinde.—Favourable State of that Country.—Conduct of the Native States of India . . . Disturbances at Gwalior.—The Ranee supports Dada.—Remonstrances of the British.—Guarantees demanded.—The Governor-General moves with the Army to the Frontiers of Gwalior.—Sir Hugh Gough enters the Gwalior Territories.—The Gwalior Durbar tries to shuffle.—The British Army advances.—The Battle of Mahajapore.—Major General Grey gains another Battle at Punniar.—The Durbar submits.—Lord Ellenborough's Proceedings are severely criticised.—His military Tastes.—Discussions with the Directors.—He is not popular with the Civil Servants.—He is recalled from India by the Directors.—He is feted by the Military.—After his Return to England he is raised to the Rank of an Earl.

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A.D. 1842.
Alarm
about
India.

Wild
repulsed
in the
Khyber.

THE state of India was calculated to produce great alarm, when Lord Ellenborough, who had been twice President of the Board of Control under the Tory administration, assumed, on landing in Calcutta, the reins of government, on the 28th Feb., 1842. The treachery of the Afghans had reduced the British army in that country to two garrisons, one commanded by Sir Robert Sale at Jellalabad, and the other by General Nott at Candahar. An attempt was made by Brigadier Wild, in January, to enter the Khyber Pass, and to seize there the small fort of Ali Musjid; but from want of European troops, and from an insufficiency of carriages, from faithless allies and worthless guns, together with bad arrangements, the fort, although carried, was subsequently with severe loss abandoned. In February, Major-General Pollock took at Peshawur, the command of the forces destined to relieve Jellalabad. Having overcome many difficulties, and having infused a good spirit into the minds of the

sepoy, who at the time were afraid of the Afghans and their treatment, he, on the 5th of April, marched into the formidable defiles, and forced the Khyberees to retire, by driving them from the heights. On the 14th, the whole force had cleared the pass, and on the 16th reached Jellalabad. There a most enthusiastic welcome met them from the gallant defenders, whose unceasing efforts had, during five months, maintained that position against the strenuous efforts of the treacherous Akbar Khan, who had converted the siege into a blockade, and by several daring attacks tried to storm the fort. The garrison had been reduced to great straits from want of forage for the cattle, and by several shocks of an earthquake, which destroyed a third of the town on the 19th of February. On the 7th of April, General Sale's defence. Sale made a sortie, and gained an important victory over Akbar Khan; it was however, purchased dearly by the loss of Colonel Dennie, who was shot through the body while leading on his regiment to the assault of a small fort.

Akbar Khan retreated to Cabul, leaving his prisoners in the valley of Tezeen, where General Elphinstone, the unfortunate commander of the army that had been cut to pieces three months previously, expired on the 23rd of April. His remains were treated with great indignity. The government of India having taken into consideration the revolution of Cabul and the disastrous consequences of it, and especially the destruction of a numerous division of the army, a calamity unparalleled in the history of British India, came to the resolution of withdrawing the troops from Afghanistan; especially as the subsequent conduct of Shah Soojah proved that he was compelled, for his preservation, to side with the revolution. The British government then declared itself not bound in blind and solitary observance of the tripartite treaty to peril its armies and its Indian empire, in support of a precarious throne. Orders were issued to withdraw the troops from Jellalabad and Candahar, at the earliest Orders for practicable period, into positions from which they could with ease have certain communication with India. This order was much canvassed; for the British officers were not disposed to quail before the Afghans. Mr. Clerk at Delhi, and Major Outram Reasons. in Scinde, strongly recommended the retention of Candahar and Jellalabad as defensive positions.

The government sent orders to General Nott to take the command in Lower Afghanistan, and directed Brigadier England, with four thousand men, to take a quantity of treasure and medicine; to proceed through the Bolan Pass, and to hasten,

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General
Pollock's
success.

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**General
England's
absurdities.**

rid Quetta, to the relief of the army at Candahar. Brigadier England reached Quetta on the 10th of March, where he waited some days for reinforcements from Scinde. On the 26th, he moved from that place, and having met with little difficulty, he approached Hykulzie, where he met a force strongly posted, under the command of Mahomed Sadik. He was led forward by the specious friendship of the Afghans, and had never supposed that any opposition would be made to his movements, until his advance-guard was caught in an ambuscade, when he lost nearly one hundred men in killed and wounded. He then shifted to a position some distance from Hykulzie, and found out for the first time that the enemy had four hundred excellent cavalry. On the 29th, he soon discovered that the insurgents had collected a large force during the night, and were prepared to dispute the road. He, therefore, attributing his failure to imperfect information as to the entrenched position of his foe, marched back to Quetta, to wait until General Nott should send a force, provided with mortars, to clear the pass for him. In the meantime he entrenched himself for the protection of Quetta. He was actively employed in these defensive proceedings, when a peremptory order reached him from General Nott, commanding his immediate advance, and he set out on the 29th of April, with three thousand men, two thousand camels, and one hundred thousand pounds in money, with military and medical stores for the use of the army. On the 28th he reached Hykulzie, where the enemy were posted in their former position. Her Majesty's 41st regiment was led by Major Simmons; they quickly carried the heights to the right and left, with trifling loss, and the enemy fled in all directions. The troops got through the Kojuk Pass and joined General Nott on the 9th of May.

March.

**Shah
Soojah
assassi-
nated.**

Some of the parties at Cabul, after several scenes of confusion, agreed to acknowledge Shah Soojah, now left completely to his own resources, as their sovereign, and he was invited to quit the Bala Hissar, and give his favour to the "haters of the Feringhees." The Koran was sworn by, and coins were struck in his name. He left his lair and placed himself under the protection of a mild-looking handsome young man, by name Soojah-ud-Dowla. Soojah-ud-Dowla was a friend of Akbar Khan, and as he rode with Shah Soojah to review the troops, the travelling chair of state was taken to a place where fifty men with guns lay in ambush. At a signal from Soojah-ud-Dowla, they rose and fired; two balls struck the Shah—one perforated his skull, and another his breast. His body was plundered. The excuse for this atrocity

was, that some time previously Shah Soojah, after he had given numberless cautions to the British authorities relative to their dangerous position, and finding himself surrounded by traitors whom he feared and hated, tried to procure the assassination of Akbar Khan, whose adherent paid him off according to the common Afghan fashion.

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During this period Lord Ellenborough started from Calcutta, and proceeded towards the north-western provinces, where the Commander-in-Chief was residing. At Benares he learned that General Pollock had reached Ali Musjid, and he published a notification which raised the spirits of the British in India ; but he at the same time declared his resolution to withdraw the troops from Jellalabad and Candahar to safer positions.

The fate of the unfortunate prisoners, who were in the hands of the Afghans, excited compassion throughout the British empire. Lord Ellenborough declared that they could not be ransomed for money, but might be surrendered or exchanged ; and that even negotiations might be entered into for that purpose with a *de facto* government, or with the chiefs who had them in custody, but he refused, in the general exchange, to include Dost Mohammed, and desired that endeavours should be made for the release of the last sepoy as much as for that of the first European. General Sale, whose wife and widowed daughter were amongst the prisoners, offered two lacs of rupees for their liberation ; but although this offer was reluctantly sanctioned by the Governor-General, no bargain was effected.

The orders of the Governor-General and of the Commander-in-Chief were, in the month of May, explicitly given, that Generals Pollock and Nott should quit their positions, and make retrograde movements ; but both those gallant leaders demurred. They knew the Afghans, and they resolved to obtain signal redress for past treachery. General Sale was kept in the straight course by the courage of his officers ; while, supported by innate courage, General Nott, although left in a more advanced position, took special care to make effective preparations for retaining Candahar. He therefore recommended, that the garrison should remain in that position until autumn ; for, although the troops were, in April, four months in arrear of pay, without a rupee in the treasury—without medicine, without draught or baggage cattle, he was not afraid of an untrained, unorganised, and half-civilised rabble, however numerous. This prudent and energetic decision forced Brigadier England to advance from his entrenchments at Quetta ; it quieted the retrograding notions of Lord Ellenborough.

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General Pollock delays his retreat.

The state of Cabul encourages an advance.

General Pollock advances towards Cabul.

He defeats the Afghans.

Excellent conduct of General Nott.

The want of carriage-cattle prevented any movement on the part of General Pollock for four months ; and the Sikh government refused to occupy Jellalabad. During that time the state of affairs at Cabul showed clearly the facility with which that capital could be captured. The chiefs, and even Akbar Khan, attempted to negotiate for their own benefit. There were two factions there struggling for mastery and plunder. The delay of the troops gave time for reflection ; and Generals Pollock and Nott, both Company's officers, were left at liberty to act as they thought best for the honour and interest of England. Preparations were at last effected for an advance on Cabul, and on the 20th of August General Pollock moved from Jellalabad to pass through the defiles, where the bones of the butchered British soldiers lay still unburied. He defeated twelve thousand Afghans on the 24th at Mammo Khail, and remained a fortnight at Gundamuck. On the 8th of September he reached Jugdulluk, the scene of former disasters ; and he forced the Ghilzies, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, to retire from the heights that commanded that dreaded pass. On the 11th he arrived at Tezeen, of which celebrated valley the heights around were crowded by Afghans. Sixteen thousand men under the command of Akbar Khan advanced, contrary to their usual custom, even to the British bayonets. They disputed to the last for the Huft Kotul ; but the gallantry of the British soldiers forced them to disperse, leaving behind them a twenty-four pound howitzer, several guns, and three standards. At Khoord Cabul there was no opposition, and on the 15th General Pollock entered Cabul, and the British colours were planted in the Bala Hissar amidst the cheers of the troops and the roar of a royal salute from the Horse Artillery. Futtah Jung, son of Shah Soojah, who had been made king by Akbar Khan, went, with the permission of General Pollock, to the Bala Hissar, to witness the ceremony.

The conduct of General Nott, who had offered, in December, 1841, to march from Candahar to Cabul, will ever be the theme of the highest praise ; it will endear his memory to British history. He resisted every movement in Afghanistan, unless such as was calculated to wipe out the stains that the treachery of the chiefs had cast upon England. He infused confidence into his troops ; and when the time for quitting Candahar arrived, he sent Major-General England with a portion of the troops, all the sick, and the women and children, back to Scinde, *via* Quetta, where the Major-General had the gratification of levelling his previous entrenchments before he entered Scinde in safety.

General Nott, with 7,000 men, lightly equipped and in high spirits, set out on the 10th of August for Ghuznee and Cabul, which latter place he promised to reach in the beginning of October. He had a quantity of ammunition, and provisions for forty days. The march was unopposed until the 30th, when the Ghuznee Afghans, commanded by Shums-ud-deen Khan, a cousin of Akbar, attempted at Gonine, thirty-one miles S.W. of the fortress, to stop his progress. General Nott, with one half his force, gave battle, and in a short time routed the twelve thousand Afghans, and took their guns, ammunition, tents, and baggage. On the 4th of September he approached Ghuznee, which was full of men, had it reconnoitred, and at once determined to carry the enemy's mountain positions, and erected his batteries. Early on the morning of the 5th, the fortress was discovered to have been evacuated during the night. On its being entered by the British troops, it was found that not a single person was in the city—neither man, woman, nor child ; there was no property, and there was not a single house standing entire in the town ; the whole had been unroofed and destroyed by the factions of the Afghans for the sake of the timber. The fortifications and citadel were then destroyed, as having been the scene of treachery, mutilation, torture, starvation, and cruel murder to the unresisting British prisoners. But, as a contrast, we may refer to the treatment of the extensive village of Rozeh, one of the loveliest of the country. It was full of inhabitants, with houses filled with property, the farm-yards stocked with poultry, the gardens laden with fruit, and the vineyards bending with ripe grapes ; yet all was sacred—nothing was touched by the soldiers, even after four years' sufferings. During four days, the victorious Candahar army was encamped quite near the village of Rozeh, but while the soldiers paid dearly for even the fruit, nothing was taken by force or stolen from the village. Such was the discipline of General Nott's army. He punished all thefts, marauding, and violence with severity ; and the soldiers knew his decision. He recovered three hundred and twenty-seven sepoys of the 27th Regiment Bengal Native Infantry, who had been sold as slaves within forty miles round. Shums-ud-deen, and some other chiefs, again tried to throw obstacles in his way on the 14th and 15th of September ; but he routed them with the greatest facility, and reached Cabul two days after General Pollock.

One of the first duties of the British General on reaching Cabul was to effect the restoration of the prisoners, who, after various removals, had ultimately, on the 25th of August been recovered

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Akbar Khan escapes.

hurried to Bameean, where they arrived on the 3rd of September, and whence Akbar Khan declared his intention to have them sent to Kholoom, to be then sold as slaves. His pretext was, that General Pollock refused to evacuate the country. Fortunately for them, their chief guard had been an officer in Shah Soojah's service, and although the order had come from Akbar for their removal to Kholoom, he, on the 11th, proposed to effect their liberation, provided they secured to him twenty thousand rupees in cash and one thousand rupees per month for his life. They assented, and the documents were signed. Major Pottinger, then, in the name of the British government, nominated two governors of the district, and secured some forts; and the tribe which inhabited the valley being Kuzzibashes and Shiabs, supported their cause. On the 15th, hearing that Akbar Khan had after his defeat fled to Kohistan, the British prisoners ventured upon a flight towards Cabul. They marched to Tepchy Bala, and encamped near some castles, which they intended to seize in case of being attacked. On the 17th, they, having marched through the Kaled pass, and having reached that of Hajykek were met by Sir Richmond Shakespeare and six hundred Kuzzibash horsemen, who had traversed ninety miles of that mountainous country in two marches. On the 18th they marched to Geedendewar, where they heard that a party of horse had been despatched from two neighbouring districts to intercept their retreat. On the 19th they marched to Thikaneh, and there hearing that the Afghans had occupied the pass of Sufeyd Khak; they proceeded towards Argendeh, where they met Sir R. Sale's troops holding the pass and the heights, and were thus restored to freedom and their friends. The number of the prisoners exceeded eighty European men; and, including Ladies Sale and M'Naghten, there were eleven ladies and nineteen children, of whom eight belonged to Mrs. Trevor, the widow of the officer murdered at Cabul. Captain Bygrave, who was with Akbar, was allowed to return in a few days. Lady Sale acknowledged that the prisoners had been well treated by the Afghans. Two thousand Indians were recovered.

General M'Caskill destroys Istalif and Charekar.

Shortly after General Nott had joined General Pollock, a force was detached under Major-General M'Caskill, with strict orders to proceed into Kohistan, having Major Pottinger with them, in order, if possible, to secure the person of Akbar Khan, to punish the inhabitants for their cruel treatment of the British troops ten months previously, and to bring to the army the sepoys and camp-followers who were detained as slaves. Major-General

M'Caskill issued stringent orders to restrain all pillage and violence. Istaliff is situate on the slope of a mountain, and was considered unassailable by the natives, who had retired thither from Cabul. On the approach of the British troops they fired some of their long guns, but they were soon forced to flee up to the mountain top. A quantity of property, plundered from the British army, was found, and after it was removed, and some supplies useful for the troops were taken, fire was set in different places, and about a third of the town was destroyed ; but no wanton cruelty was perpetrated ; the women and children were respected. Charekar, where Major Pottinger and Lieutenant Houghton had been wounded, and their guards cut to pieces, in the month of November previous, received similar treatment ; but the inhabitants had taken care to remove themselves and their property. Signal vengeance was taken on the bazaar at Cabul, in which the mutilated body of the British envoy had been treated with indignity, while dragged about by the populace, and afterwards hung up in derision. Notice was given for two days to those who had property in it and near it, that it would be destroyed ; and the chiefs in the town aided the engineer employed on the occasion, when the bazaar and the mosque adjoining were, on the 9th of October, both blown up. On the following day two other covered bazaars, and the houses of Akbar Khan and a new mosque, ornamented with European materials, and specially built to record the destruction of the Feringhees, were also blown up. The Bala Hissar was about to share the same fate, but Shah Soojah's son, Shapore, having assumed the insignia of royalty, it was left for his protection. Cabul, thus ravaged, was abandoned on the 12th of October. While returning through the defiles, the remains of the soldiers murdered months before, and which had lain unburied, were consigned to the earth. The army returns to India.

Khoord Cabul was passed without molestation ; but in the Tezeen valley the mountaineers took advantage of the night to fire on the troops ; the fortified house of the chief, one of their most infuriated opponents, was destroyed. At Jugdulluk a desperate attack was made on the baggage, but nothing was lost. The fortifications of Jellalabad were blown up ; and, as the army approached the formidable Khyber, the chiefs sent a deputation to ask what would be given for a safe passage. "Nothing" was the answer. On the 27th, Generals Pollock and M'Caskill started with their divisions, and Nott followed on the 29th. A persevering opposition was made. Pollock lost some men and a quantity of baggage, and reached Peshawur on the 3rd. M'Caskill's

The Khyber Afghans try to obstruct them.

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column suffered severely, losing two officers and sixty sepoys, and reached on the 5th. Nott, with the rear, having destroyed the fort of Ali Musjid, reached on the 6th. He had been furiously assailed, but lost nothing of his baggage, and had four killed and two officers and nineteen men wounded.*

Dost Mo-hammed liberated.

The troops received with triumph at Ferozepore.

Lord Ellenborough's Eastern proclamation.

On the 25th of October, the Governor-General ordered that Dost Mohammed, with his wives and children, and those of his sons and their families, and all other Afghans in India, should be permitted to return to their country.

From Peshawur to Ferozepore the troops passed quietly through the Sikh country. At the Indus they were met, on the 17th of December, by the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, who received them in a triumphant manner, and with every honour. Distinctions, medals, and rewards were bestowed. Among the trophies brought by General Nott were the celebrated sandal-wood gates, taken one thousand years previously from Somnath by Mahmood of Ghuznee, together with a mace found on his tomb.† These ancient trophies gave occasion to an address from the Governor-General to all the Native Princes of India. When translated into English, it appeared turgid and bombastic; but, in their languages, it produced great effect amongst the native princes and their people; for they saw that notwithstanding the fatal reverses of 1841, the British troops were thoroughly successful in 1842.

The student of Indian history will feel pleasure in learning the public grounds of Lord Ellenborough's decision for abandoning Afghanistan. They are contained in the following proclamation, dated 1st of October, 1842: —

Official notification of the abandonment of Afghanistan.

"The government of India directed its army to pass the Indus, in order to expel from Afghanistan a chief believed to be hostile to British interests, and to replace upon his throne a sovereign represented to be friendly to those interests, and popular with his former subjects. The chief believed to be

* Lady M'Naghten, on quitting Cabul, caused the remains of her husband to be taken from the pit into which the Afghans had thrown them, and brought them to Calcutta, where they were decently interred, amidst undisguised proofs of respect from the community. A large public subscription was made for erecting a suitable monument to his memory.

† Major General Nott was subsequently obliged, by ill health, to relinquish the appointment of Resident at Oude, and to return to Europe, where he was welcomed by universal sympathy. His disease was an enlargement of the heart. He died in his native city, Carmarthen, Jan. 1, 1846, in his 64th year. His foresight, judgment, decision and courage, were the theme of eulogy not only from the Court of Directors, but from the country at large.

hostile became a prisoner, and the sovereign represented to be popular was replaced upon his throne; but, after events, which brought into question his fidelity to the government by which he was restored, he lost, by the hands of an assassin, the throne he had only held amidst insurrections, and his death was preceded and followed by still existing anarchy.

"Disasters, unparalleled in their extent, unless by the errors in which they originated, and by the treachery by which they were completed, have, in one short campaign, been avenged on every scene of past misfortune; and repeated victories in the field, and the capture of the cities and citadels of Ghuznee and Cabul, have again attached the opinion of invincibility to the British arms.

"The British army, in possession of Afghanistan, will now be withdrawn to the Sutledge. The Governor-General will leave it to the Afghans themselves to create a government amidst the anarchy which is the consequence of their crimes. To force a sovereign upon a reluctant people would be as inconsistent with the policy as it is with the principles of the British government, tending to place the arms and resources of that people at the disposal of the first invader, and to impose the burthen of supporting a sovereign, without the prospect of benefit from his alliance.

"The Governor-General will willingly recognise any government approved by the Afghans themselves, which shall appear desirous and capable of maintaining friendly relations with neighbouring states. Content with the limits nature appears to have assigned to its empire, the government of India will devote all its efforts to the establishment and maintenance of general peace, to the protection of the sovereigns and chiefs, its allies, and to the prosperity and happiness of its own faithful subjects. The rivers of the Punjab and the Indus, and the mountainous passes and the barbarous tribes of Afghanistan, will be placed between the British army and an enemy approaching from the west, if indeed such an enemy there can be, and no longer between the army and its supplies. The enormous expenditure required for the support of a large force, in a false military position, at a distance from its own frontier and its resources, will no longer arrest every measure for the improvement of the country and of the people. The combined army of England and of India, superior in equipment, in discipline, in valour, and in the officers by whom it is commanded, to any force which can be opposed to it in Asia, will stand in unassailable strength upon its own soil, and for ever, under the blessing of Providence, preserve the glorious empire it has won, in security and in honour.

"The Governor-General cannot fear the misconstruction of his motives in thus frankly announcing, to surrounding states, the pacific and conservative policy of his government. Afghanistan and China have seen, at once, the forces at his disposal, and the effect with which they can be applied.

"Sincerely attached to peace for the sake of the benefits it confers upon the people, the Governor-General is resolved that peace shall be observed, and will put forth the whole power of the British government to coerce the state by which it shall be infringed."

The policy of Lord Ellenborough and the military operations in India produced discussions in Parliament. The inflated pro-

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The
disasters
are said to
have been
avenged.

The
Afghans
left to
themselves.

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A.D. 1842. However, those gates had been regarded as trophies gained by Mahmood of Ghuznee, and had remained at his tomb during eight hundred years, and their restoration to India served clearly to prove that the British and Indian troops had defeated the Mussulmans of Afghanistan, in that mountainous country ; and it soothed the vanity and gratified the sympathies of, at least, some of the inhabitants of India. Comments were made on the excesses committed at Istaliff, as if it was unworthy of civilized warfare, to revenge a bloody massacre. Thanks were, nevertheless, voted by Parliament to the Governor-General, to the Generals, and to all the troops, for their good conduct and valour ; and titles and honours were bestowed.

Thanks
to the
army.

State of
Scinde.

The successful termination of the war in the Afghan country, to the north and north-west of the Indus, having secured peace on that portion of the British frontiers, the attention of the Governor-General was directed to the unfriendly, if not treacherous, conduct of the Ameers of Scinde, an extensive district lying on both banks of the lower part of that river. Their unwillingness to observe the relations of amity with the British government, was manifested when the army from Bombay passed through their territories, on the march towards Cabul. Explanations were asked for, which the Ameers, at first, sullenly refused. Sunk in the mire of sensuality, and being possessed of great wealth, they gratified every grovelling passion ; while the mass of the wretched beings subject to their rule, was reduced to the lowest grade of ignorance and distress. Those rulers, nevertheless, feared the progress of British power, and they instigated petty intrigues, or secret hostilities to arrest it.

The
system
of the
Ameers'
govern-
ment.

Their
debauch-
eries.

In 1740, Scinde formed a dependent portion of the Persian empire, under Nadir Shah, and was then governed by a family of the Caloras, who were expelled about 1780, when the Talpoor leader, Futtah Ali Khan, by the aid of some Beloochees, succeeded in obtaining power. His rule was secured to him by the king of Cabul, who had become sovereign, after the murder of the Persian conqueror. Futtah Ali admitted his three younger brothers to share in the government, and assigned them portions of the territory as their special appanages. During the lifetime of the first four Ameers, the utmost good feeling prevailed amongst them ; but, as usual, at all Asiatic courts, the second race became corrupt in morals, and plunged deep into de-

bauchery. Like most men who seek excessive indulgences, they loved the violent exercise of hunting, and they therefore had the banks of the Indus kept as *Shikargahs*, or hunting grounds ; that is, thick wild-woods or jungles, in which the untamed animals were allowed to roam, to the exclusion of cultivation. When sated with the pleasures of the harem, the Talpoors sought Their hunting grounds. British authorities had made treaties, by which the navigation of the Indus was declared free on certain conditions, and a right given to cut on its banks, wood for the steamers. The jealousy of the Ameers was soon excited by the proceedings of the British army, when moving in 1838, under Sir John Keane, towards Candahar. The British General was obliged to threaten Hyderabad, their capital, for, as Scindean chiefs, they despised all treaties or promises, and would be bound by nothing but their own interests, and even by them merely within their present narrow views—not by any fancied or prospective advantages. They had been told that if they abandoned the transit duties on merchandize, they would gain “a hundred-fold benefit,” from the increase of commerce, and of population. On this topic, the reply of Noor Mohammed, who died in 1840, deserves to be quoted as a specimen of the selfishness of an Asiatic despot. “All you Noor Mo-
say may be true ; but we, the Ameers of Scinde, cannot com-
prehend how those sweetened words can do us good. What use
to us will those changes and increase of trade and people
produce ? No, no ; they will do us great injury ; our Shikargahs
will be destroyed, our amusements curtailed, our enjoyments
diminished. Where is the money that the British negotiator years
ago promised us from trade ? None has made its appearance ;
our contractors and tax-gatherers write to say that they are
bankrupts and cannot fulfil their engagements. The English
troops take everything, even to the goats and camels ; our trade
is at a stand-still, and a pestilence has fallen upon our country.
But—the people !—you talk about them and say they will become
rich. What do I care about them, if they pay the taxes ? The
land will flourish ! Oh, yes ; so as to excite British cupidity, and
then the foreign troops will turn us out, as they have done many
in India. That country was once rich, and therefore you found
means to conquer the rulers and their subjects. No, no ; let us
live in quiet—let us enjoy our hunting grounds—and leave us in
peace as we were before you came with your papers and treaties,
to tease and to torment us”

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Noor Mo-
hammed's
opinion of
English
civiliza-
tion.

In 1836, the Maharajah of Lahore, Runjeet Sing, finding him-

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Runjeet
Sing makes
them
tributary.

and on their refusal, he sent a body of troops which took possession of a town and some forts. Through the mediation of the British Indian government, peace was restored between the contending parties. Attempts were then made to have a British envoy stationed, as a Resident, at Hyderabad. The Ameers at first refused, but ultimately they yielded, and Sir H. Pottinger was appointed. At the time of the military expedition of 1838, a body of troops were sent, as a reserve for the army, from Bombay, to occupy Kurrachee, the only safe harbour of Scinde. Although opposition was made by the Beloochees, the troops effected a landing, and took possession of the place, which became a station for the reserve. The negotiations of the Ameers with Persia and Russia were discovered ; yet treaties of various kinds were, nevertheless, agreed to by the Ameers ; but they were not faithfully observed during the disasters of Cabul, and several sums which had been promised as contributions for defraying the expences of the force, remained unpaid. On the 3rd Dec., 1840, the death of the chief Ameer, Noor Mohammed, took place. He left his children under the care of the British Resident, Major Outram, who had succeeded Sir H. Pottinger. Nusseer Khan, their uncle, endeavoured to have himself recognized as Rais, or head of the Hyderabad branch of the Talpoor family. As this dignity was not accorded to him, he showed symptoms of decided hostility. Of the yearly contribution, a balance of 160,000*l.* was due in May, 1842, Nusseer Khan being the chief defaulter. Sir Charles J. Napier was invested with the command of all the forces in Scinde, and also with the chief political power. He was instructed by the Governor-General to examine the allegations made against the Ameers of Hyderabad and Khyrpore, who were accused of having evinced most hostile designs during the late events. The Governor-General declared his intention to inflict such punishment upon the treachery of the ally and friend who should, on ample and convincing evidence, be proved clearly guilty, as would effectually deter all others in future from similar conduct. Sir Charles Napier proceeded with a body of troops from Bombay to Kurrachee, in September, 1842. After a rigid investigation, he found abundant proofs of the wishes of the Ameers to form a conspiracy against the English, and he learned from Meer Ali Moorad of Khyrpore, that all the Ameers, except himself and Meer Sobdar, of Hyderabad, had entered into a league for the purpose of hostilities. He set his troops in movement to control the attempt. A new

The English
make
various
treaties
with them.

They do
not pay
their
subsidies.

Sir C. J.
Napier
sent to
Scinde.

treaty was proposed, relieving the Ameers from the payment of the subsidy for the support of the British troops, to which, as it insisted on the surrender of Kurrachee, of Tatta, and of three other towns, with a strip of land on each side of the Indus, and also the right to cut wood for the steamers on the banks, the Ameers were most decidedly opposed. Major Outram, who had gone to Bombay, was recalled to Scinde, in order to carry on the negotiations. The Ameers, at first, showed unwillingness to accept the arrangements ; and on the approach of the British General, with some troops, Meer Roostum Khan fled from Khypore, his capital, to Emaum Ghur, a small fort in the desert. He was pursued by Sir Charles Napier, at the head of a light detachment. The fort was found deserted, and was blown up to prevent its being used on after occasions as a place of refuge. After great difficulties, Major Outram succeeded, on the 14th of February, in inducing the Ameers to sign the treaty ; but he urged on the General the danger of driving the Ameers to desperation, by depriving them of the means of supporting their Beloochee troops. Those Beloochees were the chiefs from the mountainous country to the west of Scinde, who had aided the Talpoor family in seizing the government, and who had received jaghires or lands on military tenure, as rewards for their services. The spirit of disaffection spread from the Ameers to their soldiers and dependants. Insults were offered, and stones thrown at the Political Agent and his attendants, as it was said, by the disbanded mercenaries, when he was returning from the Ameers' court. A plot had been laid to murder them all ; but they were saved by the guards of the Ameers.

On the following day, the 15th of February, a body of the Ameers' troops, amounting to 8,000 men, with six guns, and led on by Meer Shadad Khan and other chiefs, proceeded to attack the residence of Major Outram, which was situated near the bank of the Indus, and a short distance from Hyderabad. A hot fire was kept up for four hours ; when Major Outram, with his escort, consisting of 100 men, after a gallant resistance, were compelled, from want of ammunition, to abandon the residence. They retreated to the river, where they got on board a steamer and proceeded to Hala, to join the General.

In the meantime, the Ameers had collected an army of 22,000 men at Meeanee, within six miles of Hyderabad, where they took up a position, to wait for reinforcements, which their agents were collecting. Sir Charles Napier, who had orders to disperse all the armed bands, was at the head of 2,800 men of all arms

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He insists
on the
Ameers
observing
the treaties.
Emaum
Ghur
destroyed.
Major
Outram
tries con-
ciliating
measures.

The
Ameers
and their
soldiers
plot
against
him,
A.D. 1843.

Attack
on the
British
Residency,
Feb. 15.

The
Ameers
collect their
armies.

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Battle of
Meeanee.

with twelve pieces of artillery. He resolved to attack them, and on the 16th, marched to Muttaree, ten miles distant from Meeanee. On the 17th, at eight o'clock in the morning, his advanced guard discovered their camp ; at nine, the British troops were formed in order of battle ; and the Amoers, who were strongly posted on the bank of the river Fullailee, there, nearly straight, with the bed dry, for about 1,200 yards in length, with woods on each flank, and a village on the extreme right, opened the fight with fifteen pieces of artillery. The British troops moved forward on the right in echelons of battalions, refusing the left to save it from the fire of the village. They advanced, as at a review, across a fine plain, which was swept by the enemy's cannon. The artillery and H.M. 22nd Regiment formed the leading echelon, and speedily traversed the space of 1000 yards, and opened fire when about one hundred yards distant. The engagement then became general on the banks and in the bed of the river, which was forty feet wide and seventeen feet deep ; the combatants fought with great fury during three hours. The superiority of the musket and bayonet over the sword and shield and matchlock was there proved. The brave Beloochees first discharged their matchlocks and pistols, and then dashed over the bank with desperate resolution ; but soon the bold and skilful swordsmen were struck down under the superior power of the musket and bayonet. Some years afterwards, Sir Charles Napier, when presenting new colours to the 22nd Regiment, of which he had become colonel, thus addressed them :—

Sir C. J.
Napier's
address
to the
22nd
Regiment.

It is a great pleasure to me, soldiers, to close my command of the Indian armies by having the honour to present to the 22nd Regiment their new colours. It is now eight years since this brave regiment, then only 500 strong, under that noble soldier Pennifather, and joined by our dusky and brave companions in arms the glorious 25th and 12th Regiments of Bombay Native Infantry, won the battle of Meeanee, won the battle of Hyderabad, won Scinde for England, and won for themselves these proud colours, decorated with the records of your fame !

Soldiers ! well may I be proud of being your colonel—well may I be proud of being colonel of that regiment which stood by the King of England at Dettingen—stood by the celebrated Lord Peterborough at Barcelona, and into the arms of whose Grenadiers the immortal Wolfe fell on the Heights of Abraham. Well may I exult in the command of such a regiment ! But I will pass over bygone glories, and speak of what has happened in our own times. Never can I forget the banks of the Fullailee, and the bloody bed of that river, where 2,000 of our men fought 35,000 enemies ! where, for three hours, the musket and the bayonet encountered the sword and shield in mortal combat ; for, on that dreadful day, no man spared a foe—we were too

weak for mercy. Shall I ever forget the strong and lofty intrenchments of Dubba, where the 22nd advanced in line, unshaken,—a living wall; and, under a murderous fire, stormed the works? There those honoured old colours, of which we have just taken leave, bravely borne forward by their Ensigns, Bowden and Blake,—one of whom, Lieutenant Bowden, I see before me, bearing them this day, but in a higher rank—were in a few minutes seen waving triumphantly aloft amidst the combatants on the summit.

Men of Meeanee, you must remember with exultation and with pride, what a view burst upon your sight when, under a heavy fire, you reached the bank of the river, and a hurl of shields and Scindian capped and turbanned heads and flashing scimitars, high brandished in the air, spread as a sea before you, and 35,000 valiant warriors of Beloochistan threatening you with destruction! Then the hostile armies closed and clashed together, and desperate combats thickened along the line! The superb 9th Cavalry of Bengal and the renowned Scinde Horse—the dark chivalry of India, burst as a thunder-storm cloud charging into the dry bed of the torrent, driving the foe before them! At that moment a terrible cry arose on the right. It was the dreadful British shout of battle. It began with the 22nd; and was re-echoed from right to left, from regiment to regiment, along the line. Lines of levelled bayonets now gleamed, charging through the smoke, and the well-fought field of Meeanee was your own.

Soldiers, these are not clouds that pass away like summer-clouds, and are forgotten. They remain fixed on the minds of men—they are recorded in the pages of history. Young soldiers of the 22nd, when future battles arise, and the strife grows heavy and strong, remember the deeds that were done by these old soldiers of Meeanee. It was they who covered these colours with laurels—it was they who won the legends which these standards bear emblazoned in golden letters on the silk. Remember these things, and move shoulder to shoulder with the day. And now, young soldiers, a few words about drill. It is tiresome and often disheartening, and annoys men; but remember that it is drill that makes companies, and regiments, and brigades, and divisions act together, and to strike, as it were, with great and mighty blows; it is drill which gives you the battle and the glory of victory!

Ensigns, take these new colours from my hands. I know you will carry them gloriously on the day of battle; and if you fall, still the colours of the 22nd will advance—for brave men will never be wanting in the field to bear them forward to victory with fire and steel; and now, 22nd, take your colours and let the ancient city of Chester, begirt by its proud old walls, exult in the glories of its own brave regiment.

The result of the victory was the surrender of Hyderabad, and of six of the Ameers. The loss of the British amounted to two hundred and fifty-six men, of the enemy to about five thousand.

The Ameers were not all subdued, for Shere Mohammed, at the head of a large body of troops, took a position behind one of the large nullahs (water-courses) which intersect the country. The nullah was formed of two deep parallel ditches, one twenty feet in width, and eight in depth, the other forty-two wide and

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Scinde conquered. Scinde was declared a British province, and the conqueror was named its governor. By his judicious proceedings the population, as well as the military chiefs, to whom their jaghires were secured, became thoroughly reconciled to the change of rulers. Ali Moorad, the Ameer of Khypore, who had always remained faithful to his engagements, received an increase of territory. Slavery was abolished in Scinde, the transit duties taken off, and the Indus was declared open to the navigation of the world. The Ameers taken prisoners were removed to Bombay, and subsequently to Calcutta, where they exhibited the utmost dejection.

Comments on the conquest of Scinde. The conquest of Scinde was at first unpalatable to certain parties in Bombay, and they exerted their influence, through the agency of a portion of the Indian press, to decry it. The General, and the army in Scinde, were assailed with outrageous calumnies. A fierce conflict of party disputes ensued, in which Lord Ellenborough was roughly handled, and his policy pronounced destructive of the honour and welfare of his country. The ravages of the cholera at Kurrachee, and the unhealthiness of various parts of Scinde, which have since grown salubrious through the efforts of civilization, were then exaggerated to the greatest extent. Ridicule was cast on the name given by Lord Ellenborough to Scinde, when he called it "a province as fertile as Egypt," with which it is fully capable of competing.

Actual state of Scinde. The insults of the unscrupulous writers who abused Sir Charles Napier were counterbalanced by the praises bestowed on him by the Duke of Wellington, who, in the House of Lords moved a vote of thanks to him as having showed all the qualities of an excellent General officer, while the soldiers displayed there all the best qualities of the bravest troops.

Kurrachee has since become a favourite military station, and Scinde is every year growing more healthy in proportion as its fertility is encouraged, and the jungles are destroyed.

Discussions at Gwalior. Some of the native states of India, excited by their sympathies with the Afghans, had on various occasions exhibited unfriendly feelings towards the British rule. The Mahrattas of Gwalior, an internal state, haunted with recollections of the

former power of their race, under their favourite rulers, showed symptoms of disaffection, which Lord Ellenborough, who, subsequent to Generals Nott and Pollock's successes, appeared to be smitten with an extravagant fancy for warlike movements and battles, resolved to suppress. At Gwalior, the conduct of the Queen mother (Maharanee) gave a pretext for marching against that country. After the death of the Maharajah, Rao Scindiah, Jyagee Rao Scindiah, a child, but his nearest relative, was adopted by the widow, and with the consent of the chiefs, and the approval of the British authorities, declared successor to the throne, and Mama Sahib was appointed regent during the minority. Quarrels arose between the Maharanee and the regent Mama, who, by the intrigues of the former was compelled to quit the Gwalior country, while Dada Khasgee Walla, who was allowed to take the reins of power, committed various acts, which, as being insulting and injurious, were resented by the British government. After several remonstrances, the British Resident was instructed to withdraw from Gwalior, but previously to demand that the Dada Khasgee should be surrendered as a prisoner, in order to his being removed from Gwalior, where his presence was pronounced to be injurious. A letter addressed to the Maharanee, and conveying the sentiments of the British government, was concealed by the Dada, and never delivered. The Resident insisted on the Dada being given up, and the Maharanee yielded a reluctant assent. Complaints were made of the disturbances on the frontiers of Gwalior, and of the confusion and disturbances tolerated in Gwalior itself, which were in violation of the treaty existing between the two governments. Early in December troops were ordered to advance into the districts of Gwalior, "to effect all the just purposes of the British government; to obtain guarantees for the future security of its subjects on the common frontiers of the two states; to protect the person of the Maharajah; to quell disturbances within his highness's territories, and to chastise all who remained in disobedience."

Every assurance of observing the rules of peace and good Negocia-
order, during the progress of the army, was given to the inhab-
bitants of Gwalior by Lord Ellenborough, and by his orders the
British troops were enjoined to pay for all their supplies. His
lordship accompanied the army on its march, and issued several
proclamations, stating that as soon as a government was estab-
lished in Gwalior sufficiently strong, and capable of maintaining
the authority of the Maharajah over all, and willing to preserve

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The Ranees
supports
the Dada.

The British
remon-
strate.

The British
demand
guarantees.

Negocia-
tions
tryed by
Lord
Ellen-
borough.

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Sir H.
Gough
and the
British
army
advance.

Battle of
Maha-
rajpore.

Dec. 29.

Battle of
Punniar.

tranquillity on the common frontier, the British armies were to return to their own territories. Some bloody conflicts ensued. A division of the British force, commanded by Sir Hugh Gough, that had left Agra with the Governor-General, crossed the Chumbul river on the 23rd of December, and halted for five days at Hingona, a strongly fortified town twenty miles distant from Gwalior.

The Vakeels (political attorneys) of the Gwalior Durbar, or council, had an interview with the Governor-General, and negotiations were supposed to be going forward in an amicable manner. But they were merely a pretext for a delay to allow time for the concentration of the Gwalior troops, which were commanded by European and half-caste officers. A second division, commanded by Major General Grey, advanced upon Gwalior from Bundelcund. The main division crossed the Koharee on the 29th. Lord Ellenborough having discovered the deceit of the Durbar, resolved to use decided measures. The Gwalior army, which mustered about eighteen thousand men, including three thousand cavalry, with one hundred guns, was stationed in a strong position, which they had carefully intrenched, in front of the village of Maharajpore. The British troops, European and native, numbered fourteen thousand men, with forty pieces of artillery. The action was begun by the advance of the column under the command of Major General Littler, who boldly attacked the enemy in front. The Mahrattas stood their ground with cool determination, and their guns did severe execution as the British advanced. But the rush of Her Majesty's thirty-ninth regiment, supported by the fifty-sixth regiment of native infantry, drove them from their guns into the village, where a sanguinary combat took place. General Valiant led his brigade to the rear of Maharajpore, and attacked it. By this movement twenty-eight guns were captured. The Mahrattas fought with desperation, and lost between three and four thousand men. The British had seven officers and ninety-four men killed, and thirty-four officers and six hundred and eighty-four men wounded. Lord Ellenborough, mounted on an elephant, was in the engagement, and by his presence encouraged the soldiers. His unnecessary exposure of the person of the Governor-General, gave a handle for censure to his numerous enemies.

On the same day Major-General Grey achieved a brilliant victory near Punniar, twelve miles from Gwalior, over twelve thousand Mahrattas, who had taken up a formidable position on the heights near the fortified village of Mangore. The enemy was

driven from height to height by the gallant soldiers, who forgot their fatiguing marches of the previous days while engaged in routing them.

These rapid successes reduced the Gwalior Durbar to obedience. The British army entered the capital, and order was restored. The Mahratta army was disbanded, and a British contingent raised. The expenses of the campaign were paid by the conquered. On the 4th of January, 1844, the Governor-General issued a proclamation, announcing that the campaign had terminated, in which he thanked the Generals and the troops for the two victories which had established good order and tranquillity in that important state.

The proceedings of Lord Ellenborough, who openly professed the highest admiration for the army in India, excited the hatred and malice of the "politics," as persons employed in various civil duties are, in Indian phraseology, from their diplomatic functions erroneously called. Every means of publicity was used to ruin the reputation of his Lordship; and the newspapers, under the control of his opponents, maligned his acts without scruple.

The triumphs in Afghanistan, Scinde, and Gwalior, led to the His suspicion that he contemplated the subjugation of the Punjab, to which the usual cautious, hesitating policy of the Court of Directors was apparently opposed. Lord Ellenborough, who had been long a member of the British Cabinet, and twice President of the Board of Control, did not estimate the good opinion of the Directors, or of the civil servants, as highly as he, being then in employment as Governor-General, was expected to do. Misunderstandings arose, and crimination and recrimination necessarily followed, when the Directors, using the power with which the law invested them, of dismissing summarily any person from their service, recalled his Lordship from India. He was at the time a favourite with the Duke of Wellington, who reprobated this act of sudden removal as being extremely indiscreet, with Sir Robert Peel,—and apparently even with the Whigs, who considered such treatment to be harsh and unmerited. His recall, which was decided on in April, produced discussions in both Houses of Parliament; but the partial discontent created by it soon subsided when his successor was nominated. Sir Henry Hardinge was, on the suggestion of Sir Robert Peel, appointed to the vacant office. That Lord Ellenborough had conferred great benefits on India, and had ensured good service in China, is beyond doubt; but when the tide of dissatisfaction sets in

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The
Durbar
submits.

Lord Ellen-
borough
severely
criticised.

military
tastes.

He is
recalled
by the
Directors.

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He is
elevated
to an
Earldom.

with the blind force of a storm in the darkness of midnight, each prudent mariner will submit to its violence for the moment, rather than expose his crew by rashness to extreme danger. The order of recall reached Calcutta on the 15th of June, and for some weeks, the government of India was conducted by W. W. Bird, Esq., the Senior Member of the Bengal Council. Lord Ellenborough was feted by the military at Calcutta, and left for Europe on the 1st of August, 1844. As a soothing appliance to his wounded feelings, he was raised, after his return to England, to the rank of an Earl.*

* The important events which were, at this period, brought about in China, by the co-operation of troops and ships from India, require to be detailed in a separate history.

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GOVERNMENT OF LORD HARDINGE, 1844—1848.

Remarkable Address of the Chairman to the new Governor-General
—He arrives in Calcutta, July 23.—His first Acts prove his Wish
to maintain Peace.—A Mutiny is suppressed.—Disturbances in the
Southern Mahratta States.—The Ambition of the Rajah of Kolapoore.—Disputes.—Confusion in Sawunt Warree.—Rebellion.—
Cruelties perpetrated by a British Officer.—Bad Effects of
British Guarantees to Tyrant Princes.—The Bahmin Dajee at
Kolapoore.—Rebellion there.—Samunghur taken.—Colonel Outram
and Mr. Reeves propose Conditions.—They are declined.—
Colonel Ovans a Prisoner in Punalla Fort.—Punalla taken.—
Delays in the Military Proceedings cause Dissatisfaction.—
Colonel Outram commissioned to quell the Disturbances.—His
active and decided Measures produce their speedy Cessation.—
The Rebels dispersed.—Kolapoore and Sawunt Warree settled....
State of Scinde.—The Chiefs are reconciled to the British Rule.
—The Mountain Tribes forced to submit.—Many of them come to
settle in the Plains near the Indus....State of the Sikhs in the
Punjab.—Their Principles and Policy.—Nanuk's Visions.—
Theories.—The Grunth.—The Sikh System of Religion.—Their
Proselytes.—Their Veneration for the Cow.—Persecution and
Oppression make them Warriors.—Their Missul Parliament.—
Their Women allowed to govern.—Runjeet Sing's last Years.—
His Favourites.—His Son Kurruck succeeds, and dies.—Dhyan
Sing Vizir.—Nao Nehul Sing is killed.—Shere Sing proclaimed
King.—His Debauchery.—He is assassinated.—Dhuleep Sing, a
Child, proclaimed King.—Murders in Lahore.—Heera Sing is
Prime Minister.—Suchet Sing and Heera Sing killed.—Dhuleep's
Mother is a Sikh Messalina.—She appoints her Brother to be the
Vizir.—The Army rules the State.—Gholab Sing maintains his
Power.—The Sikh Army seek to plunder India.—They invade the
British Frontier.—The Governor-General issues a Proclamation
confiscating certain Parts of the Sikh Dominions.—The Proclam-
ation.—The Sikhs, commanded by Tej Sing, occupy Ferozeshah.
—Intense Interest created in India and Europe.—The British

Army advances to expel the Sikhs from the British Territory.—The Commander-in-Chief reaches Moodkee and attacks the Sikhs.—Battle of Moodkee, Dec. 18, 1845.—The Sikhs concentrate at Ferozeshah.—The Commander-in-Chief and the Governor-General pursue them.—A Bloody Battle, Dec. 21.—It lasts two Days.—The British Troops bivouac on the Field of Battle.—The Horrors of that Night.—The Battle renewed on the Morning of Dec. 22.—Gallant Conduct of the Governor-General.—It contributes to secure the Victory.—Destructive Fire of the Sikhs.—They attack the entrenched Camp three times.—The British Ammunition expended.—Victory secured by the Bayonet.—The British sweep the Field.—Many Officers killed.—Sikh Troops come again across the Sutledge, near Philoor.—Sir H. Smith sent to drive them back.—Battle of Aliwal, Jan. 28, 1846.—The Sikh Position at Sobraon.—Battle of Sobraon, Feb. 10, 1846.—Complete Defeat of the Sikhs.—The British enter Lahore.—The Durbar sends Gholab Sing to make Terms.—They submit to the British Dictation.—Dhuleep Sing comes to the Governor-General's Camp.—He is retained as King.—Proclamation by the Governor-General.—Treaties signed, March 8.—Speech of the Governor-General to the Lahore Chiefs.—Gholab Sing is made an independent Sovereign.—The Governor of Cashmeer is influenced by Lall Sing, the Vizir, to resist.—He is forced to submit.—Lall Sing removed to India.—The Mother of Dhuleep is irritated at his removal, and nourishes her Hatred to the English.—Effects of the Non-annexation.—The Sikh Troops not conquered thoroughly.—Lord Hardinge reduces the numerical Strength of the Indian Army.—His various Improvements in the Provinces.—His Arrangements for a Deputy-Governor in Bengal.—He returns to Calcutta, Dec. 11.—Receives Addresses.—Numerous Failures in India.—Lord Hardinge quits India, Jan. 18, 1848.

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Remarkable address of the chairman to the new Governor-General.

AT the initiatory entertainment given by the Directors to the new Governor-General, the address of the Chairman to Sir Henry Hardinge was one of extraordinary compliments. Care was therein taken to impress on the mind of the gallant soldier that the Directors possessed the Supreme Power over India, under the control of the Board of Commissioners. Respect for the authority of their court was insisted on; and high praise was bestowed on the Civil Servants of the Company, who had been specially educated for the administration, upon the upright and intelligent performance of which the happiness of the Indian people depends. In the discharge of the onerous duties of

government he would, he was assured, be aided by the constitutional advice of the members of Council, and by the civil and military services, whose qualifications and zeal were undeniable. The state of the army required especial care, as difficulties had arisen amongst the native troops which required prompt and decisive measures. Peace prevailed throughout India, and the wishes of the Directors were that it should be preserved, and the most decidedly pacific policy followed, as far as consistent with the security of the empire, the protection of our allies, and the independence of the neighbouring states. Peace and economy were declared to be essentially necessary for the full development of the resources of the country, and the prosperity of its finances. The education of the people was especially recommended ; but great prudence and caution were to be exercised, in order to avoid even the appearances of any interference with their religious feelings and prejudices. While maintaining the supremacy of the British government, the new Governor-General would have the natives of British India under his paternal care and protection ; and hopes were entertained that he would, after an extended career of useful and valuable service, return to his native country, bearing the gratifying reward of the thanks and blessings of the people of India.

Sir Henry Hardinge arrived in Calcutta on the 23rd of July, ^{The first} and entered fully into the views recommended by the Directors. ^{acts of the} He showed himself the statesman and the administrator. Rail-^{Governor-}
roads, and other means of communication, were recommended ; ^{General} are and the great instruments of peace and prosperity were said to ^{peaceful.} be cheap and expeditious means of transport. The welfare of the natives, and their education were eagerly promoted. The soldiers were benefited by the formation of libraries, and promotions were opened to deserving non-commissioned officers. Gentle measures were adopted for bringing about the long wished-for reconciliation between the officers of the royal regiments and those of the native corps, as well as between the military and the members of the Civil Service. A mutiny, which had taken place among some native regiments, was suppressed, and Colonel Moseley, of the 64th Regiment Bengal Native Infantry, was dismissed the service, for having tolerated a spirit of insubordination in that corps. Peace and peaceful measures seemed to be the earnest pursuit of the Governor-General ; but in India peace is not always possible. The madness and ambition of the Sikh leaders led them to invade the territory of the Company,

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The
Southern
Mahratta
country.

The Rajah
of Kolapore
is ambi-
tious.

Disputes.

Sawunt
Warree.

and disturbances took place in the southern Mahratta country, which, according to the order of dates, we shall first describe.

The Mahrattas to the south of Sattara had not forgotten the stories of the prowess and success of Sivajee, and occasionally exhibited their desire to imitate the daring acts of that unscrupulous conqueror : but their efforts were repressed by a power widely different from the Mohammedans, against whom Sivajee carried on his desultory campaigns two centuries previously. The latest disturbances of the southern Mahrattas were made in the two small states of Kolapore and Sawunt Warree. During the first Mahratta wars the inhabitants of both states, although addicted to piracy and petty plunder, were not involved in the general campaigns. Still their acts of plunder required to be repressed ; and they were, in 1812, compelled to cede Vingorla, and to give up their piratical habits. Hostilities frequently occurred between them, and in 1819 the Bombay government had to establish peace, by supporting the rights of their then warm ally, the Rajah of Kolapore. His son was of a disposition different in every respect ; and he tried to become a Sivajee by quarrelling with the British ; and twice, in 1827, a force was sent to bring him to reason. He was compelled to cede several districts, and to pay a heavy fine, as well as to accept the services of a minister named by the British, and to have troops placed in his chief fortresses. The governor of Bombay visited Kolapore in 1829, to persuade the Rajah to act a friendly part ; but the love of exploits led him into all the caprices and extravagancies of a semi-barbarous Ruler. He had his ministers and great men one day in high favour and the next day in chains. They lived by plunder, and were in turn plundered by him. At length, while making preparations for a pilgrimage to Punderpore, he died. Amongst his baggage were found the weapons which he intended to use for plundering some wealthy families whom he had hoped to visit. Two ladies succeeded to his power ; and they, of course, quarrelled as to whom the care of the young Rajah was to be entrusted. The aunt being the more energetic and unscrupulous soon mastered the mother ; and the British authorities acknowledged her superiority. Kolapore is a hilly country studded with forts, which the Mahrattas had been taught to look upon as unassailable.

Sawunt Warree, which lies close to the sea, is remarkable for its woody districts and deep valleys in the ridge of the mountains that separate it from the Deccan. The Dessaee, or chief,

was, like other feudal lords, dissatisfied with restrictions, and he CHAPTER
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A.D. 1844. threw off the yoke of the minister appointed to control him, and was guilty of various acts of insubordination, which speedily disorganized his country. A rebellion ensued, and in 1838, Rebellion in 1838. troops were, for the fourth time in nine years, sent to Sawunt Warree. Phond Sawunt, a relative of the Dessacee, gave great trouble. The British authorities assumed the direct control until good order could be established. A Bombay civil servant was, at this time, placed in charge of the country, teeming with malcontents; some having real grievances to complain of, and all afraid that the changes in the system would bring them no good. The Portuguese settlement of Goa is contiguous to Sawunt Warree; and when hard-pressed the rebels fled thither, and received protection. A Sawunt Warree local corps was raised, and some prisoners were, by the negligence or ignorance as well as by the recklessness of life, on the part of the officer in command, killed by the guard. That officer was subsequently tried for his acts, and acquitted of murder. He attempted to throw the blame on the order he had received, but the plea did not justify him. He was dismissed the service by a Court Martial, and the Political Resident was removed.

The system adopted, in many cases, by the British authorities in India of guaranteeing the sovereignty to the chiefs on certain conditions, has been found to produce great evils, for it enables those chiefs to oppress the wretched population as they please, sure that the British troops will uphold them. Such was, to a certain extent, the case at Kolapore and Sawunt Warree, and especially in the latter country, where wholesale condemnations and butcheries produced the most intense hatred to the Rajahs and their protectors, who, through mismanagement and misrule, had reduced thousands to misery.

In Kolapore, a Brahmin named Dajee, had been raised by British influence to the rank of regent, in the room of "the aunt," who was found to be ill-suited; and with him were appointed two co-adjutors, who were soon dismissed for peculation. Dajee grew proud of his elevation, and gave places to his relatives; he had disputes with the hill chiefs, and soon a rebellion burst into flames, which embraced both states. The hill chiefs took up arms and Dajee was disposed to yield: but the British agent forbade any cession to armed rebels. No investigation—no negotiation—no reconciliation was proposed; troops were called for to bring injured men to reason, by the logic of muskets and artillery. Generals, officers, and troops were sent, who bungled

CHAPTER XXIII. the business of fighting, and for several months confusion and alarm prevailed. Samunghur, a fort on the summit of a scarped rock was attacked, but though garrisoned by only three hundred men, and otherwise most wretchedly equipped, it took some weeks to capture it ; for battering guns had to be sent for from Belgaum, thirty miles distant, and they were three weeks on the road.

Colonel Outram and Mr. Reeves propose conditions which are declined.

To save further bloodshed, Colonel Outram and Mr. Reeves, the civil commissioners, acting under the authority of the Bombay government, offered an amnesty to the rebels ; but most of them, influenced by their hatred of oppression, by a desire of vengeance, and by the promises made by a few foreign agents who had visited their country a short time previously, and also relying on their troops and their forts, determined to hold out in their struggle for independence. The troops, called Sebundees, had taken Dajee, the prime minister, and kept him confined in the strong hill fortress of Punalla. Delays and mismanagement, on the part of the military authorities, had allowed the insurrection to increase ; but on the 24th October, the young Rajah, with his aunt and mother and several chiefs, joined the British camp. Babajee Thirakar, the leader of the troops, was then the main-spring of the disturbance, and he was allowed, with a party, to escape from the fort of Bhoodurghur to Punalla, which was considered by the Mahrattas from the time of its foundation to be impregnable ; and where Colonel Ovans, who was named by the Bombay government as its sole commissioner, to supersede the two former ones, had, while travelling with a feeble escort, been caught by the Kolaporeans, and placed as a prisoner. The insurgents kept him as a hostage for their own safety ; but at length they released him hoping to obtain terms, but they were disappointed. The suburbs (called in India, Pettah) were occupied on the 27th November, and the 1st of December the batteries were opened in the morning, and the fort was stormed in the afternoon. Babajee Thirakar and some of the ringleaders were killed ; a part of the garrison fled to another fort, which was also taken. But the war or the disaffection did not cease, although that country swarmed with British troops, for Phond Sawunt and Anna Sahib were devastating the Concan district between the mountains and the sea ; and to them the defeated Kolaporeans fled. The Concan was jungley and rocky and full of ravines ; the hills and dells covered with forests, into which the Sawunt Warree rebels escaped. They, from the abundance of iron found in the district, are good gunsmiths and practised

Colonel Ovans a prisoner.

Punalla taken.

marksmen, and for several weeks they kept the Bombay troops busy by guerilla warfare and bush-fighting.

Fortunately for the Bombay government, Colonel Outram, who was prepared for proceeding to Europe, was at hand. He was an officer, whose knowledge of the Asiatic character, together with conciliating manners, quick decision, surprising activity and energy, and enlarged experience, fitted him for the occasion ; and to him the arduous task was assigned of putting down the rebels, in the fastnesses of Sawunt Warree. Colonel Outram had early gained credit by pacifying other districts, by his subsequent conduct in Afghanistan, by his rapid travelling to Sonmeeanee with the intelligence of the taking of Khelat, and by his maintaining good order amongst the Ameers, as political agent, during the period of the disasters of Cabul ; even by his public controversy with the conqueror of Scinde, he had established his reputation. Within a fortnight he was in the field ; he organized and led a light corps ; he was active in his measures ; and his advanced guard drove before it the half-armed rabble, that had bewildered other Generals, and kept three brigades at bay. Outram, who was famed for tiger hunting, was at home in chasing the sharpshooters that "sniped" off the other officers. Instead of passing hours in ogling the glens with long telescopes, he took 1,200 men, lightly equipped, beat up the low ground, and hemmed the enemy into the valley of Sevapore, hoping that the three other brigades would, in concert, then dovetail into the valley. Colonel Wallace had agreed to descend from the Ghauts on a given day, but he anticipated the time, for which he was subsequently tried by a Court Martial, and sentenced to a temporary punishment. By a judicious pursuit, Outram succeeded in passing through all the stockades, and soon came up with the enemy ; although the chiefs escaped through the Ghauts which Colonel Wallace had to watch, he took many prisoners, and by scouring the disaffected villages, completely quashed the disturbances in six weeks. The chiefs fled into Goa, where The rebels measures were adopted to neutralize every attempt for dispersed renewing hostilities. Two efficient officers were appointed as Political Agents at Kolapore and Sawunt Warree, and they completed the settlement of those disaffected districts.

We may relate here the progress of civilization on the banks of the Indus. The prudent measures of Sir Charles J. Napier, as governor of Scinde, had effectually pacified the chiefs and other inhabitants of that newly subdued province ; yet the spirit of foray and the eagerness for plunder which distinguished

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Colonel Outram's measures settle the disturbances.

CHAPTER XXIII. the tribes dwelling in the mountains to the westward, required to be crushed. In consequence of some of their inroads, military operations became necessary, and the Governor, whose activity and energy became the terror of the marauders, who called him "Sheitanka bhai," or "Satan's brother," set out with a chosen body of troops on the harassing duty of attacking them in their own fastnesses, in a country of extensive deserts and barren mountains, which stretches about one hundred and forty miles from east to west : at the latter side it is about one hundred and twenty miles in breadth. Being of a triangular form, it diminishes towards the east to a breadth of fifty miles, into which the tribes were driven by a series of movements through a difficult district, full of dangerous defiles. The want of water and other deprivations did not deter the troops under their skilful leader. Their number did not amount to 5,000 men, yet they effected the total destruction of the robber tribes, many of whom were transplanted into the Scinde territory, while others who refused to surrender on the proffered conditions, were forced to yield unconditionally, having had their retreat cut off, and their baggage plundered.

Their last hold taken. Their last stronghold, at Truckee was taken on the 9th March, 1845 ; the fort of Deyrah was destroyed, and its chief became a wanderer, dependent on a distant chieftain in Ketran far to the north. The moral effect of these successes was to conciliate many tribes, who willingly accepted British protection to save them from pillage and misery, such as they had previously endured. One of the measures adopted in this campaign by the General, was the establishment of a baggage camel-corps, by means of which the necessities of the force were relieved in two, for which the ordinary hired camels would have required six, days. The campaign lasted fifty-two days ; but if the camel-troop had been at first formed, it could have been terminated in thirty. The formation of this corps is likely to prove of use as a lesson hereafter to leaders of armies in India.

We have now to direct attention to the most formidable warfare that has ever engaged the British army in the north-west of India, and of which the theatre was the dominion of our former ally, Runjeet Sing, the Maharajah of Lahore.

The people transplant-ed to the plains. The Punjab or land of the Five Rivers (in Persian, Punj-ab), has long been known in history, as the country in which the invaders of India have always opened their campaigns. The Macedonian conqueror, Alexander, penetrated to the banks of the Hydaspes, and descended by the Indus to the sea. The names of the five rivers are now the Jhelum (in Greek, Hydaspes), the

Chenab (Acesines), the Ravee (Hydraotes), the Beas (Hyphasis), and the Sutledge (the Hesadrus). The two last join and become the Gharra; after which this "hundred-bellied" stream flows into Scinde; all take their rise in the lofty chain of mountains to the north of India, and flow to the south-west into the Indus, The spreading fertility wherever they touch, in the same manner as the Ganges and Jumna flow to the south-east, and empty themselves into the bay of Bengal, after they and their tributary streams have irrigated thousands of acres of the most productive districts in the world. While the Ganges and its complements have been called the arteries of the right arm of India, the Indus and its tributaries have with equal appropriateness been named, those of the left arm of the same magnificent body.

The inhabitants of the Punjab profess the creed and doctrines taught by Nanuk their prophet, who was born in the village of Rhaypore, in 1468. He taught the precepts of peace amongst all mankind, and abhorrence of war by people believing in God, and recommended the division of property amongst his fellow-creatures. Nanuk's religion seems to be a system purified from the abuses and idolatry of the Hindus, and from the intolerance of the Mohammedans; both of whom Nanuk regarded as equal in his eye, notwithstanding their hatred of each other, and the persecuting spirit of the latter. Nanuk did not deny the mission of Mahomet, though he reprobated the cruelty exercised towards the Hindus; and above all things, the butchering of the cow, which animal he highly venerated. Nanuk had visions, and according to them, he ordered the word of religious salvation amongst his followers to be "Gooroo," which means "teacher." His lessons were three—"to worship God; to observe charity; and to attend to cleanliness by ablution." Nanuk taught that injury was not to be done to any living being, for the Divinity was omnipresent and witnessed every act. His doctrines were written in a book called "Grunth," and were observed more or less strictly by his successors, until the time of the ninth Gooroo, when the Sikhs abandoned the laws of peace and of good brotherhood, and became a warlike and powerful people.

Through the favour of the emperor Baber, who allowed toleration of all sects, the followers of Nanuk, who called themselves Sikhs (a Sanscrit name, signifying "instructed"), increased very much. The ninth Gooroo, Tej-Bahadoor, was put to death at Patna, by order of the wily emperor Aurungzebe. His son Govind, the tenth Gooroo, a man of

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The  
Punjab  
and its  
fertilizing  
streams.

The  
right  
and left  
arms of  
India.

The right  
and left  
arms of  
India.

His visions  
and theories.

The  
Grunth.

Gooroo,  
abolishes  
Hindu  
practices.

**CHAPTER XXIII.** the most warlike temperament, swore eternal enmity to the Moslems, and changed the name of "Sikh"—which his family used in common with others of his faith—into that of "Sing" (or Lion), thereby indicating openly his change of mind, and his hatred of oppression. Govind Sing abolished among his sect the "Brahminical string," the "kurmuas," or belief in the transmigration of souls, the "keelnas," or distinction of castes, and the "kelnas," or division into trades. He named ten leaders of his disciples, five being the "khalsa," and five the "Moogutee." He tied his hair in a knot, and then took the oath establishing the rite called "pahooldee," which bound him for ever to the system. The neophyte and the officiating priest wash their feet in water, then put some sugar into a basin of water, stir it with a sword or dagger, and recite five verses, declaring, that "after having traversed the world and seen holy men and hermits absorbed in the contemplation of God, I have never found one truly devout, for without God's grace, the works of man have no merit." He caused his adherents to wash every day their heads, arms and thighs; and to keep their legs bare below the knees. Their hair was also allowed to grow as they pleased. He afterwards formed predatory troops out of the multitudes that flocked to him, their watchword being "hatred to the Moslems." He carried on desultory warfare for a long time, but was at last compelled to take refuge in the Deccan, where he died in 1708. His sons had fallen in battle, and his death having been doubted, no new Gooroo was elected, so his name continues as the last chief of the Sikh religion. The chief principle of the Hindu faith retained by Govind Sing, was the veneration of the cow.

**Establishes his own system.**

**Carries on a predatory warfare.**

**He venerates the cow.**

**The Sikhs, from mere agriculturists, become warriors.**

**Their Missul.**

After the death of Nadir Shah in 1747, the new king of Afghanistan, Ahmed Abdallee, crossed the Indus several times; and having defeated the feeble emperor of Delhi, united the Punjab to his own dominions, and appointed one of his sons as viceroy. The Sikhs were then employed as agriculturists, or as "public robbers." The battle of Paniput, which was fought in 1761, drove back to the South the Mahrattas, who had gone towards the Punjab for the sake of plunder. Ahmed Shah Abdallee, who crossed the Indus many times, was finally obliged to abandon the Punjab to the Sikhs, who governed the country by twelve brotherhoods, called "Missul," and who met twice each year in a kind of parliament, at Umritsir, from which fort they in general ruled as they pleased, and allowed their adherents, nearly 70,000 armed

men, to live as freebooters on the Hindu and Mohammedan inhabitants.

One of the consequences of the Sikh system was, that women were permitted to take a great share in their government ; and the intrigues of the sex soon became as celebrated in the Punjab as they have been in Turkey. Runjeet Sing was born in 1780, and being in boyhood guided by his mother and mother-in-law, he was successful in a few years in becoming the head of the most powerful of the brotherhoods. He subsequently gave employment to some officers who were obliged to quit Europe after the peace of 1815—and disciplined his army so well, that he soon became a grand sovereign. Runjeet Sing learned the utility of preserving the best faith with the British. To this rule he adhered until his death, on the 30th of June, 1839. His latter years were embittered by feeling his bodily powers failing from the grossest sensualities, and from his habit of drinking ardent spirits.

Amongst the favourites of Runjeet were three brothers, whose family had ruled for some years at Jamoo ; they were Goolab, Dhyan, and Suchet. The second was, during the latter part of Runjeet's reign, his pliant prime minister, and pander to all his vices. Khurruk, the eldest son of Runjeet, a weak debauchee, succeeded to the throne ; his first act was to dismiss Dhyan from power. Dhyan, being irritated, waited for an opportunity, entered the durbar (the public levee) of the king, and slew the new premier before his master's eyes. The treasurer and others were also butchered. Khurruk, being frightened, hid himself amongst the women in the interior of his palace, and, after an inglorious reign of about twelve months, died. His son, Nao Nehal Sing, a youth of daring spirit, united to great caution and discretion, succeeded. He was a favourite with the Sikhs, as reminding them of the early years and the indomitable resolution of Runjeet. Dhyan Sing and his abettors found means to shorten the days of the young monarch, who, when returning on an elephant from his father's obsequies, was killed by a stone, which fell upon him, as the elephant, on which he was seated, entered the gate of Lahore. The eldest son of Goolab was sacrificed at the same time, he being with the young king in the howdah. Chunda Kunwoor, the mother of Nao Nehal, resolved to counteract the schemes of Dhyan, who was eager to place Shere Sing, the unacknowledged son of Runjeet, on the throne. She named Uttur Sing to be her chief adviser, and left Dhyan king.

**CHAPTER  
XXIII.** without employment. Dhyan persuaded the Sikhs, and especially the soldiers, that it was shameful to be governed by a woman, and that a man of energy was necessary to maintain Runjeet's conquests. They proclaimed Shere Sing to be their sovereign, and left Chunda Kunwoor almost deserted. Her minister, Uttur, and his nephew, Ajeet, fled into the British territory.

**A.D. 1841.** His de-  
bauchery. Shere Sing, like a true Sikh, was addicted to drunkenness and debauchery. At first, his affability and agreeable manners excused his excesses ; but he soon became a wayward tyrant. He recalled the exiled friends of the Ranee (queen), and restored their possessions and was guided by their counsel, to the exclusion of Dhyan. Numberless extravagancies are told of Shere Sing, with his boon companions, to whom he refused nothing ; yet they often quarrelled, and Ajeet threatened to kill him.

**A.D. 1843.** The supporters of the Ranee contrived an intrigue, by which Shere Sing, who still apparently kept up a friendly attachment towards Dhyan, was led to sign an order for putting Dhyan to death. The order was shown to Dhyan, who, incensed by the treachery of the man whom he had raised to the throne, was induced, as being prime minister, to sign another order for the death of Shere Sing. The latter was asked in the evening, by Ajeet, to attend at a review of the troops on the following morning. Shere Sing, not suspecting treachery, went to the place appointed. After some conversation, Ajeet showed a handsome case with a beautiful English rifle. Shere Sing inspected it, and adjusting the barrel to the stock, tried the sight. "It is loaded," said Ajeet. The gun was then handed to an attendant to be fired off, when, on a signal from Ajeet, he discharged the contents into the breast of Shere Sing, who exclaimed, "What have you done, villain ?" and fell down, when Ajeet's sword at a stroke, cut off his head.

**He is killed.** Pertaub Sing, the son of Shere, who was at prayers during an eclipse, was murdered by Lena Sing. Lena with his supporters, sent for Dhyan Sing, and after some talk about who was to be the king, Ajeet, who appears to have been a most sanguinary partisan, shot Dhyan dead through the back. Ajeet then caused Dhuleep Sing, a boy four years old, to be proclaimed Maharajah, and himself Vizir.

**Dhuleep  
Sing,  
a child, is  
proclaimed  
king.** **Murders in  
Lahore.** In the meantime, Heera Sing, the son of Dhyan, who knew that Shere Sing was to be got rid of, but who did not expect his own father's murder, had gone out of the city to the garden-house of General Avitable, and there harangued the troops. On hearing of his father's death he ascended to the roof, and having sent for his friends, he placed sentinels to protect the

house. The sirdars, or chiefs, who adhered to him, came, and being appealed to for protection, they promised him support. At the head of a powerful force he entered the city during the night, and a conflict ensued, which ended in the capture of the fort. Ajeet tried to escape over the wall by means of a rope, but was cut down by a Mohammedan soldier, and his head taken to Heera, who speedily revenged his father's death by butchering all the assassins whom he caught. These bloody scenes were enacted in 1843. Sir Claude Wade and Sir George Russell Clerk, who were agents in the North-Western provinces, by their skill and resolution, prevented any dangerous results to the British interests. The confusion created in the Punjab, and the death of Nao Nehal Sing, did not allow the Sikh army to gratify their long-contemplated plan of conquering the British in Hindustan.

Heera Sing became prime minister, but his power was of short duration ; he had to deal with a rapacious soldiery, disciplined by European officers, and eager for money, for campaigning, and for plunder. To maintain their submission he made extravagant promises, which he was afterwards unable to fulfil. He even quarrelled with his own uncle Suchet, who was killed near Lahore in a fight, into which he, with a few followers, was entrapped. Suchet had been once a great favourite with the soldiery, but was slain for the sake of his wealth. Forty-five wives of Suchet burned themselves with his body. He left no offspring. Heera Sing, finding himself unable to satisfy the soldiers, attempted to escape from Lahore, but was speedily pursued, overtaken, and slain.

On the death of Heera, Chunda the mother of the boy-king, and a Sikli Messalina, appointed her brother, Juwahir Sing, to be the prime minister. He had some talents ; but the soldiers disliked him, and soon butchered him before the eyes of the young king and his mother. The "Punches," or clubs of the army, were the rulers of the state, and they sought to make Goolab Sing, the eldest of Runjeet's favourites, their vizir, as he had the reputation of being enormously wealthy. Goolab, who saw their trick, humoured them by coming from Jamoo to Lahore, and even encouraged their designs of invading the British provinces ; but refused to allow his troops to join the Sikh army, as he wished to act independently. Deceived by this seeming support, and led on by inflated notions of their valour and discipline, and by a desire of plunder, the Sikh soldiers marched out to invade the British territories.

CHAPTER  
XXIII.  
A.D. 1843.

Prime Minister.

A.D. 1844.

Suchet and Heera slain

The army rules the state.

Goolab Sing maintains his power.

The Sikhs threaten to invade India.

**CHAPTER  
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A.D. 1845.**

The disorganised state of the Lahore government during the two years preceding the invasion of the British territory in December, 1845, had made it incumbent on the Indian government, although every effort was made to preserve peaceful relations, to adopt precautionary measures for the protection of the frontiers. Dhuleep Sing was recognised as sovereign of Lahore. On the march of the Sikh army towards the frontiers, the British agent at Lahore demanded an explanation of their movement; no reply was given. The demand was repeated, but without success. The frontier posts were then reinforced; and on the invasion being effected, a proclamation was issued by the Governor-General, from his camp at Lushkeree, on the 13th of that month, declaring all the possessions of Maharajah Dhuleep Sing, on the left bank of the Sutledge, to be confiscated and annexed to the British territories, and directing the inhabitants and their chiefs to second their new rulers. The proclamation was as follows:—

**Proclama-  
tion by the  
Governor-  
General.**

The British government has ever been on terms of friendship with that of the Punjab. In the year 1809, a treaty of amity and concord was concluded between the British government and the late Maharajah Runjeet Sing, the conditions of which have always been faithfully observed by the British government, and were scrupulously fulfilled by the late Maharajah. The same friendly relations have been maintained with the successors of Maharajah Runjeet Sing, by the British government up to the present time. Since the death of the late Maharajah Shere Sing, the disorganized state of the Lahore government has made it incumbent on the Governor-General, in Council, to adopt precautionary measures for the protection of the British frontier; the nature of these measures, and the cause of their adoption, were at the time fully explained to the Lahore Durbar. Notwithstanding the disorganized state of the Lahore government, during the last two years, and

**Complaints** many most unfriendly proceedings on the part of the Durbar, the Governor-General, in Council, has continued to evince his desire to maintain the relations of amity and concord which had so long existed between the two States, for the mutual interests and happiness of both. He has shewn, on every occasion, the utmost forbearance, in consideration of the helpless state of the infant Maharajah, Dhuleep Sing, whom the British government had

recognised as the successor to the late Maharajah Shere Sing. The Governor-General in Council, sincerely desired to see a strong Sikh government re-established in the Punjab, able to control its army and to protect its subjects. He had not, up to the present moment, abandoned the hope of seeing that important object effected by the patriotic efforts of the Sikhs and people of that country. The Sikh army recently marched from Lahore towards the British frontier, as it was alleged, by the orders of the Durbar, for the purpose of invading the British territory. The Governor-General's agent, by direction of the Governor-General, demanded an explanation of this movement, and no reply being returned within a reasonable time, the

**Several  
demands  
for expla-  
nation.**

demand was repeated. The Governor-General, unwilling to believe in the hostile intentions of the Sikh government, to which no provocation had been given, refrained from taking any measures which might have a tendency to embarrass the government of the Maharajah, or to induce collision between the two states. When no reply was given to the repeated demand for explanation, and while active military preparations were continued at Lahore, the Governor-General considered it necessary to order the advance of troops towards the frontier, to reinforce the frontier posts. The Sikh army has now, without a shadow of provocation, invaded the British territories. The Governor-General must, therefore, take measures for effectually protecting the British provinces, for vindicating the authority of the British government, and for punishing the violators of treaties, and the disturbers of the public peace. The Governor-General here declares the possessions of Maharajah Dhuleep Sing, on the left or the British banks of the Sutledge, confiscated and annexed to the British territories. The Governor-General will respect the existing rights of all jaghirdars, zemindars, and tenants in the said possessions who, by the course they now pursue, evince their fidelity to the British government. The Governor-General hereby calls upon all the chiefs and sirdars, in the protected territories, to co-operate cordially with the British government, for the punishment of the common enemy, and for the maintenance of order in these states. Those of the chiefs who shew alacrity and fidelity in the discharge of this duty, which they owe to the protecting power, will find their interests promoted thereby; and those who take a contrary course will be treated as enemies to the British government, and will be punished accordingly. The inhabitants of all the territories on the left banks of the Sutledge are hereby directed to abide peaceably in their respective villages, where they will receive efficient protection by the British government. All parties of men, found in armed bands, who can give no satisfactory account of their proceedings, will be treated as disturbers of the public peace. All subjects of the British government, and those who possess estates on both sides of the river Sutledge who, by their faithful adherence to the British government, may be liable to sustain loss, shall be indemnified and secured in all their just rights and privileges. On the other hand, all subjects of the British government who shall continue in the service of the Lahore state, and who disobey the proclamation by not immediately returning to their allegiance, will be liable to have their property on this side of the Sutledge confiscated, and declared to be aliens and enemies of the British government.

The campaign, thus begun, was looked upon with intense interest, not only in India, but in Europe, for the discipline and fanaticism of the Sikh soldiery, and in particular of the Akhalees, as the rigid followers of Nanuk and Govind were called, had created a deep impression. The Sikh troops, commanded by Tej Sing, an officer of high reputation, crossed the Sutledge with their heavy artillery on the 15th of December, and, on the 16th, they approached towards Ferozepore, and moved to an intrenched position at the village of Ferozeshah (or

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Confiscation of the territories on the left bank of the Sutledge.

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**A.D. 1845.** Ferozeshuhur), about ten miles from Ferozepore, and nearly equidistant from Moodkee. Ferozepore was garrisoned by Major-General Sir John Littler, with five thousand men, and twenty-one guns. He offered battle, but the Sikhs declined it. The Governor-General being in advance of the Commander-in-chief, rode over to Loodiana, and finding that post secure, withdrew five thousand men to Busseean, the great grain depot for the army.

**The British army advances.**

Orders were issued to concentrate the British forces, before any attack could be made on them by the enemy, whose intention to attempt a surprise was known. The head-quarters of the Commander-in-chief, Sir Hugh Gough, were on the 11th at Umballah, one hundred and fifty miles from Moodkee. On the 18th, the troops, by double marches on alternate days, reached that village, after traversing roads of heavy sand, and suffering much from want of water. At three o'clock in the afternoon, the Sikhs advanced, to the number of from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand infantry, an equal force of cavalry, and forty guns, hoping to surprise the British General. The British troops, a smaller number, had merely time to form in order of battle. The country is a dead flat, covered at short intervals with low and occasionally thick jungles, and dotted with sand hillocks, behind which the enemy screened their infantry and artillery. The enemy quickly commenced the action by a furious cannonade upon the British. This was answered by the well-directed and rapid fire of the British, which speedily paralysed the enemy's movements. A judicious cavalry movement was made on the enemy's left flank; their cavalry put to flight; their rear swept of infantry and guns: the British infantry advanced under a tremendous fire, and with the bayonet captured seventeen guns, some of large calibre. Night came on and stopped the carnage. The British had two hundred and fifteen killed, and six hundred and fifty-seven wounded. Amongst the former were Sir Robert Sale and Sir John M'Caskill. Another death is mentioned in the *Annual Register* as remarkable, that of a French Catholic missionary priest, who entered the field with Her Majesty's 50th Regiment, and who was killed while affording consolation to some wounded soldiers, professing that religion.

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Battle.**

On the 19th, a strong reinforcement reached Moodkee, bringing up the heavy guns. No effort was spared to hasten the soldiers forward. Water was sent on elephants from the camp, to allay their excessive thirst while marching across the sandy plains.

Sir Hugh Gough spent two days at Moodkee, to refresh the troops, to collect the wounded, and to bring in the guns captured in the late action.

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The Sikh troops then concentrated at Ferozeshah, in an entrenched camp in the form of a parallelogram, the long faces being a mile in length, and the short ones about half a mile. The village of Ferozeshah was enclosed within the camp, the short sides of which looked towards Moodkee and the Sutledge, and the long ones towards Ferozepore and the country. The Sikhs numbered about sixty thousand men, with one hundred and eight heavy guns in fixed position, and their infantry was protected by breast-works. Their chief reliance was on this formidable park of artillery, which branch of the service had long been cherished by Runjeet and their chiefs. The gunners were chosen men, and had been well instructed by General Court and other European officers; their dexterity, precision and celerity had often been the theme of Eastern praise. The Sikh cavalry had lost much of its discipline after the death of Runjeet, and of General Allard, its principal instructor.

The Governor-General, who was with the British army, shared in its fatigues and dangers. Orders were sent to Sir John Littler, who commanded at Ferozepore, to move out with as much of his force as would not compromise the safety of that post and of his troops. He, at the head of five thousand men, effected a junction, during the day, with the Umballah force. The British troops amounted to twenty thousand infantry, three thousand five hundred cavalry, and nine hundred artillery.

At three o'clock on the morning of the 21st, the British army marched from Moodkee; and having made various detours were, at half-past one in the afternoon, joined by Sir John Littler. At two they came in sight of the Sikh entrenchments. Preparations were soon made for attacking the face fronting the country. The conflict lasted two days; and its interest was raised to the most awe-inspiring point by both armies and their Generals spending the night on the field of battle.

The British mortar-batteries commenced the action at a mile's distance, but did no execution. The Sikhs, who were supplied with water, provisions and ammunition, had remained within their entrenchments, from whence they made a gallant defence. The British artillery moved forward gradually—the ground being such as at Moodkee—until they came within three hundred yards of the enemy. The Commander-in-chief seeing that the Sikh guns, more than forty of which were of battering calibre, could

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not be silenced, ordered the infantry to advance. In the face of a storm of shot and shells, those gallant soldiers rushed on and carried a portion of the entrenchments : they threw themselves upon the guns and wrested them from the enemy ; but while the batteries were but partially taken, the British soldiers had to face a heavy fire from the Sikh infantry, who were lying on the ground behind their artillery, by whom a mine was sprung, which did great execution. The most heroic efforts were made to carry all the batteries ; but night fell while the conflict was raging.

The British bivouac on the field of battle.

Gallant conduct of the Governor-General.

The battle renewed in the morning of Dec. 22.

The horrors of that dark and dismal night may easily be conceived. The British soldiers bore the cold and hunger, thirst and inaction, as became their indomitable courage. Fatigued with the long march of the previous day, exhausted with the conflict, they lay for hours on the earth as if dead. If a regiment attempted to move, the Sikh guns were brought to bear on the mass. In some places the British troops were scattered far apart—in others they were mixed. At a late hour the moon rose and showed the horrors of the scene. The 50th Regiment, in observance of the order of Sir Harry Smith, took the white covers off their caps to prevent their being recognised by the enemy. The fate of India then rested on the bravery of the European infantry ; for experience at this battle proved, that the native troops could not carry the Sikh batteries : they were jaded by marching, and dying from thirst. A native Indian is good for little unless he has water and food, both of which were wanting during that fearful night. Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor-General, spent that period, exposed in the Sikh entrenchment, sharing the privations of the lowest European soldiers, his mind suffering pangs unknown to them, with the fate of India hanging on the issue of the morrow. Yielding to his desire of victory, Sir Henry Hardinge offered to assume the post of second in command ; and during the night he delivered his watch and star to his son, proving thereby that he was determined to leave the field a conqueror, or to die in the struggle.

Morning broke, and showed the Sikhs to be still masters of a considerable portion of the quadrangle. The British held the rest where they had bivouacked ; their number thinned from casualties, and all exhausted from excessive thirst ; for it was long a recognised principle in Sikh tactics, to fix their entrenchments in places where water is hard to be procured. In the middle of the night a large Sikh gun was brought forward, and played with deadly effect upon the British. Its booming was

heard incessantly during the stillness. At early dawn, Sir Henry Hardinge formed Her Majesty's 80th Regiment, and the 1st European Light Infantry, being resolved to silence that formidable cannon. "Eightieth, do your duty," were his memorable words; and well did those gallant soldiers do that duty, for by as brave a charge as any on record, they captured that gun, and won the applause of their commander.

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The British infantry formed into line, supported on both flanks by the horse-artillery, while the fire was opened from the centre from some heavy guns. A masked battery of the Sikhs played with great effect, dismounting the British guns, and blowing up their tumbrils. The horse-artillery men described their guns as being blown into the air, so terrible was the Sikh fire. The want of ammunition was then felt; for such had been the firing, that the whole of the British store was expended; and it became evident that the British infantry must win the battle with their bayonets.

Destructive  
fire of the  
Sikhs.

The Governor-General, as second in command, placed himself at the head of the left wing, and the Commander-in-Chief took his post on the right, after both had ridden down the line. The infantry advanced and drove the Sikhs out of the village, and then having changed front, and swept the whole camp, they remained masters of the field. Seventy-eight guns were taken. Tej Sing, the Sikh General, then, from the vicinity of Ferozepore, brought up fresh battalions and a large field of artillery, supported by thirty thousand Ghorchuras. He drove in the British cavalry, and made great efforts to regain the position at Ferozes Shah: the attempt was ineffectual. Tej Sing then commenced a demonstration against the village and the left flank, which obliged the British General to change his front to the right. The Sikh guns played incessantly, while the British, being without ammunition, could not respond. The Commander-in-Chief then ordered the almost exhausted cavalry at once to threaten both the enemy's flanks; and, upon seeing preparations made, Tej Sing suddenly ceased his firing, and quitted the field. This brilliant victory cost the lives of many brave men, amongst whom may be mentioned Majors Broadfoot, Fitzroy Somerset, and Davy; and Colonels Wallace and Taylor. Prince Waldemar of Prussia was present at this battle; and his medical attendant, Doctor Hoffmeister, was killed. The total loss of the British was six hundred and ninety-four killed, and one thousand seven hundred and twenty-one wounded. On this occasion, the fidelity of many of the sepoys was tested, for

The  
British  
sweep the  
field with  
the bayonet  
and take  
many guns.

Many  
officers  
killed.

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the Sikhs had numerous agents, and offered large bribes to the deserters.

Three times during that day, the Sikhs came forward to attack the entrenched camp ; and each time they were driven back with great slaughter. Finding their efforts vain, they recrossed the Sutledge.

The Sikhs derived a portion of their supplies from the left bank of that river, and they again sent troops across to obtain them. Amongst those troops was a division under the command of Runjor Sing Majetheea, who crossed near Philoor, and threatened Loodiana. Major-General Sir H. Smith, after the battle of Ferozeshah, had proceeded in that direction with a single brigade, and a light field battery, for the purpose of taking the town and fort of Dhurrumkote, which were filled with grain. He had reduced that place, when he received orders to attack the Sikh division. Relying upon his numbers, the Sikh chief tried to cut off the British communication with Loodiana, which by skilful manœuvres though with severe loss, Sir H. Smith succeeded in maintaining. Having received reinforcements, the

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Jan. 28.  
Battle of  
Aliwal.

British General, on the 28th of January, 1846, determined to attack the enemy, who had also been strongly reinforced, and were drawn up along a ridge close to the village of Aliwal, their left resting upon their entrenched camp. The day was clear, the sun shone brilliantly—there was no dust—the country was open and hard. As the British General approached the ridge, the enemy attempted to outflank him ; but their intention being observed, care was taken to prevent them. When within a hundred and fifty yards, the enemy opened a fierce cannonade from their whole line. The British, although under fire, halted for a short time, by orders of their General, while he ascertained that by bringing up his right and carrying the village, he could precipitate himself on the enemy's left and centre. Brigadiers Godby and Hicks made a rapid and noble charge, and carried the village, taking two guns of large calibre. The advancing troops then rushed forward, and, after various skilful movements, the Sikhs were forced to retire upon the Sutledge. Hither they were pursued ; and a large body of infantry was driven, at the point of the bayonet, by the 53rd Regiment, out of the village of Bhondee. The Sikhs hurried to the ford, and tried to cross the Sutledge, while the British troops pursued them to the water's edge ; the artillery, and especially the mortars, did great execution. The enemy's camp and fifty-two pieces of artillery

were taken. All the forts on the left bank were immediately surrendered.

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The Sikhs still retained a formidable position on the left bank of the river, in the British territory. It was the fortified camp at Sobraon, behind the entrenchments of which were thirty thousand of their bravest men, with seventy pieces of artillery. A well-constructed bridge afforded an easy communication with an entrenched camp on the right bank, having a strong force as their reserve, with artillery, which commanded the field works on the left bank. Sir Hugh Gough, who was ably seconded by the Governor-General, resolved to attack them, and, on the 10th of February, an extensive semicircle was formed, which embraced within its fire all the Sikh works. The river was covered with a deep haze, which the rising sun removed, while the British brigades, with the siege train and mortars, were forming; but, in the meantime, the field battery had commenced the action, and its fire was responded to by the well-served seventy guns of the Sikhs. At nine o'clock the British troops advanced, under a hot fire, to the triple entrenchments, which, at the time, it appeared almost impossible to storm. At length the column commanded by Brigadier Stacey succeeded in driving some of the Khalsa troops into the area of their own encampment. Her Majesty's 10th Regiment of Infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Franks, gained great distinction; for it reserved its fire until within the enemy's entrenchments. It was fully supported by two native regiments, viz., the 43rd and 59th Bengalees. One hundred and twenty cannons were then roaring in the valley of the Sutledge, and a fierce conflict was raging in the camp, for the Khalsa troops strove with incredible fury to expel the invaders from their position. The artillery and the bayonet could master them only, when Sir Joseph Thackwell, at the head of the cavalry on the left wing, had moved forward, and led his men in single file into the entrenchments. The 3rd Dragoons, deterred by no obstacles, rode down the obstinate defenders of the batteries; and the three divisions of infantry, with all the field artillery, slaughtered many. At length the brave Sikhs yielded the victory, by slackening and even soon ceasing their fire. Then they rushed to the bridge, or tried to ford the river, which suddenly rose seven inches. The British horse artillery played upon the retreating masses, and hundreds fell, while other hundreds were forced down the stream and drowned. Dismay, confusion, and slaughter were visible amongst them, and the British felt

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The Sikh  
position at  
Sobraon.Battle of  
Sobraon,  
Feb. 10.

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compassion ; but they could not forget that on that morning many a gallant soldier, whom the fortune of war and disabling wounds left at the mercy of the Sikhs, had been barbarously mangled. The small hill men called Goorkhas, and the battalions of Sirmoor and Nusseree, inflamed with recollections of ancient feuds, showed their indomitable spirit in every attack on the Khalsa troops. The result of this victory was the capture of sixty-seven cannon and two hundred camel swivels called "zum-boorucks," with large quantities of ammunition and many standards. The battle was over at eleven o'clock in the forenoon. The loss of British officers was severe. General Sir R. Dick and Brigadier Taylor were killed, and General M'Lauren died of his wounds. There were thirteen officers killed, and a hundred and one wounded. Of the troops, the total killed amounted to three hundred and twenty, and of the wounded to two thousand and sixty-three.

The  
British  
cross the  
Sutledge.

During the night of the 10th, the advanced brigades of the British army were thrown across the river ; and early on the 12th their bridge was completed ; and on the 13th the Commander-in-chief with his whole force, except the heavy train and the division left to collect and carry in the wounded, with the captured guns, to Ferozepore, was encamped at Kussoor in the Punjab, sixteen miles from Ferozepore, and thirty-two miles from Lahore, where he was joined, on the morning of the 14th, by the Governor-General.

The  
Lahore  
Durbar  
sends  
Goolab  
Sing to  
make  
terms.

When the news of the defeat at Sobraon of the Khalsa was announced at Lahore, the queen mother and her council urged Goolab Sing, who was considered to be a favourite with the British government, to proceed to the British camp and to make terms. At his demand the members of the punches, or clubs, agreed to abide by the terms he should obtain, and he set out accompanied by Dewan Dena Nath and Fakir Nooroodeen. The Governor-General received them in his Durbar, that is, surrounded by his officers. Without allowing the usual formalities of nuzzars or presents in the Asiatic style, the Lahore agents were sent to confer with Mr. Currie and Major Lawrence ; and after a conference, which lasted the greater part of the night, terms were agreed to. They were :—the surrender in full sovereignty of the territory, hill and plain, lying between the Sutledge and the Beas ; the payment of 1,500,000/- as indemnity for the expences of the war ; the disbandment of the Sikh army, and its re-organization, as regarded pay, on the system and regulations of Runjeet Sing ; no force to be raised without the

consent of the British government ; the surrender of all guns used against the British, and full powers to the Governor-General to settle the frontiers, and the internal organization of the Lahore government.. The young king, Dhuleep, was required to join the British army on its approach to his capital. He came on the 17th, and his ministers asked pardon for the acts of the soldiery. The Governor-General refused to receive him with any honour until he submitted, which he did at the first opportunity. He was then treated as a repentant sovereign, and he remained with the army until it entered Lahore, into which no Sikh soldier was allowed to enter. In consequence of the alarm prevailing at Lahore and Umrtsir, a proclamation was issued by the Governor-General, declaring his intention to protect Dhuleep Sing and his subjects. Dhuleep Sing was conducted to his palace by British regiments, and a royal salute was fired. This terminated the first campaign against the Sikhs ; in sixty days they lost four general actions and two hundred and twenty cannon ; and were compelled to accept the conditions imposed by the conqueror. The following proclamation was then published by the Governor-General :

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“ The British army has this day occupied the gateway of the citadel of Lahore, the Badshahee Mosque, and the Hoozooree Bagh. The remaining part of the citadel is the residence of his highness, the Maharajah, and also proclamation of the families of the late Maharajah, Runjeet Sing, for so many years the faithful ally of the British government. In consideration of these circumstances, no troops will be posted within the precincts of the palace-gate. The army of the Sutledge has now brought its operations in the field to a close by the dispersion of the Sikh army, and the military occupation of Lahore, preceded by a series of the most triumphant successes ever recorded in the military history of India. The British government, trusting to the faith of treaties, and the long subsisting friendship between the two states, had limited military preparations to the defence of its own frontier. Compelled, suddenly, to assume the offensive, by the unprovoked invasion of its territories, the British army, under the command of its distinguished leader has, in sixty days, defeated the Sikh forces in four general actions ; has captured 220 pieces of field artillery ; and is now at the capital, dictating to the Lahore Durbar the terms of a treaty, the conditions of which will tend to secure the British provinces from the repetition of a similar outrage. The Governor-General being determined, however, to mark with reprobation the perfidious character of the war, has required and will exact, that every remaining piece of Sikh artillery which has been pointed against the British army during the campaign shall be surrendered. The Sikh army, whose insubordinate conduct is one of the chief causes of the anarchy and misrule which have brought the Sikh state to the brink of destruction, is about to be disbanded. The soldiers of the army of the Sutledge have not only proved their superior prowess in battle, but have on every occasion, with subordina-

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He is  
allowed to  
remain as  
king.

The details  
of the  
campaign.

Conditions  
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Bravery
of the
army.

Rewards
and honors.

tion and patience, endured the fatigues and privations inseparable from a state of active operations in the field. The native troops of this army have also proved that a faithful attachment to their colours, and to the Company's service, is an honourable feature in the character of the British sepoy. The Governor-General has repeatedly expressed, on his own part and on that of the government of India, admiration and gratitude for the important services which the army has rendered. The Governor-General is now pleased to resolve, as a testimony of the approbation of the government of India of the bravery, discipline, and soldier-like bearing of the army of the Sutledge, that all the generals, officers, non-commissioned officers and privates, shall receive a gratuity of twelve months' batta. Every regiment which, in obedience to its orders, may have remained in posts and forts between Loodiana and Ferozepore, and was not present in action—as in the case of troops ordered to remain at Moodkee to protect the wounded, and those left in the posts of Ferozepore and Loodiana—shall receive the gratuity of twelve months' batta. Obedience to orders is the first duty of a soldier; and the Governor-General in affirming the principle, can never admit that absence caused by the performance of indispensable duties, on which the success of the operations in the field greatly depended, ought to disqualify any soldier placed in these circumstances, from participation in the gratuity given for the general good conduct of the army in the field. All regiments and individuals ordered to the frontier, and forming part of the army of the Sutledge, which may have reached Loodiana or Busseean before the date of this order, will be included as entitled to the gratuity."

Treaty
signed,
March 8.

On the 8th of March, the important treaty between the two Governments was signed in the Governor-General's tent. The next day he held a public Durbar in great state, when the Maharajah, attended by his principal officers and a numerous suite, was present, and the treaty was ratified and exchanged with the usual ceremonies. The Governor-General then addressed the assembled chiefs in a speech which was translated to them as it was delivered. In the course of it he said :—

Speech
of the
Governor-
General
to the
sirdars or
chiefs.

" For forty years it was the policy of Runjeet Sing's time to cultivate friendly relations between the two governments, and, during the whole of that period, the Sikh nation was independent and happy. Let the policy of that able man towards the British government be the model for your future imitation. The British government in no respect provoked the late war. It had no objects of aggrandizement to obtain by hostilities. The proof of sincerity is to be found in its moderation in the hour of victory. A just quarrel, followed by a successful war, has not changed the policy of the British government. The British government does not desire to interfere in your internal affairs. I am ready and anxious to withdraw every British soldier from Lahore. At the earnest solicitation of the Sikh government I have reluctantly consented to leave a British force in garrison at Lahore, until time shall have been afforded for the re-organization of the Sikh army, by which assistance the stipulations of the treaty may be more easily carried into effect. In no case can I consent that the British troops shall remain in

garrison for a longer period than the end of this year. I state this publicly that all the world may know the truth, and the motives by which I am actuated in this matter."

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Rajah Goolab Sing, who had by his neutrality secured the good-will of the conquerors, was rewarded by being raised to the dignity of an independent prince, and invested with the sovereignty of the country situated eastward of the Indus, and westward of the Ravee, including Chumba, and excluding Lahool. He was placed under the supremacy and protection of the British Government, to which he undertook to pay tribute. The Sikh Governor of Cashmeer attempted to throw obstacles in the way of Goolab, but he was speedily compelled to yield to a large force sent against him under the command of Brigadier Wheeler. He excused himself by showing the orders from the Sikh Vizir under which he acted. Rajah Lall Sing, the Vizir, under whose orders the insurrection had been organized, was dismissed, and a convention entered into for the administration of the Government by a Council at Lahore, under British superintendence, during the minority of Dhuleep, which was regulated to end on the 4th of September, 1854.

The removal of Lall Sing from Lahore excited the bitterest feelings in the breast of Chunda, the mother of Dhuleep, and she nourished her hatred. The Sikhs, although beaten, were not subdued; they still entertained hopes of measuring their strength with the troops of England. It was true that the Lahore government had been deprived of various fertile provinces; yet it was strong in men disciplined by Runjeet, and in various other resources. The non-annexation of the Punjab, by the Governor-General, was looked upon by the disaffected as a proof of its strength, and of British weakness, although cloaked over with the name of moderation.* Lord Hardinge, who had been raised to the rank of a viscount, resolved to reduce the numerical strength of the army to that of a peace-establishment. The state of the treasury required a diminution of the expenditure, particularly when one half of the revenue was absorbed by the military, and during seven years the debts of India were gradually augmented. After the affairs of Lahore were settled, Lord Hardinge proceeded to Simla, and in its cold climate he arranged his reforms, having the advantage of considerable experience of

* The death, by poison, of the treacherous Afghan, Akbar Khan, took place in the beginning of February, 1847.

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XXIII.** the various exigencies of the country. His reductions were so great as at first to create alarm. The sweeping reductions of Lord William Bentinck, it was recollectcd, had been followed by an extraordinary augmentation of the army, and a debt to a large amount was thereby incurred. Lord Hardinge, however, diminished the expenditure to the amount of one million sterling. India is indebted to him for the completion of the grand trunk road from Calcutta to Benares, on which fifty-four bridges were erected. It was then hoped that means would be soon found to continue it to Delhi. The Ganges canal, begun by Lord Auckland, but suspended by Lord Ellenborough, was resumed, and two lakhs monthly were appropriated to this advantageous project, by which many thousands of acres of the most fertile lands in India can be irrigated. To Lord Hardinge, also, praise is due for having succeeded in influencing twenty-three of the petty princes to pledge themselves to the extinction of female infanticide, of suttee, and of slavery. Arrangements were made for effecting the separation of the governorship of Bengal, from the duties of the Governor-General. During ten years previously the Governor-General had been absent from Calcutta for almost eight years; and those duties were discharged by deputy. Lord Ellenborough had set the example by placing Mr. Clerk and Mr. Thomason successively in the office of lieutenant-governor of the north-western provinces, thereby giving permanence to that office. He had, also, in 1844, appointed Mr. Bird to be deputy governor of Bengal. The necessity of raising the magnificent province of Bengal to the rank of Madras, Bombay and Agra, was not to be denied; and as the charter gave the power to the Governor-General, he was fully warranted in carrying the measure into effect. Bengal, with 35,000,000 inhabitants, and nine millions sterling of revenue deserves to have a governor to attend specially to its interests.

The Deputy-Governor of Bengal.

Lord Hardinge returns to Calcutta, Dec. 11.

Lord Viscount Hardinge returned to Calcutta on the 11th of December, after an absence from that capital of two years and a quarter, during which time he had humbled but not crushed the most formidable opponent which the English had encountered since the time of Tippoo Saib. Ninety years had elapsed since Clive had won the battle of Plassy, and founded the British empire; and now the empire was fully completed, for the East India Company ruled supreme from the Himalayas to Cape Comoree—from the mountains west of the Indus to the frontiers of Burmah. The preparations for his departure were met by valedictory addresses of respect, in which the native gentlemen

expressed their appreciation of his lordship's exertions in the promotion of the education of their countrymen. But the feelings of the inhabitants of Calcutta were at this time most pain- CHAPTER
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A.D. 1847. fully excited by the intelligence of the numerous failures, which then scattered dismay throughout the British empire. The stoppage of the Union Bank, and of several mercantile firms, contributed to add to the general depression.

Lord Hardinge bade adieu to Calcutta, and embarked, at His Chandpal ghat, on the 18th of January, 1848. At his arrival Jan. 18,
A.D. 1848. departure, he had found a deficit in the revenue of two millions, and when he left India, hopes were entertained of a balance within the year on the other side of the ledger ; but circumstances arose which produced a different result.

CHAPTER XXIV.

GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE, 1848—1851.

The Marquis of Dalhousie a young Governor-General.—Peace in India.—Effects of Commercial Disasters.—The Sikh Chiefs dissatisfied.—They prepare for Rebellion.—State of Mooltan.—Death of Sawun Mull.—The Fortifications of Mooltan.—Moolraj succeeds as Governor.—He resigns.—Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson sent to Mooltan.—Moolraj gives them the Keys of the Fortress.—These two British Officers are assaulted and murdered.—Moolraj insults their Remains.—Lieutenant Edwardes marches to relieve them.—He stops the Rebellion at Bunnoo.—British Troops ordered from Lahore to go to Mooltan.—The Season there adverse.—Moolraj delays the Attack on Edwardes.—Edwardes raises Mohammedan Levies.—Battle of Kineyree, June 18.—Battle at Suddoosam, July 1.—Shere Sing arrives at Mooltan.—General Whish besieges it.—Chuttur Sing rebels in the Hazareh.—Major Lawrence taken Prisoner.—General Whish fails in the first Attack.—A second Attack produces much Bloodshed.—Shere Sing and his Sikh Troops desert.—The Siege raised.—The Patans not inclined to dig the Earth.—Shere Sing tries to bribe them to desert.—Edwardes excites Suspicion between Moolraj and Shere Sing.—Shere Sing marches to join his Father.—Moolraj sends Agents to excite different Parties to aid him.—The Mooltances attack General Whish.—A Bombay Division reinforces General Whish.—Lord Gough assembles the Grand Army of the Punjab.—A Conspiracy detected at Lahore.—The Maharanee Chunda implicated.—She is removed from the Punjab.—Goolab Sing's Conduct.—Dost Mohammed sends Troops to Peshawur.—Efforts made to pacify Chuttur Sing.—Renewal of the Siege of Mooltan.—Attack on the Fortress.—The Grand Mosque blown up.—The Walls breached.—Stormed Jan. 3, 1849.—Moolraj makes many offers.—He is forced to surrender unconditionally.—The Bodies of the two British Officers Vans Agnew and Anderson decently interred.—Moolraj tried, found guilty, and sentenced to Imprisonment for Life.—The Sikhs wish to expel the British from

India.—Their Troops approach within Sixty Miles of Lahore.—Lord Gough at the Head of the Punjab Army.—The Cavalry attack at Ramnuggur.—General Cureton and other Officers killed.—Several desperate Charges useless.—General Thackwell crosses the Chenab.—Dost Mohammed seizes Peshawur.—Bloody Battle at Chillianwallah, Jan. 13, 1849.—Many Officers killed.—The Sikhs take several Guns.—Some British Corps routed and cut to Pieces.—The Darkness of the Night stops the carnage.—This Battle the last great Effort of the Sikhs.—General Dissatisfaction prevails as to the Mode of Fighting.—Sir Charles J. Napier appointed Commander-in-Chief in India.—The Sikhs retreat from Chillianwallah.—The Troops from Mooltan join the Commander-in-Chief.—Battle and rout of Goojerat, Feb. 21.—The Sikhs flee to the Northward, leaving their Guns and Camp to the Victors.—The British Prisoners recovered.—Chuttur and Shere Sing, with other Chiefs, surrender.—Sir W. Gilbert pursues the Afghans across the Indus to Peshawur.—Dost Mohammed flees into the Khyber.—Dhuleep Sing deposed.—The Koh-i-noor surrendered to the Queen.—Proclamation by the Governor-General.—Lahore ceases to be a Kingdom.—The Country annexed to the British Territories.—The British Government ensures Peace to the Lovers of Tranquillity.—Sir Charles J. Napier lands at Calcutta, May 6.—He takes the command.—He adopts decided Measures.—Strict Discipline.—A remarkable general Order relative to Regiments at Drill.—The Marquis of Dalhousie in the Punjab.—He makes a Voyage down the Indus.—He visits Bombay, Ceylon, Singapore, and Malacca.—The Afreedees commit Excesses.—Frightful Explosion at Benares.—The Koh-i-noor presented to the Queen.—Sir C. J. Napier resigns the Command.—The Causes of this Act.—Colonel King, taunted with Cowardice, commits Suicide.—Sir W. Gomm arrives in Calcutta.—Railways begun.—Forty-five Bengal Officers tried and sentenced.—The Farewell Address of Sir C. J. Napier to the Indian Army.—Rangoon nearly consumed, Dec. 28, 1850.—Tranquillity prevails in India.—Ship burnings.—Deficits in some Accounts.—Death of the Ex-Peishwa Bajee Rao.—Jotes Persaud tried and acquitted.—New Governor-General appointed.

THE Earl (subsequently created Marquis) of Dalhousie, who was selected to succeed Viscount Hardinge as Governor-General, landed in Calcutta on the 12th of January, 1848. He was not an adherent of the Whig Ministry then in office, but his character and talents had acquired general respect. Although in point of

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Earl
Dalhousie,
a young
Governor-
General,
who
promises
well.**

**India
apparently
at peace.**

**Commer-
cial
disasters
of 1848.**

**The Sikh
chiefs
dissatisfied.**

years the youngest of the rulers of India, since the days of the Marquis of Wellesley, hopes were entertained that by his moderation, the security of British power and the welfare of India would be established. The financial—the judicial—the legislative—the political, and even the commercial interests of that important part of the empire, were, without any influence from party considerations, entrusted to his care ; and he undertook, as he declared, the administration of the weighty, vast and various affairs of that country, because he felt certain of receiving the cordial support of the Directors, and of the servants of the Honourable Company. The state of India appeared satisfactory, for peace prevailed in every part ; the British yoke seemed to be firm on the Indian people, and it was, as he avowed in his inaugurating dinner speech, his duty to render it easy to be borne by them. Economy had been introduced by his predecessor, and the finances were regarded as in a favourable state. In addition to these advantages, the Earl of Dalhousie was known to have had the experience of administering a laborious department in England, while a new career of usefulness was thus opened to him in India.

The attention of the public was much engaged after his arrival in the winding up of many mercantile firms which had suspended their payments. Subsequently the railways were stopped, and many other works of utility were delayed during the whole of the gloomy year, 1848, which was one of continued commercial disasters, of social distress and of political anxieties. During twelve months preceding October of that year, half the mercantile establishments of Calcutta were swamped in the storm which raged within their horizon. The savings of many lives were swept away ; the value of property in many public institutions was deteriorated ; and the shareholders of the Union Bank, in addition to having, through the recklessness and mismanagement of the directors, lost their capital therein, amounting to a million sterling, were compelled to purchase peace and safety by sacrificing another half million. The history of these disasters now requires our attention.

The Sikhs were not satisfied with the settlement of their country as effected by Lord Hardinge in 1846, and they sought means of shaking off the yoke which the British conqueror had placed on them. They had been beaten in their mad attempt to invade Hindustan—but their government, consisting of a queen-mother, one of the most dissolute women in Asia, and her paramours and parasites, was left to carry on intrigues, and to keep alive

the wild spirit of military rule to which the Khalsa (Church), and other troops, had been trained by Runjeet Sing and his officers during many years. We shall soon state how the queen-mother was removed from Lahore; yet her agents remained. The Sikh dominions had been reduced by giving a large tract of territory to Goolab Sing, to form his kingdom of Cashmeer, and the extensive provinces stretching along the left bank of the Sutledge had been retained by the British. But the nucleus of rebellion existed in Lahore. The numerous fertile districts lying between the five rivers, each of which is called a "Doab," (from "*do*," two, and "*ab*," water,) produced their crops, of men as well as of corn, and those men still wished to measure swords with the conquerors from India and Europe. The opportunity was not long wanting, for the Court of Lahore was as profligate in politics as in morals; and it encouraged faithlessness towards the British as a means for securing its own power amongst the fanatics of the people and troops. The eighty-two thousand men whom Runjeet had disciplined, had not all been slain, and neither were all his parks of artillery, amounting to nearly four hundred guns, removed. Sir H. Lawrence had been left by Viscount Hardinge, with ten thousand British troops, to keep order in Lahore. He laboured hard for the purpose, but his labour was unsuccessful; for until the Sikh fever was relieved by further bleeding, there were no means of establishing tranquillity in the Doabs of the Punjab.

Among the numerous conquests of Runjeet Sing, that of Mooltan, in 1818, was one which he highly prized, as being the capital of a fertile Doab, which yielded a considerable revenue. After some trials of various governors, he, in 1821, placed the government in the hands of Sawun Mull, whose talents maintained him in the position until 1844, when he was slain for an outrage by one of his own soldiers. Of mean origin, and low bred, Sawun Mull hated every man who boasted of holding property from a grandfather, or of the deeds of his ancestors; he protected the poor, and oppressed the rich; to the former he distributed justice with impartiality, the wealthy he compelled to pay for his verdicts. To his soldiers he was kind; but he had the habit, when offended by any of them, even for trifling causes, of ordering his guards to "take away his sword and spear, and turn him out of the service." After twenty-three years spent as governor, he, although he always paid the revenue regularly to the Sikh government, had accumulated great riches. One of his best soldiers asked for his discharge,

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They
prepare for
rebellion.

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Death of Sawun Mull.

to which request he delayed giving a reply, and the soldier reiterated his demand. Sawun Mull, being irritated, gave the well-known order, and the guards were about to seize the soldier, who told them to do so at their peril, but freely gave up his arms. Sawun Mull then ordered him to be kept at the door until the audience was over, and on quitting the hall he bitterly taunted the soldier, who soon lodged the contents of a pistol in his breast. The soldier was cut to pieces. Sawun Mull died of the wound at a time when he expected to declare himself a Rajah, as the following facts prove.

The fortifications of Mooltan.

The three brothers of the Jammoo family, who controlled the Court at Lahore, hated Sawun Mull, and frequently tried to oust him, but their efforts failed. At length, while the boy Nao Nehal Sing ruled that court and kingdom during his father's lifetime, a wager was offered by that young prince that he would bring Sawun Mull to the capital. Dhyan Sing took the wager. Nao Nehal wrote a friendly note to Sawun Mull detailing the whole affair. Sawun Mull went instantly to Lahore, to the great joy of the Prince, who, according to his promise granted any request that Sawun Mull chose to make. He asked for leave to fortify Mooltan, which was granted, and soon after his return every carpenter and mason in his province were employed in the fortifications, which in two years became the strongest in that part of India.

Moolraj succeeds as governor.

Moolraj, the eldest of his sons, succeeded to the government, and he having been reared in the expectancy of a sovereignty, defended his position against the inroads of Lal Sing, the Vizir of Lahore. Moolraj was a practised disciple of Hindu deceit. When Colonel Lawrence was obliged by ill health, in Nov. 1847, to leave the Punjab, Moolraj wrote for permission to come to Lahore. He came, and resigned the government, because, as he said, the people would no longer, under the British system, pay him the taxes, especially as they had an appeal to the Durbar against him. After his return to Mooltan, he was again asked and repeated his wish to resign.

Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson sent to Mooltan.

Mr. Vans Agnew, a young Bengal civilian, who was assistant to the Resident at Lahore, and Lieutenant Anderson of the Bombay Fusiliers, were sent with an escort to receive the fortress from Moolraj. To avoid the heats, in the beginning of April, they went by the river; their escort of one thousand four hundred Sikhs, with the newly-appointed Sikh Governor, Khan Sing, went by land, and on the 18th of April they all met near Mooltan, and encamped together near the Eedgah, a large Mohammedan building, within cannon-shot

of the fort, and about a mile from the country garden-house of Moolraj. Early in the morning of the 19th, the two British officers, with Sirdar Khan Sing, went with Moolraj into the fort, received the keys, installed some companies of their escort, planted sentries, and having mustered the former garrison, told them that they too should be employed. On their return through the gate, two of Moolraj's soldiers were standing on the bridge, and seeing the unarmed Englishmen riding by, pushed Vans Agnew off his horse. Mr. Vans Agnew resisted, and the Sikh drew his sword, and gave him two severe wounds, but was himself knocked into the ditch by a horseman of the escort.

Moolraj, who was present, quickly fled, while his horsemen pursued Lieutenant Anderson, whom they cut down, and left for dead. Mr. Vans Agnew was placed upon an elephant, and both the wounded Englishmen were taken to the Eedgah. Moolraj refused to aid them; their escort, being bribed, abandoned them; and that evening, the rebel chief received oaths of fidelity from all his soldiers, some of whom went to the Eedgah, and after various indignities deliberately hacked to death the British officers. Mr. Vans Agnew had the courage, during the day, to write letters to the Resident at Lahore, and to Lieutenant Edwardes at Bunnoo. That evening his head was taken to Moolraj, who was at the time reviling Sirdar Khan Sing, and on seeing the latter weep over it, reproached him with his feeling for the foreigners. The remains of the two British officers were twice torn up from their grave by the Mooltanees, who stripped them of the clothes in which they were interred.

The news of this atrocity roused the indignation of the British authorities. Lieutenant Edwardes, on receiving the letter, instantly hastened from Bunnoo, with all the troops he could muster, to aid his countrymen. He was too late to save their lives; but his movement prevented the spread of the insurrection amongst the fertile Doabs near the Indus. On the receipt of the letter, troops were ordered immediately by the Resident at Lahore to proceed to Mooltan; but soon the news arrived of the murder. The Resident then told the Sikh government that they must put down Moolraj, but they unhesitatingly avowed their inability to do so. The Resident next represented to the Commander-in-Chief the political urgency of reducing Mooltan without any delay by a British force. Lord Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, decided that at that season of the year it would be inexpedient for the British army to commence operations; and in this decision the Governor-General concurred. It

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They are received by Moolraj, who gives up the keys of the fort.

The two British officers assaulted and murdered.

Moolraj insults their remains.

Lieutenant Edwardes marches quickly from Bunnoo, and stops the rebellion.

CHAPTER XXIV. was then the month of May, the hottest period of the year, and Mooltan is one of the hottest places in Upper India. The disaffected Sikhs attributed the delay to weakness, and they therefore precipitated the crisis ; for, without waiting till Dhuleep Sing should become of age in 1854, they made rapid preparations for another conflict with their victors. During the period which intervened before the opening of the campaign by the British troops, which was to be effected in five columns, Lieutenant Edwardes, at the head of his Sikh force—the fidelity of which was highly doubtful—maintained his position by living in provinces belonging to Moolraj, who, being more of a mercantile than a military character, hesitated for some time to attack any troops outside his grand fortress, and his officers recommended him to surrender. But he wished to save his life, and resolved not to yield unless on compulsion.

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Troops ordered from Lahore to go to Mooltan, but the season is adverse.

Moolraj delays the attack on Edwardes.

Edwardes raises Moham-madan levies.

Battle at Kineyree, June 18.

Battle of Suddoosam, July 1.

Lieutenant Edwardes prudently raised a body of Mohammedan troops, on whom he could rely, for controlling the schemes of the Sikhs. He was supported by the Sikh General Cortlandt, at the head of four thousand men ; and by their efforts, in two or three skirmishes, the rebellion on the right bank of the Indus was suppressed. A force was sent by the Khan of Bhawulpore, which enabled them to prevent Moolraj from sending any troops into the Lahore districts. It was evident, from the intrigues of the Sikhs, and from the dilatory proceedings of the Durbar, that they did not wish to have Moolraj put down. However, Lieutenant Lake was despatched by the Resident to take the command of the Bhawulpore army ; but before he reached it, a battle took place, on the 18th of June, near the ferry of Kineyree. The Bhawulpore troops (about five thousand men) being on the march to join Edwardes, Moolraj sent a body of seven thousand men to prevent the junction ; and early in the morning the attack was begun. Fortunately, Edwardes, who had been apprised of Moolraj's intention, crossed the Indus near the place of conflict, and by his prudent arrangements, kept the enemy at bay for seven hours, until troops and artillery came across the river from General Cortlandt. The army of Moolraj was then routed with a considerable loss. On the 1st of July, Edwardes and his allies approached Mooltan. Moolraj, with eleven thousand men, sallied forth to attack them ; but he soon fled back into the fortress. He then gave orders that two guns should be levelled across the only bridge over a wide canal, against his own men while retreating ; of whom many were drowned in attempting to cross the canal. This battle is known as that of Suddoosam. Sir F. Currie,

the Resident at Lahore, on the receipt of the intelligence, ordered a siege train, with a competent escort, to be despatched for the immediate reduction of the fortress ; but still the season was ill-suited, and some delays intervened.

At this period, Shere Sing, at the head of a body of Sikh troops, advanced towards Mooltan, and various intrigues were set on foot by Moolraj to induce those Sikhs to join his standard ; but, by a judicious show of strict discipline, they were induced to remain faithful. On the 18th of August, General Whish arrived, with Her Majesty's 8th Regiment, a troop of horse artillery, a regiment of irregular cavalry, and two native regiments, and assumed the command of the besieging force, which was, on the following day, increased by a larger force of troops from Ferozepore, so that the besieging army amounted to nearly twenty-eight thousand men.

Shere Sing was the son of Chuttur Sing who, as a Rajah, was the administrator for the Sikh government of the Hazareh, a district situated in the north-west of the Punjab. Early in August, the Sikhs under Chuttur Sing revolted, murdered Colonel Canora, an American, the head of the artillery, and attempted to seize the fortress of Attock, which commands the well-known passage across the Indus. Their first attempt was defeated by the promptitude and energy of Major Lawrence, the British assistant at Peshawur, by whom Lieutenant Nicholson was despatched with a force to occupy the place, and, by a forced march, that officer succeeded in reaching it before the rebel Sikhs. The long-retained mask was then thrown off, and the struggle for mastery in the Punjab was again begun. Captain James Abbot, the political agent in the Hazareh, and Lieutenant Nicholson in Attock, required to be reinforced in order to maintain their ground. In the beginning of November, the Sikh troops in Peshawur revolted on the approach of Chuttur Sing. Major Lawrence, with his lady, and Lieutenant Bowie, then escaped to Kohat, where, after some detention, they were given up by the Afghan governor to Chuttur Sing, who treated them well as hostages for his own safety.

The siege train, having arrived on the 4th September, General Whish, in the night of the 9th, found it necessary to dislodge the enemy from the outworks of Mooltan. Colonel Harvey, at the head of two thousand five hundred men, attempted to take a village and garden near the walls, which had been strongly entrenched, but after a severe struggle, the column was driven back with considerable loss. Among the wounded was Captain

CHAPTER XXIV. Christopher, of the Indian navy, who died of his wounds within a few days. This repulse augmented the confidence of Moolraj, who further increased the strength of the position, and thereby rendered it necessary for the British General to clear the suburbs before he could reach either the town or the citadel. On the 12th, the General called on the irregulars to create a diversion on his left ; which was effected by Lake, Lumsden, and Cortlandt, Edwardes being in attendance upon the General. The engagement began in the morning, at seven o'clock ; and while the attention of the besieged was engaged with the irregular corps, two British columns advanced to attack the position from which they had been repulsed two nights previously. The right was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Pattoun ; the left by Lieutenant-Colonel Franks. The troops under Moolraj fought well, and several officers were wounded and killed ; among the latter were Major Montizambert and Colonel Pattoun. The slaughter of the defenders in the Dhurmsala, or public hospital, then strongly fortified, was immense ; three hundred men were slain within that building. The British troops had, by this success, advanced within battering distance of the walls ; and it was expected that Mooltan would fall into their power within a few days ; but it did not ; for in the morning of the 14th, the whole of the Sikh troops, under the command of Shere Sing, moved out of their camp and joined the rebels.

Shere Sing
and the
Sikhs
desert to
Moolraj.

The siege
raised.

The
Patans not
inclined
to dig the
earth.

Shere Sing appears to have wavered up to the last moment, as to the line of conduct most advantageous for him to pursue ; but when he found himself suspected by the British, and intreated by his father to join in the cause of his religion, he hesitated no longer. He then took his willing soldiers to a place marked out for him under the cover of the guns of the fortress. This defection, combined with the report of the chief engineer, who stated that the fortress was too strong to be taken by so small a force as that there assembled, led General Whish, after consulting with the council of war, to raise the siege. According to military science, the besiegers ought to have three times the number of the garrison besieged. Moolraj had fifteen thousand excellent old soldiers, after he had been joined by Shere Sing's force ; while General Whish had only twenty thousand, of which thirteen thousand were irregulars, consisting chiefly of Patans, who, according to their Asiatic notions, considered it derogatory to their dignity to dig in a place destined for the protection of others. The really effective, or European force, under General Whish was about six thousand men. The siege was, therefore,

raised ; and on the 15th the British troops and the irregulars retreated some distance. The latter were attacked during the retreat by a thousand cavalry belonging to Shere Sing ; but General Cortlandt who, on all occasions, behaved with equal gallantry and fidelity, opened his guns upon the turncoat cavalry and quickly dispersed them.

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Shere Sing issued several inflammatory proclamations calling on the Sikh people to stand forward and to defend their sovereign, their country, and their religion. Among other reasons, the removal to Hindustan of the Maharanee Chunda Khore, the mother of Dhuleep Sing, was brought forward as a strong fact ; but this appeared not to have influenced all the Sirdars, for several of them escaped to Edwardes' camp and joined the British service. The rebel chief having taken the decision of fomenting a fanatical war in the Punjab, sent various agents to the irregulars and other native troops, acting in conjunction with General Whish's army, to encourage all his countrymen to abandon and to exterminate the Feringhees. The dangers of a further defection struck Edwardes, and he instantly promised that all the native regular soldiers in Cortlandt's army, who remained faithful to the British cause, should be treated as British soldiers and received into the service. This offer prevented desertions, and it was subsequently ratified by the Governor-General. Lieutenant Edwardes was raised to the local rank of Major, and created a C.B.

The following trick played by Edwardes upon Shere Sing will afford some amusement :—The spies reported that a strong misunderstanding prevailed between Moolraj and Shere Sing. As the former had suspicions that the defection of the latter was but feigned in order to get into the fort and yield it up to the British, he would not allow Shere Sing's troops within the walls, not even one thousand as a guard of honour. Edwardes, on hearing this, sent for Bhumbo, a recognized spy, who was playing his game with both parties, and told him, in great confidence, that he had a letter which he wished to be handed to Shere Sing, without Moolraj's knowledge. Bhumbo promised faithfully that the letter should reach the hands of Shere Sing without even the chance of Moolraj's "smelling it." He took the letter and the bribes, and on entering the city went straight to Moolraj and handed the writing to him. Moolraj "grew yellow" on perusing it ; and held a court martial on Shere Sing for treacherous correspondence. Shere Sing abused Edwardes with all the bitter names in his vocabulary ; denied the charge, and in proof of his

CHAPTER XXIV. truth, led his troops out to attack Edwardes ; but a smart cannonade soon forced him to retire back to Mooltan. He then offered to quit the district, if money was advanced to pay the arrears due to his troops. Moolraj gladly advanced it, and Shere Sing effected his departure on the 9th of October, marching away so rapidly that General Whish did not consider it safe to pursue him. On the 21st, Shere Sing formed a junction with his father Chuttur, near Wuzeerabad, where their forces were said to amount to thirty thousand men. Soon afterwards Chuttur returned to the Hazareh ; but left a strong force with his son, General Whish, and his allies, withdrew some miles from Mooltan.

Shere Sing marches to join his father.

Moolraj sends agents to excite different parties to aid him.

Moolraj being no longer confined within the walls of the city sent agents to induce the Sikh troops to hasten to his relief ; but they laughed at his invitation, and marched to the Khalsa army, under Chuttur Sing and his son. Moolraj sent an envoy to Dost Mohammed, at Cabul, and to the chiefs at Candahar, offering them money and promising to allow them to extend their territory to the Indus, provided they aided in driving the loathed Feringhees from his country. Dost Mohammed then sent one of his sons, with a force, to occupy Bunnoo ; and the Candahar chiefs made preparations for an expedition to Hurrund. Lieutenant Taylor kept Dost Mohammed's men in check ; and the expedition from Candahar was delayed until the capture of Mooltan had destroyed all chance of its utility.

The Mooltanees attack General Whish.

The latter part of September was passed, by the Mooltanees, in "licking their wounds" after their first siege ; in October they increased their strength, and in November they were bold enough to sally forth and to "besiege their besiegers." They advanced within range of the British camps, and bombarded them for five days, keeping the soldiers on the alert in extinguishing the fires. Attempts were made to drive them off by artillery ; but although the gunners did their best, the Sikhs maintained their ground. The old English process of the bayonet became necessary, and preparations were made for an attack on the 7th, before which day about two hundred and twenty sepoys belonging to one of Cortlandt's regiments found an opportunity of deserting. The Mussulmans of the corps remained staunch. Encouraged by this desertion, the Mooltan troops resolved to take the initiative, and on the following morning they assailed the British lines ; but were speedily driven back to the fortress with considerable loss of men and of five guns. Little was subsequently done by the army near Mooltan until a Bombay division, commanded by Brigadier Dundas, coming from

Scinde, which province was this year annexed to the Bombay Presidency, joined it on the 21st of December. Major Edwardes was delighted on seeing that corps arrive, which, although in native material inferior to the Bengal troops, was in marching order, dress and general "set up," close in appearance to the British soldiers. While working side by side at the second siege, the preference was allowed, by this observant officer, to the Bombay troops for discipline. While fighting they were equal in courage and constancy, notwithstanding the advantage which the Bengal sepoy enjoyed from his superior size. He praised, also, the practice of each soldier and sepoy being provided with a canteen for carrying water, who thereby became independent of risks in many cases. The besieging force at Mooltan was incorporated into the "great army of the Punjab," which was assembled under Lord Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, and Colonel Cheape, who had witnessed the siege of Bhurtpore, was as chief engineer sent to capture Mooltan, which was assailed by nearly fifteen thousand regular troops, including three thousand cavalry, with ninety-seven guns, of which sixty-seven were pieces of siege ordnance. The irregular troops were diminished, and Major Edwardes sent a portion of his men to various stations, to procure food and to retain those places from being occupied by the rebels. Moolraj's force was also diminished in consequence of numbers quitting him to join the Sikh army under Chuttur Sing, and of the general apprehension which then prevailed that the defence of the fortress would be useless. Moolraj, from scarcity of money, began to coin his store of gold. There were still about 12,000 fighting men within his fortress.

We shall now narrate events which had in the interval occurred at Lahore. In May, a conspiracy was detected which had for its object to corrupt the fidelity of the native troops. The plot was of considerable extent. Prompt measures were taken, and three of the leaders were without delay seized, tried, and two of them executed; one was a General Khan Sing, and the other Bhaei Gungarum, the confidential agent of the Maharanee Chunda Khore, mother of Dhuleep, the young king. The complicity of the Maharanee in the plot was proved; and it became necessary to remove her from the Punjab. She had, on the 20th of August of the preceding year, been induced to quit Lahore, in consequence of being involved in several dangerous schemes. By the advice of the Durbar, and with the consent of the Governor-General, she was detained at Sheikopore, about twenty miles from the capital. Notwithstanding various admonitions

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assembles
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spiracy
detected
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The Maharanee Chunda implicated, and removed from the Punjab.

Dost Mohammed sends troops to Jellalabad.

Goolab Sing's conduct.

Efforts made to pacify Chuttur Sing.

and warnings, she continued by intrigues to embarrass the government, so that on the 15th of May, 1848, she was taken under a strong escort to Ferozepore, and thence removed to Benares, the usual refuge of deposed or exiled sovereigns, where she arrived on the 2nd of August. Even there she was not quiet; she sent an agent, and hired an attorney at Calcutta to come to hear her complaints. The government allowed her as much liberty as was consistent with her situation. These decided steps contributed very much to neutralize the general combination which had been concocted in the Punjab, and to the westward of Delhi, for the subversion of the British power in those countries. The Maharanee was the originator of the whole scheme; and she employed agents throughout the neighbouring states, for the purpose of securing their co-operation. Many of the Sikhs joined her cause. The conspirators of the Punjab fixed their hopes on the aid promised by Dost Mohammed, of Cabul, and by Goolab Sing, of Cashmeer. The former had raised a large army, and sent a part of it in advance to Jellalabad, as he expected that Peshawur, the burial place of his ancestors, would be restored to him. Goolab Sing conducted himself with such caution, as to hold good terms with both parties. The British authorities, being fully cognizant of these proceedings, adopted proper measures for bringing them to a favourable issue. Orders were given in September for an army to assemble at Ferozepore; but the dispatch of any brigades into the Hazareh, although urgently desired by the officers in command there, was declined on the ground of their distance from the main body. The Resident sent Rajah Deena Nath, one of the ablest men of the Lahore Durbar, to confer with Chuttur Sing; but the mission led to no result. Colonel Holmes, an old respectable European officer, long in the service of the Sikh government, was murdered at Bunnoo by his own troops. The native festival of the Dussera, when campaigning always began, passed over at Lahore without disturbances, in consequence of the strict measures adopted by Brigadier Campbell, who commanded the forces in that capital, and who took care to secure the fortress at Umritsir.

On the 25th of December, the Bengal division marched from its three months' camp, and took up its former position near Mooltan; the Bombay division followed on the 26th, and on the 27th the siege was resumed. General Whish resolved to attack the north-east angle of the citadel, and to expel the enemy from the adjoining suburbs, consisting of brick kilns, the cemetery of

Moolraj's father, and Moolraj's own country garden-house. Three divisions were ordered to make a diversion so as to distract the enemy, while discretionary powers were given to their leaders to follow up any success as they should consider it best. Brigadier Dundas captured, occupied and crowned with guns, several important positions; the Bombay Fusiliers frequently charged the enemy with the bayonet, and drove them towards the gate into which a section of the Bombay Rifle corps actually entered. By Renewal of this brilliant diversion the rebels were confounded, and they abandoned the desired positions amidst the derision of the army. Mooltan. Moolraj was now confined to the fortress, and General Whish determined to attack the city. The Irregulars under Major Attack on Edwardes and Lieutenant Lake, undertook to keep up the communications to the rear, and to maintain possession of a portion of the long line of suburbs. On the 29th, the rebels sallied out two thousand strong, including the two hundred and twenty deserters already mentioned, but, after an hour and a half's hard fighting, were driven back within the gates. A volunteer, named M'Mahon, distinguished himself by cutting down the leader of the Sikh infantry, a powerful man, whose head he divided with one blow. The troops brought M'Mahon triumphantly back to where Major Edwardes with Sir Henry Lawrence was directing their movements. Sir Henry Lawrence, while on a sick leave in England, heard of the proceedings in the Punjab, and by great exertions reached the army at Mooltan in time to witness the opening of the second siege.

The shelling of the fortress was continued. At nine o'clock in the morning of the 30th, by a shell from one of the mortars, laid by Lieutenant Newall of the Bengal Artillery, the principal magazine in the citadel, containing four hundred thousand pounds weight of powder was struck and blown up, destroying the great Musjid or Mosque, which had long towered over the town. Five hundred men were killed, and all the neighbouring houses fell in ruins. The sight was awfully grand, when the mass of smoke and of the costly ruins rose in the air, and was followed by an explosion which shook the earth and sky around the combatants. The dark volume expanded as it ascended, and hundreds of separate circles, each laden with something from the ruins below, were visible, as they, with varied impetus, floated upwards. At length the heavy cloud stood still, and then every eye was turned to it; not a gun was fired, until the mighty mass burst and scattered its pieces on every side. When all had fallen, and the air was again clear, no vestige was

CHAPTER
XXIV.
A.D. 1843.

CHAPTER XXIV. to be seen of the lofty Moslem fane. The besiegers shouted in triumph, and plied anew their instruments of destruction.

A.D. 1848.
The
breaches
reported
practicable,
and two
storming
parties
are sent.

The
Bombay
storming
party
mount the
breach,
and plant
their
colours.

Jan. 3,
A.D. 1849.

Moolraj
makes
many offers
but is
forced,
at last,
to yield
uncondi-
tionally.

On the 2nd of January, two breaches were reported practicable, and one was to be entered by the Bombay troops, and the other by those of Bengal. The latter was led by Captain Smyth, who having crossed a deep hollow, and reached the city wall, found it to be thirty feet in height. It was unbreached and impracticable, and had been concealed from view by the neighbouring ground. Captain Smyth retired immediately. The Bombay Fusiliers, led by Captain Leith, speedily mounted the other breach ; but on reaching the summit, found that fresh entrenchments had been cut within the breach, and deep ditches made, into which several officers and men fell. The column passed the trench, pushed on to the ramparts, through the streets and narrow passages, into the centre of the town. The breach was opened in what was called the "bloody bastion," and in the struggle there, Captain Leith and Lieutenant Gray, his second in command, were severely wounded. Colour-sergeant John Bennet, of the Fusiliers, planted the British standard on the crest of the breach, and soon his gallant comrades closed with the rebels, and driving them into holes and corners, remained masters of the city. Thus on the 3rd of January, 1849, was the murder of the two British officers in the preceding April, fully avenged, by the capture of Mooltan, of which the streets were strewed with Sikhs, whose long locks, the preservation of which they looked upon as a religious duty, blown about by the wind or matted with gore, gave them a demoniacal look. Not a house or wall was whole ; all were scorched or blackened. The British troops poured into the now opened gates, and occupied the various posts ; hundreds of the inhabitants fled. When Moolraj found the breach had been stormed, and that the British troops were within the walls, he retired to the citadel with some chosen men, and left three-fourths of his defenders to the mercy of their opponents. Many of them got over the city walls during the night, and fled to their homes. On the 4th Jan., a Bombay brigade marched round and encamped to the north of the fort ; and, by regular communications of pickets and patrols with the Bengal division, the whole fortress was invested. On the 5th, Moolraj, being reduced to the last extremity, sent a petition to Major Edwardes, stating that he had various representations to make, and requesting leave to send an agent. This was refused, and he was required to surrender immediately and unconditionally ; but he again tried to gain something by negotiation.

On the 8th, another refusal was given by the General. On the 12th, the garrison made a sortie, which was repulsed. Amongst the peculiarities of the siege, was the employment of the sailors of Captain Powell's steamers, belonging to the Indus flotilla, which had come up the river to Mooltan. The gallant tars enjoyed the fun of firing off eighteen-pounders from a battery, into which, on the 9th of January, the garrison sent a storm of shells, which burned the fascines and destroyed it. The sailors, however, saved their powder and withdrew the guns. Preparations were made for an assault. On the 22nd, the troops were ready, but Moolraj surrendered himself and the garrison unconditionally. He came out of the fort gorgeously attired in silks, and riding a fine Arab steed. The British had two hundred and ten men killed, and nine hundred and eighty-two wounded. Thirteen thousand shot and twenty-six thousand shells were expended during the siege.

The soldiers of every grade now sought out the bodies of Mr. Vans Agnew and of Lieutenant Anderson, and removed them from their hitherto neglected grave. The remains were wrapped in Cashmeer shawls, and carried by the Bombay Fusiliers—Anderson's own regiment—through the wide and sloping breach to their appointed resting-place on the summit of the citadel, where they were interred. The bodies of Khan Sing and of his son, who were detained as prisoners by Moolraj, for having engaged in a counter-plot against him, were found locked in each other's arms under the ruins of their prison.

Moolraj was subsequently taken to Lahore and tried for the murder. He asked Major Edwardes to defend, but having been previously asked to prosecute, him, this well-meaning officer declined both duties. Captain Hamilton, chosen for the defence, did the duty with zeal and ability. He was tried by a military court composed of two officers and a civilian, who found him guilty; but, curiously enough, recommended him to mercy, "as the victim of circumstances." The Governor-General accepted the recommendation; and Moolraj was ordered to be banished for life beyond the seas, a punishment more bitter to him as a Hindu, than even death itself. The sentence has been changed into imprisonment for life. The actual murderer was tried, found guilty and executed.

The insurrection at Mooltan was followed by an open rebellion of the great body of the Sikh army and Sikh population, which had for its avowed object the expulsion of the British government from the Punjab; and, as far as possible its destruction in India.

The insurrection of the Sikhs has for its object to expel the British from India.

CHAPTER XXIV. India. Preparations were therefore made on the most extensive scale for meeting the hostile and treacherous attack, and for dispersing and crushing the Sikh Durbar army, which had avowed its intention of restoring the Khalsa supremacy. Shere Sing having joined his father, proclamations were issued to the troops to assemble in the neighbourhood of Lahore, and to fight for their country's independence. On the 20th of October, Shere Sing approached to Pindee Buttean, within sixty miles of Lahore, devastating the country, and circulating the most inflammatory proclamations. All the Durbar troops at Peshawur joined Chuttur Sing, who made over the government of the province to the Barukzye chiefs, after the flight of Major Lawrence. They approach to within sixty miles of Lahore. to Kohat. The Khalsa army was collected towards the end of November between Wuzeerabad and Ramnuggur, the chiefs declaring, that as the British had given up Cabul, so they would abandon the Punjab. Brigadier General Cureton, at the head of the cavalry division of the British army of the Punjab, crossed the Ravee by a bridge of boats, and encamped about six miles north of the river on the Wuzeerabad road, being ordered to keep the rebels in check, until the army, which Lord Gough was collecting at Saharun, should be ready for the field. Before Christmas, there were thirty-eight thousand men, with nearly one hundred pieces of artillery and a siege-train of seventy guns, exclusive of the garrison at Lahore. Lord Gough joined them on the 21st; the troops were set in motion. An admonitory proclamation was circulated by the Resident, cautioning the country people from joining in the rebellion.

Lord Gough at the head of the Punjab army.

The cavalry-attack on a ford of the Chenab at Ram-nuggur, Nov. 22.

General Cureton and several officers killed.

The position of the British forces was then nearly at the centre of the Punjab, the Chenab being the middle of the Five Rivers, and Ramnuggur on the right bank, being about half way between the source of the stream and its junction with the Indus. This place was fortified and occupied by Shere Sing; and an island, of about two acres, in the bend of the river, was held by a strong detachment. During the night of the 21st, Brigadier Campbell, at the head of an infantry brigade, and accompanied by a cavalry division under Brigadier Cureton, was directed to proceed from Saharun, four miles from the Commander-in-chief's camp at Nonwulla, to drive the rebels across the river, and to capture the guns on the left bank. At two o'clock in the morning of the 22nd, the troops moved forward in silence and darkness towards the left bank, and on coming opposite the island, soon discovered the strength of the enemy's position. Some small parties of the Sikhs were driven in, and

the horse-artillery, pushing through the deep sand, began to play on the enemy. But as six-pounders were of little avail against the heavy guns which were in position and well served on the right bank, the British gunners were compelled to retire, leaving behind them a gun, which they spiked, and two artillery-waggons imbedded in the sand. The deep channel of the river runs between the right bank and the island, between which points the Sikhs kept up a communication by boats; the other channel close to the left bank, called the "nullah," was thirty yards wide, and fordable, with a steep fall of five or six feet from the bank. On seeing the British retire from the sands on the river's bank, about four thousand men, of the Sikh cavalry, were sent across the ford under the cover of their guns. On their reaching the left bank, Lieut. Col. Havelock, at the head of the 14th Light Dragoons and 5th Light Cavalry, was directed to charge one body of them. The irregularities of the ground and the clouds of dust appear to have deceived him; for he moved upon and overwhelmed another body closer to the river, and rushed down the banks of the nullah, under a murderous fire; subsequently the British cavalry returned to the bank, re-formed and charged again, when Lieut. Col. Havelock fell. A third charge was led by Colonel King. General Cureton having received orders from the Commander-in-chief, who had witnessed the various charges with anxiety and admiration, rode forward, but he had scarcely given the command, when he fell dead, struck with two matchlock balls. Captain Fitzgerald was mortally wounded. Captain R. H. Gall had his wrist cut through while seizing the enemy's standard, and many others were wounded.

This singular action—an attack by cavalry (the infantry were not engaged), on an island, and on a strongly-fortified position, commanding the ground from an elevated bank on the opposite side of a deep river, gave rise to many comments at the time, but they were soon forgotten in the excitement of other scenes of battle.

Lord Gough, having expelled the enemy from the left bank of the Chenab, resolved to attack their flank, and on the 30th of November, Major General Thackwell was commanded to cross the river with horse artillery, two light field batteries, a brigade of Wuzeer-cavalry, and three of infantry, and two thirteen pounders, with a pontoon train. He proceeded to Wuzeerabad, twenty-two miles higher up, and by the aid of boats, secured by Captain Nicholson, gained the right bank. On learning that the passage had been effected, Lord Gough commenced a heavy firing on the

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Several
desperate
charges
quite
useless.

CHAPTER XXIV. enemy's position, and at length forced them to fall back with their camp for two miles. The British batteries and breastworks

A.D. 1848. were then pushed to the river's bank, so as to command the principal ford. On the 2nd of December, a brigade of infantry, under Brigadier Godby, crossed the river six miles higher up, and opened communications with General Thackwell, to resist whose approach the Sikhs sent a large force with twenty guns, which that gallant officer drove back. During the night of the 3rd, the Sikhs having blown up some of their magazines, abandoned their position and retreated towards the Jhelum, leaving sixty-two boats on the river. The 9th Lancers, and 14th Dragoons were sent in pursuit under the command of Sir Walter Gilbert. On the 28th Lord Gough and the army crossed the Chenab, and encamped on the right bank, while Shere Sing took

A.D. 1849. up a position near Russool. On the 3rd of January, Attock, although defended in a spirited manner by Lieutenant Herbert, was forced to surrender to Chuttur Sing, and Herbert became a prisoner. Influenced by the Sikh agents, Dost Mohammed had come from Cabul to the banks of the Indus, and sent over a number of his soldiers to aid in the attack of that fort, and had

Dost Mohammed seizes Peshawur. also proclaimed himself sovereign of the Peshawur districts. The Governor-General wrote to Dost Mohammed, stating that he supposed the Ameer had come to aid the British, and asking for proofs of his intentions. Letters were also sent to Goolab Sing, intimating that the British Government would not permit Dost Mohammed or any other person to take refuge in the Cashmere territory, and that it was expected that he would bring his forces to defend the British power which had made him a sovereign.

Bloody battle at Chillianwalla, Jan. 18. Having learned the fall of Attock, and that Chuttur Sing was advancing to join his troops with those of Shere Sing, whose force, under one hundred chieftains of various ranks, already amounted to nearly forty thousand men, with sixty-two guns, Lord Gough, on the advice of the Governor-General, determined to strike an effectual blow. The position to be assailed was one of great difficulty; the enemy's left being protected by a low ridge of hills intersected with ravines, and by the river Jhelum ; their right being strongly posted in different villages, and surrounded by thick jungle. The British army approached the village of Lolianwalla, on the 13th of January, at noon, and having dislodged a picket of the enemy, from an elevated mound, the Commander-in-Chief obtained a full view of the surrounding country, and saw the enemy forming in battle array. The

British army being ordered to encamp, was about to do so, when the Sikhs came forward in order of battle. The Commander-in-Chief immediately prepared for the conflict. Sir Walter Gilbert's division on the right, was flanked by Brigadier Pope's brigade of cavalry, to which the 14th Light Dragoons were added. Brigadier Campbell's division formed the left, and was flanked by Brigadier White's brigade of cavalry, and three troops of horse artillery. The field batteries were with the infantry divisions. Thus formed, the troops were ordered to lie down, while the heavy guns opened a rapid fire on the enemy's centre, where his guns were principally placed. After an hour, the fire of the enemy appeared to slacken, and the left wing was ordered to advance over a great extent of ground, in front of which but few guns were seen. The right was soon afterwards ordered to move forward. It was then, as it is stated, that Brigadier Pennycuick and Lieutenant-Colonel Brookes, while cheering on their men, waved their swords over their heads, which their European soldiers mistaking for orders to move at double quick time, rushed forward, and reached, quite blown, a belt of thick jungle in which a corps of the enemy was posted, and Lieutenant-Colonel Brookes, of Her Majesty's 24th regiment, was killed. A body of the enemy's infantry which supported their guns, then opened fire, and Brigadier Pennycuick,* and many officers, with half of that regiment were slain, and a native regiment which came up, suffered severely. Brigadier General Campbell, on the left pushed his line forward, and overthrew a portion of the Sikhs who had gained an advantage over his right. The right brigade of cavalry, from some irregularity, got into confusion and running off in a panic, hampered the movements of the horse-artillery, so that their horses, which were separated from the guns, could not be caught; on noticing which, a body of the enemy rushed down upon the gunners. They made a gallant defence, but seventy-three of them were killed, and four of the guns were disabled in such a manner as to render their removal at the moment impossible. As soon as the artillery was extricated, and the cavalry re-formed, the enemy's corps, which had produced the confusion, was obliged to retreat.

The battle raged until night, which was soon very dark, when the troops were withdrawn. The Sikhs had fought well. The loss on the side of the British was severe; six hundred and two

* His son, a young officer, came up, and standing over his father's body, prevented its being insulted by the Sikhs. He was there slain also.

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This was
the last
great effort
of Runjeet
Sing's
army.

General
dissatis-
faction
prevails
respecting
the mode
of fighting.

Sir C. J.
Napier
appointed
to take the
command.

The Sikhs
retreat
from
Chillian-
walla, and
are joined
by an
Afghan
force.

men killed, and one thousand six hundred and fifty-one wounded. The Sikhs left many guns on the field, of which the English had twelve brought into their camp after the battle; the others were removed by the Sikhs during the night. The Sikhs lost many of their bravest officers and oldest soldiers: after no battle, except Sobroon, were so many dead Sikhs to be seen upon the field. This was the last great effort of Runjeet Sing's army, which there proved the valour of their race, for they took five stand of colours and four of the British guns, besides removing their own guns during the night. The news of the battle was received in England by a burst of sorrow, indignation and wild criticism. It was not known that upon that battle, the fate of the north-west of India depended, and that the Sikhs fought for their lives. The British public had so long been accustomed to successes, as to look upon Lord Gough's mode of fighting as an uncalled for slaughter. The loss of so many brave men was pronounced unnecessary. But bloodless battles, or long strategical movements are equally distasteful, and far more dangerous, for they merely serve in India to encourage intrigues, and to promote the schemes of unprincipled politicians. Yet the public feeling was roused, and the want of due caution on the part of the General was said to be patent in his own accounts of the battle. A demand arose for the recall of Lord Gough, and for the appointment of a Commander-in-chief who would carry on the war in a less bloody and more scientific fashion. All eyes turned to Sir Charles J. Napier, the conqueror of Scinde; and such was the public feeling, that even the civil servants of the Company, who were predisposed against him from some strong comments previously published upon their conduct, gave their assent to his being appointed Commander-in-chief, and Member Extraordinary of the Council of India, and he proceeded rapidly to his destination at the end of March. But in the mean time, a decisive victory was gained by Lord Gough, which effaced the vindictive comments on the carnage at Chillianwalla.

On the 12th of February, the Sikhs drew up their cavalry in masses outside their camp at Chillianwalla, and under that cover the tents were struck, and the troops retreated in the direction of Goojerat. The British officers had then an opportunity of examining in detail the position in which the enemy was so secure against their attack: it consisted of a double line of entrenchments, in front of which they had planted large bushes, so as to prevent the movements of the cavalry: the camp had been pitched on the slope of a hill, with a battery in the midst

of broken ground, close to which was a deep and rugged ravine with a narrow bridge, and in the rear a perpendicular wall of rock near the Jhelum. The Sikhs moved towards Wuzeerabad, as if with the intention of crossing the Chenab, and of proceeding to Lahore. Fortunately General Whish, with his cavalry and part of the infantry from Mooltan, had reached Ramnuggur, and a strong detachment was sent to Wuzeerabad, to prevent the Sikhs from crossing there. The Sikhs under Shere Sing then plundered the districts, and took up a position near Goojerat, where they were joined by Chuttur Sing at the head of his forces, and also by Akram Khan, a son of Dost Mohammed, at the head of three thousand Afghans, including one thousand five hundred horse. The united forces, consisting of upwards of sixty thousand men, with sixty pieces of artillery, were, on the 20th of February, concentrated in a camp which encircled the town of Goojerat, a place of great strength, lying close to the dry bed of a small river between the Chenab and the Jhelum, but nearer to the latter river.

The British army, of twenty-five thousand men, arrived on the 16th at Sudalpore, a village about five miles from the Chenab; and at half-past seven o'clock in the morning of the 21st, being joined by the Bombay column, which had come up by forced marches, they attacked the Sikhs, who defended themselves well by a rapid firing from fifty-nine guns, generally of small calibre, which they had placed in position for the battle.

But a terrible and well-sustained cannonade from the British compelled the enemy, after an obstinate resistance, to retire. The attack, which had been exclusively one of artillery, soon became general, for seeing them retreat, Lord Gough advanced his whole army, and drove them out of their camp. In the utmost disorder, the routed Sikhs fled, leaving their camp, baggage, stores, ammunition, and fifty-three guns to the victors. From mid-day until dark, the enemy's corps were pursued, while many fugitives threw away their arms and escaped; others fled to the Jhelum, and saved themselves by taking all the ferry-boats to the right bank. The loss of the British was five officers killed, and twenty-four wounded, with ninety-two privates killed, and six hundred and eighty-two wounded. The Governor-General, who was at Ferozepore, ordered that the pursuit should be continued to Peshawur, so as to break up the combination between the Mohammedans of Afghanistan and the Sikhs. Sir W. R. Gilbert, with two columns, one of Bengal, and another of Bombay troops

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The troops
from
Mooltan
join the
Command-
er-in-chief.

Battle and
rout of
Goojerat,
Feb. 21.

The Sikhs
flee to the
northward,
leaving
their guns
and camp
to the
victors.

CHAPTER XXIV. followed the runaways, and having crossed the river, drove them from the Jhelum and reached Koorungabad. Major Lawrence, one of the prisoners in the hands of the Sikhs, was then sent with a proposal of surrender from Shere Sing. Akram Khan hastened his flight to Attock. On the 5th of March, Sir W. Gilbert effected the passage of his force across the Jhelum; and on the 7th, of his heavy artillery. On the 8th, the Sikhs, about sixteen thousand disheartened men were at Rawul Pindee, thirty-one miles in advance of the position of Sir W. Gilbert. In the evening, Mrs. Lawrence and her children, with others of the prisoners, came into the British camp. Rajah Shere Sing and various chiefs, with four hundred and fifty followers and the remaining prisoners came in afterwards; and on the following day, Shere Sing proceeded to Rawul Pindee, to arrange with all his troops for their unconditional surrender. Sir W. Gilbert advanced to Manikyla and Hoormook, where Chuttur Sing, Shere Sing and other chiefs came in with all their guns, and laid down their arms. The horsemen were allowed to keep their horses; and each Sikh, as he gave up his musket and sword, received a rupee to provide for his wants until he reached his home. The number of guns taken in the campaign amounted to one hundred and fifty-eight pieces; and including those captured in the forts, exceeded two hundred.

Sir W. Gilbert pursues the Afghans to Peshawur. General Gilbert then pursued the fleeing Afghans to the Indus; by a forced march he reached Attock in time to secure seventeen boats, after the bridge had been broken by the retreating enemy. Another bridge was rapidly constructed, and on the 19th and 20th, the British troops crossed the Indus.

Dost Mohammed flees from Peshawur. Dost Mohammed, who was in Peshawur, fled on the 19th with his army through the Khyber Pass into Afghanistan. The Afghans had done no injury to Peshawur; but the country houses in this rich garden of the Indus had been burned, and the Sikh cantonment was destroyed. This flight of Dost Mohammed, as dissolving the Sikh and Afghan confederacy, was the crowning point of the conquest of the Sikhs. The determination of the government of India was then made known to the Regency at Lahore, to the effect that the Punjab was to be forthwith declared a portion of the British empire in India. Mr. Elliot, the secretary in the foreign department, was deputed to make the communication to the Sikh ministers, who gave their reluctant assent, and a public durbar was held on the 29th of March, at which it was agreed that Dhuleep Sing should receive a pension and resign the sovereignty, that all the property of the state

Dhuleep Sing deposed.

should be confiscated to the East India Company, and that the gem called the Koh-i-noor (Mountain of Light), should be surrendered to the Queen of England. On the 29th of March, the following proclamation was issued by the Governor-General, from Ferozepore, where he had fixed his quarters :

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The
Koh-i-noor
surrendered
to the
Queen of
England.
Proclama-
tion of the
Governor-
General.

" For many years, in the time of Maharajah Runjeet Sing, peace and friendship prevailed between the British nation and the Sikhs. When Runjeet Sing was dead, and his wisdom no longer guided the counsels of the state, the Sirdars and the Khalsa army, without provocation and without cause, suddenly invaded the British territories. Their army was again and again defeated. They were driven with slaughter and in shame from the country they had invaded, and, at the gates of Lahore, the Maharajah, Dhuleep Sing, tendered to the Governor-General the submission of himself and his chiefs, and solicited the clemency of the British government. The Governor General extended the clemency of his government to the state of Lahore, he generously spared the kingdom which he had acquired a just right to subvert; and the Maharajah having been replaced on the throne, treaties of friendship were formed between the states. The British have faithfully kept their word, and have scrupulously observed every obligation which the treaties imposed upon them. But the Sikh people and their chiefs have, on their part, grossly and faithlessly violated the promises by which they were bound. Of their annual tribute no portion whatever has at any time been paid, and large loans advanced to them by the government of India have never been repaid. The control of the British government, to which they voluntarily submitted themselves, has been resisted by arms. Peace has been cast aside. British officers have been murdered when acting for the state; others engaged in the like employment have treacherously been thrown into captivity. Finally, the whole of the state and the whole Sikh people, joined by many of the Sirdars in the Punjab who signed the treaties, and led by a member of the Regency itself, have risen in arms against us, and have waged a fierce and bloody war for the proclaimed purpose of destroying the British and their power. The government of India formerly declared that it required no further conquest, and it proved by its acts the sincerity of its professions. The government of India has no desire for conquest now; but it is bound in its duty to provide fully for its own security, and to guard the interests of those committed to its charge. To that end, and as the only sure mode of protecting the state from the perpetual recurrence of unprovoked and wasting wars, the Governor-General is compelled to resolve upon the entire subjection of a people whom their own government has long been unable to control, and whom (as events have now

The
shewn) no punishment can deter from violence, no acts of friendship can kingdom of
conciliate to peace. Wherefore the Governor-General of India has declared, Lahore is
and hereby proclaims, that the kingdom of the Punjab is at an end; and suppressed.
that all the territories of Maharajah Runjeet Sing, are now and henceforth a The
portion of the British empire in India. His highness the Maharajah shall be annexed
treated with consideration and with honour. The few chiefs who have not to the
engaged in hostilities against the British shall retain their property and their British
rank. The British government shall leave to all the people, whether Mussul- territories.

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The
British
gov-
ern-
ment
insures
peace to
the lovers
of tran-
quillity.

man, Hindoo or Sikh, the free exercise of their own religions, but it will not permit any man to interfere with others in the observance of such forms and customs as their respective religions may either enjoin or permit. The jagheers and all the property of Sirdars, and others who have been in arms against the British, shall be confiscated to the state. The defences of every fortified place in the Punjab which is not occupied by British troops shall be totally destroyed, and effectual measures shall be taken to deprive the people of the means of renewing either tumult or war. The Governor-General calls upon all the inhabitants of the Punjab, sirdars, and people, to submit themselves peaceably to the authority of the British government, which has hereby been proclaimed. Over those who shall live as obedient and peaceful subjects of the state the British government will rule with mildness and beneficence. But if resistance to constituted authority shall again be attempted, if violence and turbulence be renewed, the Governor-General warns the people of the Punjab that the time for leniency will then have passed away, and that their offence will be punished with prompt and most rigorous severity."

There were twelve irregular corps raised for meeting the exigencies created by the annexation of the large territory. An accusation was brought against the Marquis of Dalhousie of being disposed to turn the Punjab into another Caledonia, by planting therein a colony of Scotchmen; but his Lordship wisely left the selection of the officers for the new service to be chosen by Sir H. Lawrence and the Lieutenant-Governor of Agra. Sir Charles Napier landed at Calcutta on the 6th of May, and having assumed the office of Commander-in-chief proceeded to the North-Western provinces. One of his first measures of improvement was to propose to have the young cadets posted to their corps before they landed; thereby saving those young gentlemen from many dangers to which they would otherwise be liable. But when the number of cadets is continually on the increase it is difficult to find vacancies always ready for the applicants. The Commander-in-chief remained for some time at Lahore. Goolab Sing was glad to have the means of removing from himself every stain of being a participator in the late military rebellion. Dhuleep Sing was removed to Futtéghur, and the plots and schemes of his intriguing mother, who wished to obtain possession of his person, and to excite further commotions, were completely neutralized. She escaped from prison, and betook herself into the mountains of the north. In the first six months of his command, Sir C. Napier had to decide forty-six cases of Courts Martial, some of them being for drunkenness, and others for gambling. While he was at Lahore a general order was published, from which we extract the following passages:

Sir C.
Napier
lands at
Calcutta,
May 6.

Decided
measures
adopted
for strict
discipline.

"At a late review of the troops on the plain of Meean Meer the following CHAPTER XXIV.
 egregious deficiencies were evident to all: 1st. That some commanders of regiments were unable to bring their regiments properly into general line. 2ndly. One commanding officer of a regiment attempted to wheel his whole regiment as he would a company. 3dly. Several officers commanding companies were seen disordering their companies by attempting to dress them from the wrong flanks. 4thly. When the line was ordered to be formed on the left column, some commanders deployed too soon, and ordered their lines thus improperly formed to 'double quick' in order to regain their position. This was all bad; but it was worse to see the regiments on receiving the word to 'double quick' at once charge with loud shouts, no such order to charge having been given by any one, nor the words 'prepare to charge'; nor did any thing occur to give a pretext for such a disgraceful scene, exhibiting both want of drill and want of discipline. 5thly. Bad as this was, it was not the worst. When these regiments chose to 'charge,' the Commander-in-chief, to his astonishment, beheld the men discharging their firelocks straight up into the air; and he saw some men of the rear rank actually firing off their muskets to the rear over their shoulders as their bearers (he will not call them soldiers) were running to the front. He feels assured that no such scene could have occurred in any other regiments in the army. If ever such again happen, he will expose the commanding officer of any regiment that so disgraces itself, in public orders, to the whole Indian army. In the course of his service he never before witnessed such a scene. No commander could go into action with a regiment capable of such conduct without feeling certain that it would behave ill. The Commander-in-chief will, therefore, hold commanding officers responsible (for they alone are to blame), that any soldier, who shouts or charges, or fires without orders, be instantly seized, tried at once by a drumhead Court Martial, and the sentence executed on the spot."

In the beginning of 1850, the Marquis of Dalhousie having visited the most remarkable places in the Punjab and Cashmeer, proceeded to Peshawur, which is now considered as the key of the north-western provinces. Arrangements were adopted for securing that important position. The Marquis then came by the rivers to Hyderabad, and crossed from Scinde to Bombay. Having received various addresses, and given every encouragement to industry and trade, he embarked in a steamer, and having touched at Goa, Colombo, Galle, Singapore and Malacca, returned to Calcutta. In the beginning of February, the 66th Bengal regiment mutinied at Umritsir, in consequence of a misunderstanding respecting batta, to which they considered themselves entitled on account of the high price of food and the distance from their homes. Precautions had been taken, and the mutiny was suppressed. The ringleaders were arrested and punished, and the regiment disbanded. About the same time a

A.D. 1849.
A remarkable general order.

CHAPTER XXIV. party of the hill tribes called Afreedees attacked the sappers who were making a road between Peshawur and Kohat. Sir C. Napier went with a strong force commanded by Colonel Bradshaw, from Peshawur, to avenge the massacre. After they had destroyed some villages and killed many of the Afreedees, they returned to their station, having lost two officers and several men, without effecting their object. The Afreedees soon committed fresh outrages.

**A.D. 1850.
The
Afreedees
commit
excesses.**

A singular circumstance took place at Wuzeerabad. After a review, the Commander-in-Chief, by an interpreter, addressed the 34th regiment, and said that he had received an anonymous letter complaining of "oppression by the commanding officer," and desired that any men who had complaints should come forward. Several men did so, and a Court of Inquiry was ordered. On a subsequent occasion, while confirming the sentence of a Court-martial on a field-officer, for entering into a correspondence relative to an order issued by superior authority, instead of obeying it, he said, "that they who imagined the army to be a debating society would find themselves very much mistaken." The Governor-General was obliged by ill-health to proceed to Simla, which station he reached in May, and experienced much benefit.

**Frightful
explosion
at Benares.
May 1.** A frightful explosion of three thousand barrels of powder took place at Benares, on board thirty boats. Four hundred and twenty persons were killed in the boats, and upwards of eight hundred houses being blown down. No one survived

**The Koh-i-noor
rendered
to the
Queen.** who could tell the cause. The celebrated diamond called *Koh-i-noor*, or "mountain of light," was presented to the Queen at the levee, on the 3rd of July, by the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman of the East India Company. It had been brought from India by Colonel Mackeson and Captain Ramsay. It was originally found in the mines of Golconda, about three hundred years ago, and was possessed by the wealthy Shah Jehan-Ghir. Nadir Shah took it from Delhi, in 1739, and the Afghan Ahmed Abdallee found means to obtain it after Nadir Shah's murder. We have already mentioned how Runjeet Sing forced Shah Sooja to give it up. It now forms one of the chief objects of attraction at the Exhibition of Industry in the Crystal Palace.

**Sir C.
Napier
resigns the
command
of the
Indian
army.** The resignation by Sir C. Napier of the command in India, took place in July. He subsequently stated the cause of this act, in a speech at Kurrachee, where he was presented by the native chiefs with a valuable sword.

"Lord Ellenborough treated me as a General Officer, and the brave Bombay army seconded me nobly; not, as is the custom now-a-days, for a General

officer entrusted with command to be told by a Colonel and a Captain that this thing is right and that thing is wrong. If General Officers are unfit for command, in God's name do not appoint them to command—and I must say, there are nine out of ten who ought not to be appointed; but I hold that when once a General Officer is appointed to command, he ought to be treated as such; he ought to know what is best for the army under his command, and should not be dictated to by boy-politicals, who do not belong to the army, and who know nothing whatever of military science. It is this that has caused me to resign the command."

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A.D. 1850.

The discipline which he introduced was productive of good results, although some painful circumstances attended it. Colonel King of the 14th Dragoons committed suicide at Lahore, on account of the charge of "cowardice" being made against him. A private named M'Lean, who made it, was flogged and subsequently sentenced to transportation, but Sir C. Napier pardoned him, as the sentence, from its severity, was not conducive to discipline. Another ordnance flotilla was fired on the Ganges, near Chupra, by which one thousand eight hundred barrels were exploded, but the crews escaped. Much discussion was created in India by the introduction of certain measures called "The Black Acts," which had for object to subject to trial, before the Mofussil magistrates, many Europeans, whom their birthrights entitle to be tried by jury. The year 1850 will be known here-
 after as that in which railways were begun in India, that of
 Bombay being the first. Sir W. M. Gomm reached Calcutta on
 the 6th of December, and assumed the command of the Indian
 army. During the eighteen months that Sir C. Napier held that
 office, forty-five officers of the Bengal army were tried by Courts-
 Martial, of whom fourteen were cashiered, six dismissed, seven
 lost rank, five were suspended, ten reprimanded, and but two
 honourably acquitted, one simply found not guilty, and four had
 their sentences commuted, or were pardoned. Sir C. Napier's
 last address to the Indian army deserves the attention of all the
 friends of British India. It is as follows:

TO THE OFFICERS OF THE ARMY.

Head Quarters, Camp Ferozepore, Dec. 9, 1850.

1. It would neither be justifiable nor becoming in me to interfere with the private affairs of officers in the army, which I have the honour to command, so long as those private affairs do not interfere with the public service. But when they injure the public service; when they reflect disgrace upon our uniform; it becomes my duty to draw attention to the subject, and in this public manner to call upon the officers of the Queen's and Company's services to exert themselves in maintaining the honour of their conduct of
- The duty of a commander-in-chief to inquire into the conduct of their officers.

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The
number
of the
miscon-
ducting
officers.

His own
experience
of poverty.

regiments, by assisting the Commander-in-chief in putting a check upon those whose debts are no less injurious to the fair fame of the military profession than discreditable to their regiments, and ruinous to themselves. 2. It is more than one year since I received a very excellent letter from a Brigadier, upon this important subject. I had then just assumed my present command. I waited to see more clearly how matters stood, before I felt justified in touching upon affairs of so private a nature. From that time to this day a considerable portion of my time has been taken up in the examination of weekly, if not daily, complaints against officers for nonpayment of debts, and, in some instances, the ruin of tradesmen has been consequent on that cause. There is, therefore, a call upon me for this order: a call which cannot be cast aside. 3. When it is considered that the army is of immense magnitude, I am bound to say that the number of officers who have misconducted themselves in a manner so derogatory to the character of gentlemen is not inordinate, but, at the same time, it is so large as to demand repression with a strong hand; and I do trust that the officers of regiments will take not only vigorous but rigorous measures to bring those who are guilty to a sense of shame at being ordered to appear before a Court of Requests for debt. An officer who is summoned before a Court of Requests must feel conscious that, although wearing the British uniform, he is not standing there in the character of a gentleman! He must feel, if he feel's at all, disgust at his own degraded position. He may, by possibility, have been unfortunate, he may only have been thoughtless, but must feel, in his heart, that he is before the public in a group with the infamous, with those who are cheats, and whose society is contamination. A well-bred gentleman cannot support this feeling. 4. I am not merely a rich man speaking to those who are poor. I have known poverty, and have lived for years on less than half what every ensign in this army receives, and so lived too, in a more expensive country than India. I take no merit to myself for this. I only state it as a fact, that I may not be taunted on the threshold of my argument, by being told I know nothing of the difficulties of poverty. I do know them perfectly, and I know more; I know that every ensign in India can live well on his pay, and that many, who have never appeared before a Court of Requests, have largely assisted their families—largely compared to their means. 5. I do not say that a subaltern officer can give dinners; I do not say he can indulge in many luxuries; I do not say he can *cast off all self-denial*; nor do I see why he *should do any of these things*. The proceedings before these Courts of Requests are the shameful proofs that *he should not*. When an officer gets a commission he, without that labour that attends the initiation into most other professions, at once receives a good income, and that before he has any knowledge of his trade. In most other professions a young man hardly gets his food at the commencement. The families of many officers, if not of all, have made great sacrifice to gain this amply sufficient income for these officers, and these last have no right whatever to live as if they were gentlemen of landed property, nor as men do who have served longer and earned a higher rank and greater income than themselves. It is the desire to imitate those above us, and not to regard our own means, that is mischievous to all, and most so to young men. 6. The result is ruin to numbers. To shew this I will quote from two brigadiers' letters, sent officially for my perusal upon this degrading subject:—‘At the Court of Requests, held on the 6th inst.,

there were fifty-three cases, and (with the exception of four of trifling amount) all against subalterns—amount 4875 rupees.' Again the same officer writes:—'Decrees of *execution general* are not unfrequent, and the efficiency of the officers seriously affected by their pecuniary embarrassments.' Again, 'although I am aware that it is very difficult to control the expenditure of officers, yet, when they are brought forward thus publicly month after month, I consider it my duty to bring to the notice of his Excellency, the involved circumstances of the officers under my command with whom, in other respects, I have no fault to find.' 7. Another brigadier writes thus: 'Another officer I know enjoys champagne tiffins, leaving his servants to drag him before the court for their just claims. How humiliating for those connected with and proud of the profession!' Yea, it is humiliating, and long experience tells me, that it is to the exemplary conduct of regimental officers, and to the sentences of Courts Martial, that the army must look for correcting this baseness in individuals. That the Commander-in-chief will support the officers of regiments I may venture to assert, whoever that Commander-in-chief may be; but the close and dominating power to keep down such misconduct is in the messes. The man must be base in every sense of the word that can bear the contumely of his comrades, incurred by a disgraceful action. But I must not confine myself to messes alone. Commanders of Mess regiments should strenuously exert themselves to maintain the good name of expenses. their regiments. They should recollect that 'Courts of Requests,' when they decide that justice to a tradesman, or other creditor, demands of them to put an officer under stoppages, pronounce that the said officer is a man so lost to all sense of propriety, that he endeavours to defraud his creditor, and, therefore, can no longer be considered in the light of a gentleman. He is forced to be honourable against his will; and it is the bounden duty of the commanding officer to refuse to such a person all indulgence, and to hold him so strictly in hand, that such misconduct on the officer's part may at all events be as disagreeable to that officer himself, as it is to his regiment and his tradesmen. 8. That I am not exaggerating these matters I could clearly prove, by publishing such facts to the officers of the two armies as would shock every honest and honourable man, and shew how entirely I am authorized in saying that these facts are, to the last degree, dishonourable. One The commanding officer of a regiment writes thus: 'I can confidently assert that opinions of the numerous cases brought monthly before the Courts of Request is a superior disgrace to the army we belong to.' This is one among many who are officers. labouring for the honour of the service. 9. I have not sought for this information from officers; these letters came uninvited from men of high rank in both the Queen's and Company's services, and have been sent to me formally, as official complaints! They are men who feel as every officer in the Queen's and Company's service ought to feel. 10. But while stating how very disgraceful it is for an officer to appear before a Court of Requests, I will say a few words upon the causes of such conduct. 11. The first is, that some Causes young men get commissions without having had much education, or of the perhaps a vulgar one, which is worse. These officers are not aware that honesty is inseparable from the character of a thorough-bred gentleman. A vulgar man, who "enjoys a champagne tiffin" and swindles his servants (as a brigadier writes to me, when speaking of these matters, and referring to an officer under his immediate command), may be a pleasant companion to

CHAPTER XXIV. those who do not hold him in contempt as a vulgar knave; but he is not a gentleman; his commission makes him an officer, but he is not a gentleman!

A.D. 1850. and I claim that character in all its integrity for the officers of Her Majesty's service, and for those of the Honourable East India Company.

I speak of men whose own misconduct has brought them into debt; not of those whom misfortune has thrown into debt. These last are very few in number, and very unfortunate indeed to be on the same list with those whom they despise. Of these, who are so unfortunate, I need not speak; their own exertions to pay their debts are unceasing and honourable. 12. The second cause is, that young men arrive in India and think, that having escaped from school, it is manly to be dishonourable. So they cheat the government by not attending to their duties, and they cheat their tradesmen by not paying their debts. They meet champagne-drinking swindlers, who sponge on them and lead them into expenses. Thus comes debt—then bankers are at hand to advance money. Thus they become involved past redemption, and soon the habit of being constantly in debt makes them grow callous to the proper feelings of a gentleman. 13. Now, if all officers commanding regiments were to do their duty (as great numbers do), and if the body of officers of each regiment would give such a commander proper support, this course would not be followed by young men on their arrival in India. By strict lessons in their duties, and plenty of drill, the commanding officers of regiments would prevent government being cheated; and, by the proper gentlemanlike conduct and honourable sentiments which should pervade every mess, reprobating expense and extravagance of all sorts, and by practising rigid economy in the establishment, the young officer would at once learn that to drink unpaid-for champagne, unpaid-for beer, and to ride unpaid-for horses, is to be a cheat and not a gentleman. 14. The third cause of debt is the constant marching of regiments. This has no remedy in time of war; and I have strongly recommended that it should be as much as possible avoided in time of peace. It is very severe on the troops and on the state itself. The Governor-General concurred in my recommendation, that the troops should not be generally relieved this year; and I hope none may be moved for some years to come, if the peace continues. However, these marches ought not to throw careful and honourable men into debt. They are, when required, the proper and just demands of the service; and every man can be and ought to be fully prepared to meet them. Still these marches are causes of difficulty; and the difficulties which result from them are in some degree excusable in very young and inexperienced men, but not so in old officers, who have risen to the rank of lieutenant. 15. The fourth cause of debt is, the extravagance of messes. This I entirely charge upon the commanding officers. Many regiments (both Queen's and Company's), have economical messes, especially in the Queen's regiments, because the number of officers in the latter is so large. But many regiments are extravagant. And in all cases where a mess is extravagant, the fault lies with the commanding officer. I have heard it said by some, that "the commanding officer ought not to interfere with the mess, which should be considered as the private table of the officers." Now, people who talk thus forget that there is a wide difference between a mess and a private gentleman's table; the last is regulated by his income, and there is but one income and one master to be consulted as to expense. But in a mess there are many masters,

**Second Cause.
The follies of youths.**

The risk of being a cheat and not a gentleman.

Third. Marching of regiments.

Fourth Cause. Messes.

and the mess must be regulated by the income of the poorest. The majority have no right to crush the poor and prudent officers, of the extent of whose liabilities they are utterly ignorant. Must an officer, because he belongs to a mess, explain all his distresses, his misfortunes, his generosities, his follies, to the members of a mess, in order to prove his incompetency to meet his extravagance? Common sense forbids this; yet, unless the mess is on such an economical footing as to enable the ensign, on his pay, to join it, this infringement on a gentleman's private liabilities and demands must take place; and the commanding officer alone can protect every one under his orders from the often insufferable presumption of mess committees. He alone can properly direct and so rule matters, that the ensign can live on his pay and live becomingly; that is to say, save on his pay. I do not call drinking wine or beer or inviting friends "becoming." It may be so or it may not, according to the means and feelings of each individual. All I maintain is, that the mess must leave each member free to do as his means enable him, for each officer is individually responsible for his conduct to the public from which he receives his pay. This is justice; and justice can never be wrong. The pay of an ensign is sufficient for his just expenditure, and the commanding officer is, and can alone be, responsible that this rule of rigid and just economy is never infringed. What officer will go to a mess committee and tell his private misfortunes or his difficulties? Yet this is what those people, Mess who say that the commanders of regiments ought not to interfere with the committees mess, want. They are overbearing tyrants, who want to set aside the private to be controlled. affairs of officers, and to make those officers, who cannot afford such extravagance, pay for those persons' selfish enjoyments, which they want to indulge in at other men's expense. That is the real object of those who wish to prevent the interference of commanding officers. But the rules of both Queen's and Company's services give commanding officers the right to interfere, and the Commander-in-chief will take care to hold him responsible that the ensign has his rights, namely, the power to live at the mess, as becomes an officer and a gentleman—drinking water if he pleases, or drinking champagne if he pleases; but able out of his pay to liquidate his debts like a gentleman, drinking what he may. That is to say, that the necessary mess charges leave him enough out of his pay to cover all his other reasonable expenses. 16. The fifth cause of expense and ruin I believe to be the The Fifth banks. They afford a ready means for the young and foolish to obtain Cause. money, but at an enormous interest. I have heard the objections to banks The contested on the score that formerly officers, who now borrow from banks, credit borrowed from natives, and even from their own soldiers; that it is, therefore, given by better for an officer to be in debt to a bank than to natives. I am unable banks. to say what was formerly done; but I am perfectly sure that whatever facilitates the borrowing of money produces ruin to young officers; encouraging those vices which are the most mischievous, especially racing, a vice always accompanied by gambling and extravagance. 17. Some of the evils which I have touched upon may be remedied by the Commander-in-chief; Remedies. some by commanders of regiments; some by the officers of regiments as bodies; and some by individuals themselves. To these I must leave them. I can only offer my advice as I quit the scene. To-day I am Commander-in-chief, a week hence I shall be no more to the armies of India than a private gentleman. But the armies of India must ever be much and dear to

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His
farewell.

me! for nine years my whole energies, such as they are, have been devoted to the honour and glory of the Company's troops. I may say that I have become as much identified with the armies of the three Presidencies, as if I had risen from their ranks. I have jealously guarded their honour, and I have fought at their head. 18. I now leave them for ever. But, in the retirement of private life, although no longer able to serve them, the destinies of the Indian army will ever occupy my thoughts. 19. I here take leave of them, hoping that this order will be of use, as the last which I can issue to the armies of India!

(Signed) C. J. Napier, General Commander-in-chief, East Indies.

Rangoon
nearly
consumed.

On the 28th of December, Rangoon was nearly destroyed by a conflagration which committed great ravages amongst the wooden houses, and the shipping in the harbour. Lieutenant T. Waghorn, to whose exertions India is much indebted for its steam navigation, died in January, 1850, and with great difficulty a trifling pension was obtained for his widow.

India
tranquil
in 1851.

During the first months of the new half century, India was tranquil; but the mountain tribes to the north-west were restless, and anxious to re-establish their old practice of levying black mail on the neighbouring plains. The Governor-General spent some time at Peshawur, in the hope of bringing about a better state of things; but his efforts to secure peace were not successful, for the mountaineers regarded any compromise in the shape of a douceur as a reward for their persistency. A large force has been concentrated on the Peshawur frontiers, and they will soon be obliged to devastate the fastnesses of the robbers in the mountains as being the only means of putting an end to their system of incursive warfare and plundering. Another evil felt in the ports of India, is the wilful burnings of the merchant ships. The delinquents are not discovered, and no punishment is inflicted. Impunity in India gives encouragement to crime. The Legislative Council is bound to devise a remedy. The fine old teak ship *Buckinghamshire*, was consumed in the river Hoogley. She was bound for London, with a valuable cargo on board. Some means of punishing the incendiaries must be applied.

The Ex-Peishwa, Bajee Rao, died at Benares, in January, by which event a saving of 90,000*l.* per annum has accrued to the Company.

Trial of
Jotee
Persaud.

Deficiencies having been discovered in various accounts, public prosecutions have been ordered. One trial has taken place, which, as being of remarkable interest, is worthy of being detailed. Jotee Persaud, a wealthy native and banker, being

accustomed to engage in extensive transactions, and with great means and perfect organisation at his disposal, undertook to subsist the Anglo-Indian armies during the wars in Afghanistan and Gwalior, by native agency, and at a distance from any effective system of check and supervision. Irregularities in detail occurred, and at the close of the war, all his accounts were not clear, distinct, or well vouched for. When the war was over, Jotee Persaud claimed a balance of half a million sterling from the Indian Government. It was disputed, and of course not paid. Years of discussion and debate followed, the Indian authorities wearying out the pertinacious Hindu. When hostilities in the Punjab broke out, the military authorities applied to him to maintain the armies. Jotee Persaud at once declined to do so; he refused to be again connected with their commissariat. Every effort was made to induce him to yield, and at last he did give way, but upon two conditions, that his past arrears should be adjusted as soon as the new war was over, and that a title of honour should be conferred on him. He accepted the new contract, and maintained the armies in the Punjab campaign.

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Having fulfilled his part of the undertaking, he asked the Indian government to fulfil the stipulations, but was again disappointed. Instead of the old balances being discharged, the new accounts were subjected to criticism, and to a more severe examination. One of the natives employed in the Commissariat came forward on the 30th of March, 1849, and made a deposition against Jotee Persaud, accusing him of corruption, embezzlement and forgery. The Government ordered an investigation, which was referred to Major Ramsay. He declared the accused to be blameless, and sent in his report to the Military Board. Two of the members agreed with him, and were about to quash the case, when a third recommended it for the consideration of the Governor-General and his Council. Jotee Persaud had threatened an action for his demand, but while at Agra he was required to give bail to abide a trial for the charges brought against him by the government. Mr. Lang, of Meerut, became responsible. Jotee Persaud was allowed his liberty, and went to Loodiana, from whence he fled to Calcutta, thinking that within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, he would be safe from the Agra Judge. But the warrant was executed in Calcutta, and Jotee Persaud was taken to be tried at Agra. In the meantime his bail was estreated, and treated roughly. Mr. Lang, who is a barrister of courage and talents, defended Jotee Persaud with

He supplies
the army
on two
conditions.

Charges
brought by
a native.

An investi-
gation.

He gives
bail and
flies to
Calcutta.

Mr. Lang
defends
him.

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Jotee
Persaud is
acquitted.

**Accusations
against the
authorities.**

**Their
defence.**

**The
Nizam's
territories
and Oude
are dis-
turbed.**

spirit. Although the Court was composed of a judge, a jury, and a prosecutor nominated by the Government, the defendant was acquitted.

The trial lasted twelve days, in March, 1851, and excited an interest unparalleled in the district. India was searched for witnesses wherewith to procure a conviction; but not even then could a case be made out. In his defence, Mr. Lang called forward many high government employés to speak of Jotee Persaud's services and character. After the trial, the enthusiasm of the Natives broke forth, and the people offered to carry Jotee Persaud in triumph from the court-house. The Indian authorities sought to clear themselves from the blame which these proceedings afforded for imputing to them—1st, injustice in not settling their creditor's just claims; 2nd, ingratitude for not dealing liberally with one whose services were confessedly great; 3rd, breach of faith for not fulfilling the engagements they had entered into with Jotee Persaud as an inducement to undertake the supply of the army; and 4th, above all, a vindictive interference with his proceedings against them in the Queen's Court, by concocting unsustainable criminal charges against him in their own courts, by showing, 1st, that they could not be expected to pay a debt which was not admitted or proved to be justly due; 2nd, that there was no ingratitude in their acts, which were founded on justice; 3rd, that the delays in payment arose from the difficulties of having satisfactory proofs; and 4th, by stating that the investigation had been ordered, and bail had been required from Jotee Persaud months before he had commenced any action, and previous to his flight to Calcutta.

The latest intelligence from India describes that country as generally tranquil, although the Kohat frontiers were infested by robbers, and the Nizam's territories and the kingdom of Oude were harassed by bands of soldiers clamorous for their pay. Lucknow and Hydrabad were disturbed, and it was thought that, within a short period, the most decided interference on the part of the British authorities would become necessary, for the purpose of introducing a system of order into those states.

Meetings of the Hindus were held at Calcutta, to shew the disinclination of certain parties to the Christian missionaries. One enthusiast spoke of the utility of not having the English language taught to their children, in order to preserve orthodoxy in their old faith. Another observed that a knowledge of that language was a passport to wealth, which would not be neglected by their young and aspiring countrymen. In the meantime

the government is preparing measures for severing all connection, on its part, with the native worship, by abandoning every claim on the fines leviable on pilgrims while proceeding to the various Hindu shrines and other places of native devotion.

During the hot season the Governor-General had gone to Simla; the Governor of Madras was stationed on the banks of the lake of Ennore; and the Governor of Bombay had proceeded to the heights of Mahableshwur. The period of activity, in India, is after the rains; and then some movement may be expected.

General Ventura, the last of those officers, whom Runjeet Sing, "the Lion of Lahore," had thirty years ago employed to discipline his troops, is now in this city, demanding that the perpetual jaghire, or property, which that monarch, the never-failing friend of the British, had conferred on Ventura's daughter, as a proof of his appreciation of her father's services, should be restored to her. It had been confirmed to her by successive Governors-General; but the Marquis of Dalhousie when he took possession of the Punjab, having declared all jaghires forfeited, this one was seized with the rest, and thus the old General is reduced to poverty. He has claims on the Company, which he hopes will not now be forgotten.

Rumour, in London, speaks of a new Governor-General as about to be appointed, and a nobleman has been named as likely to obtain that distinguished office, but nothing certain is as yet known on the subject.

The history of India is thus brought down to the present month. With reference to the future, two remarks may be of use; the first is, that peace can never be regarded in India as secure, for the people of that country are in many respects like tinder, which inflames from a spark, and blazes in a moment. The Indian Government must be always ready for instant war. The second observation may be taken from the Roman poet when describing destruction as impending over that magnificent empire. Ruin will, from the same cause, arise to British India, as it did to Rome: the influence of that cause is felt at this momentous period, in every part of the British Indian Empire.

*Close
of this
history.*

*Whence
the ruin of
British
India is
hereafter
to arise.*

Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur Indum.

AUGUST 5th, 1851.

CHAPTER XXV.

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

The East India Company founded in 1600.—The various Charters of the 17th Century.—Junction of the Rival Companies in 1709.—Courts of Justice established in 1726.—The Political Career in Bengal begins in 1756.—Interest on the Debt fixed at Ten per Cent, 1769.—Finances deranged in 1773.—Loan effected and repaid in 1779. A New Charter, in 1773, authorising the Company to act as a Sovereign Power.—The China Trade produces a Profit. Consequences of too much Tea being imported.—The Tea being sent to North America becomes the Occasion of a Revolution there.—The Board of Control appointed in 1784.—Mr. Dundas (afterwards Lord Melville) is the first President—He rules India for Seventeen years.—The Scotch much indebted to him for his Patronage and Protection.—Names of the subsequent Presidents up to this Day.—Charter of 1784.—Increase of Trade, 1793.—Attempt made to open the Trade.—The British Merchants obtain the Boon of 3,000 Tons per annum!—A Select Committee appointed in 1808. They present four Reports.—The Advocates for Free Trade make great Efforts in 1813.—Their Success.—The Directors require that all Imports from India should be sold at their Sales in London.—Christianity introduced into India by Law.—The Powers of the Company abridged.—The Charter granted merely as a Trust for the Empire at large.—The Company accepts the Charter.—In 1830 the Discussions respecting a new Charter are renewed. Select Committees of both Houses appointed.—Their Objects detailed.—Various Dissolutions and Renovations of the Committees.—The Superabundance of Evidence and of Words.—The Questions are two simple ones.—They are easily answered. The Company required to abandon the Monopoly of Trade with China.—The Government of India, being a Sealed Book, and not understood in England, is granted to the Company until the 30th of April, 1854.—Various Interests compromised.—The Revenue of India is responsible for the Capital and the Debts due to the Company.—The New Act passed into Law, 28th of August, 1833.—Its title is remarkable as being “For the better Government of His Majesty’s Territories in the East Indies.”—Date of the Erection of the East India House, 1726.—Names of

the Chairman and their Deputies since 1773.—The Approach of the Period for winding up the Company.—The 30th of April, 1854.—Three grand Questions to be solved before that Day, viz., 1st. Of what Nature is the next Rule to be? 2nd. Is the present System to be perpetuated. 3rd. Cannot a better be devised.—India not understood in England.—Its advantages not thoroughly appreciated.—A complete and searching Investigation wanted.—Dangers of the actual System.—Free Rights required.—The Abuses in India demand Inquiry.—No Inquiry during Seventeen Years.—The Cessation of the present Company likely, in 1854.—The Board of Control has absorbed the Power of the Company.—The Board of Control proceeds lazily.—When alarmed shows Signs of Energy.—Reforms not palatable to the Company.—Corruptions in the Indian Administration.—The Want of Control there.—The Rule in India, how obtained.—The Military.—The Civilians.—Religious Freedom.—Dangers to be apprehended from Peace.—The Safety of British India depends on its Finances.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY was founded by a Charter granted by Queen Elizabeth, on the last day of the 16th century, the 31st of December, 1600. An annual Committee of twenty-four shareholders, with a Chairman, was appointed to manage their affairs. The second Charter to the original Company bears date the 31st of May, 1609, and constituted them a corporate body for ever. This Charter, which expired in 1635, was renewed by Charles I, in the same year. Cromwell dissolved the Company in 1653, and declared the trade free; but after four years' experience, he restored it and its privileges. Its capital then amounted to 740,000*l.* On the 3rd of April, 1661, the third Charter, with greater privileges, was granted by Charles II. The Companies then regulated their factories on the Indian Peninsula, and extended, in 1665, their trade to China.* The fourth Charter bears date 5th October, 1677; the fifth, 9th of August, 1683; the sixth, 12th of April, 1686; the seventh, 7th of October, 1693; the eighth, 13th of April, 1698. On the 5th of September, 1698, a new Company was incorporated by King William, in opposition to the old one, and a severe struggle ensued, which produced much bribery and corruption. The

CHAPTER
XXV.

A.D. 1600.
The East
India
Company
founded.

The various
Charters
of the 17th
century.

A.D. 1661.

* The Company obtained a grant, dated March 27, 1669, of the Island of Bombay, and another dated Dec. 16, 1674, of the Island of St. Helena. The latter was transferred to the Crown in 1834.

CHAPTER XXV. rivals spent money and injured each other, but were at last united together in 1702, and consolidated during the ministry of Earl Godolphin, by deed, dated 22nd of March, 1709. An Act of Parliament was obtained to extend their monopoly to 1733. The factories increased considerably, so that it became necessary to establish Courts of Justice therein, in 1726. A petition was presented against the monopoly, in February, 1730. After a struggle with their adversaries, who offered to lend money to the Government on cheaper terms, the Company, in 1732, proposed to contribute 200,000*l.* to the public service, and thereby obtained the extension of the period of their exclusive privileges to Lady-day, in 1766, with the usual proviso of three years' notice.

Political career begins. The political career of the Company, in Bengal, dates from 1756, when territorial possessions were obtained there. The annual profits of trade were then estimated to amount to two millions sterling. The trading capital consisted of six millions, in six thousand shares, of one thousand pounds each. Subsequent to 1760 the capital produced an interest of from twelve to fifteen per cent., so that the value of the stock was then doubled, and it was soon currently estimated at twelve millions. An Act of Parliament was passed in 1769, prohibiting the payment of more than ten per cent. as a dividend on the six millions, and ordering that all excess in the receipts should be employed in forming a reserve fund, and in local improvements in India. Each share became of the value of 2,000*l.*, and with little variation has continued so since that time. From the year 1767 to 1773, the East India Company was bound to pay annually to the public the sum of 400,000*l.* "in respect of the territorial acquisitions and revenues lately acquired in the East Indies." But in the year 1773, the financial derangement of the Company became so great that they were obliged to solicit a loan, and they received 1,400,000*l.* from the public. In 1779 the loan was paid.

The finances deranged. In 1773, a new Charter was granted by Act of Parliament, of which the chief bases were, that the Company should exercise the powers of sovereignty within its own dominions on the continent of Asia, and should, in addition, enjoy the monopoly of trade with India and China. The latter branch of trade (that with China) produced on an average one million sterling profit per annum, while the former was often attended with loss. The resolution of Warren Hastings to prevent any deficiency in the receipts from India, will explain many of his tyrannical acts.

Loan repaid.

A new Charter.
A.D. 1778.

The trade with China consisted chiefly in tea, of which the Company was the sole importer, and which was sold at a high profit. Soon after 1770, the stock of tea in England being too great for the market, permission was given by the Ministry, to send some of it, when taxed, for sale to the colonies in America.

CHAPTER
XXV.A.D. 1770.
China
trade.

The Americans refused to pay four-pence per pound tax, while the English paid a shilling per pound. The fire of resistance already irritated by the Stamp Act, burst out at Boston and Charlestown, and there revolution and Anglo-Saxon republics were begun, where to end no mortal can say. France, which has already had much experience of the doctrines on which that theory is based, is still red-hot on the anvil, and may be fashioned as the political leaders fancy.

The tea tax
causes the
revolution
in America.

THE BOARD OF CONTROL.

The Board of Control was established by Mr. Pitt's bill, which was sanctioned as law on the 13th of August, 1784. On the 5th of Sept. following, the Right Hon. Henry Dundas was appointed, with five other members of the government, to constitute the Board ; and, as the friend of Mr. Pitt, and an influential man in Parliament, he for seventeen years governed Scotland and British India, to the manifest advantage of both countries. Before that time Scotland was without a suitable field for the talents and energy of her sons. Mr. Dundas opened India to them, and there they thrrove in wealth and influence, so that the cities and counties of North Britain are deeply indebted to him who, although he afterwards became Viscount Melville, was long an object of jealousy and hatred to others. The names of the Presidents of the Board of Control deserve to be known to the students of Indian history, as they always have been, during their possession of power, the responsible rulers of India. We append a list of them up to this day.

A.D. 1784.
The Scotch
indebted
to Lord
Melville
for his
patronage.*Presidents of the Board of Control.*

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| 1784. | The Right Hon. H. Dundas (afterwards Lord Melville), Presidents of the Board. |
| | resigned. |
| 1801. April 25. | Viscount Lewisham (afterwards Earl Dartmouth). |
| 1802. July 6. | Viscount Castlereagh. |
| 1806. Feb. 11. | Earl Minto. |
| — July 15. | Right Hon. Thomas Grenville. |
| — Sept. 30. | Right Hon. George Tierney. |
| 1807. April 4. | Right Hon. Robert Dundas. |
| 1809. July 11. | Lord (afterwards Earl) Harrowby. |

| | | | |
|--------------|-------|-----------|--|
| CHAPTER XXV. | 1809. | Nov. 7. | Right Hon. Robert Dundas (afterwards Viscount Melville). |
| | 1812. | April 4. | The Earl of Buckinghamshire. |
| | 1816. | June 4. | Right Hon. George Canning. |
| A.D. 1784. | 1821. | Jan. 12. | Right Hon. Charles Bathurst. |
| | 1822. | Feb. 4. | Right Hon. Charles W. Williams Wynn. |
| | 1828. | Feb. 4. | Viscount Melville. |
| | — | Sept. 17. | Lord Ellenborough. |
| | 1830. | Nov. 22. | Right Hon. Charles Grant (afterwards Lord Glenelg) resigned. |
| | 1834. | Dec. 15. | Lord Ellenborough (resigned). |
| | 1835. | April 23. | Right Hon. Sir John Cam Hobhouse. |
| | 1841. | Aug. | Lord Ellenborough (became Governor-General). |
| | | Oct. 23. | Lord Fitzgerald and Vesey (died May 11, 1843.) |
| | 1843. | May 17. | Earl of Ripon. |
| | 1846. | June 26. | Right Hon. Sir John Cam Hobhouse, Bart. now Lord Broughton. |

Charter renewed.

A.D. 1793.

The Company's charter was in 1784 the same as in 1773 ; for, although it had been several times renewed, the same principles prevailed. Trade with India and China then increased so much that, according to a calculation made by Parliament in 1814, the profits of the Company amounted from the year 1795 to the year 1812 to 185,000,000 l ., being considerably more than ten millions per annum. In 1793, the charter was again discussed and renewed. The chief places of manufactures and commerce in the kingdom petitioned to have permission to prove that the East India Company's monopoly was injurious to trade, but their efforts produced no good result. Mr. Dundas, Mr. Bruce, and their friends, both from intellect and from office, managed the matter so well that the charter was renewed to the Company for twenty years ; salaries were granted to the official commissioners and attendants on the President of Control, and the petitioners were allowed the right of private trade for 3000 tons per annum, under the Company's superintendence. This was the boon then granted to the manufacturers and merchants ! In 1808 a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the affairs of India. They sat four years and presented four reports.

A.D. 1808.
A Commons Committee appointed.

A.D. 1813.
The free trade advocates oppose the Company.

In 1813, the advocates of free trade, adopting the theories of Adam Smith, which they declared to be political axioms, assailed, by speeches and petitions, the Company as a monopoly decidedly detrimental to the commerce of Great Britain. Although experience proved that the British possessions in India were acquired by the efforts of the Company, the ministers were compelled by the exigencies of British commercialists then excluded from the

continent by Napoleon's decrees, to find out a new vent for the issue of their industrial products ; and they insisted that vessels from the ports of Great Britain should be allowed to export British produce and fabrics to India. The Directors gave a reluctant assent, on condition that all imports from India should be sold at their sales in London. The Directors also struggled to prevent the resort of Europeans to India, in which they were supported by the opinion of Warren Hastings, when examined at the bar. The question of the dissemination of Christianity was also discussed ; and a bishop and other clergy were appointed. The interests of the Company were sustained by Messrs. C. Grant, senior and junior, and by Mr. Bruce. The President of the Board of Control was the Earl of Buckinghamshire; but he was not disposed to uphold the exclusive privileges of the Company. The minister, Lord Castlereagh, brought forward thirteen resolutions which were carried after various modifications. The powers of the Company were abridged, their privileges diminished, and their Charter was granted as a trust for the empire at large, of which they would be required to give an account. The Company, how much soever disappointed, accepted the Charter, although it gave a stunning blow to their old cherished system.

In 1830 the discussion began respecting the propriety of renewing the Charter to the Company. Select Committees of both houses of the most comprehensive character were proposed, each having for object to inquire into, 1st. The Constitution of the Government of India ; 2nd. the Condition of the Indian People ; 3rd. The administration of the Law ; 4th. The State of the Finances ; and 5th. The Commercial Interests at stake. But Committees, subsequently appointed, were ordered to inquire into "the present state of the affairs of the East India Company and into the trade with China, and to report thereon to the Houses." Evidence was for some time taken by both ; but the dissolution of Parliament prevented the continuance of their sittings. In Feb. 1831, the Committee of the Commons was re-appointed, but the dissolution caused by the rejection of the Reform Bill stopped its progress. In Jan. 1832, the Commons, The Committee was instituted anew, and it divided its business into six branches, viz.: 1. Public. 2. Financial (including trade). 3. Revenue. 4. Judicial. 5. Military. 6. Political. Evidence was collected in abundance, as all Committees are fond of demonstrating by an agglomeration of words that they have been busy ; "very busy indeed."

The two questions were, however, very simple in their nature,

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XXV.

A.D. 1813.
Their
success.

anity
introduced
by law.

A.D. 1830.
SelectCom-
mittees.

The
Commons'
Committee.

CHAPTER XXV. viz.: "Is the Company's exclusive trade with China to be preserved?" and "How is the government of India to be administered?" . . . The answer to the first question was soon given. The monopoly of trade with China was not to be continued, for the manufacturing and commercial interests insisted on its cessation. The British people declared themselves ready to assume all the duties connected with the first question: the Company was, therefore, obliged to relinquish that monopoly, stipulating merely for time to dispose of its stock in trade.

The second question, "How is the Government of India to be administered?" was not thoroughly understood in England, for India was then a sealed book into which none had looked; a *terra incognita* over which few had travelled. The British ministers were at the moment engaged in the constitutional question of parliamentary reform, and they could not then undertake the duties of a distant government. A compromise of the numerous interests involved in the decision was agreed to, and a resolution was passed by the Commons requiring "the transfer by the Company, to the Crown, of the Indian territory, of all assets and claims of every description, in consideration of an equivalent payment by the legislature, and of an acknowledgement by the crown, on behalf of the territory of India, of all the obligations of the Company." Under these conditions the government of India was, for twenty years, allowed to be administered by the Company; and the Act, for the purpose, which is sometimes called "the last Charter of the East India Company" was passed into law, Aug. 28, 1833. It is thus entitled: "3 & 4 William IV. cap. 85, 'An Act for effecting an arrangement with the East India Company for the better government of His Majesty's Indian territories, till the 30th day of April, 1854.'"

The
settlement
of India
until
April 30,
A.D. 1854.

EAST INDIA COMPANY IN LONDON.

The East India House, in Leadenhall-street, was erected in 1726.

Names of the Chairmen and Deputy-Chairmen of the Company since the Regulating Act of 1773 (elected in April each year).

CHAIRMEN.

- 1773. Henry Crabb Boulton (died).
— Edward Wheler.
- 1774. Edward Wheler.
- 1775. John Harrison.
- 1776. John Roberts.

DEPUTY-CHAIRMEN.

- Edward Wheler.
John Harrison.
- John Harrison.
John Roberts.
- John Roberts.
William James.

| CHAIRMEN. | DEPUTY-CHAIRMEN. | CHAPTER
XXV. |
|--|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1777. George Wombwell. | William Devaynes. | |
| 1778. Sir George Wombwell, Bart. | Sir William James, Bart. | |
| 1779. Sir William James, Bart. | William Devaynes. | |
| 1780. William Devaynes. | Lawrence Sulivan. | |
| 1781. Lawrence Sulivan. | Sir William James, Bart. | |
| 1782. Robert Gregory (disqualified in July). | Sir Henry Fletcher, Bart. | |
| — Sir H. Fletcher, Bart. | Nathaniel Smith. | |
| 1783. Sir H. Fletcher, Bart. (disqualified in Nov.). | Nathaniel Smith. | |
| 1784. Nathaniel Smith. | William Devaynes. | |
| 1785. William Devaynes. | Nathaniel Smith. | |
| 1786. John Michie. | John Motteux. | |
| 1787. John Motteux. | Nathaniel Smith. | |
| 1788. Nathaniel Smith. | John Michie (died) Wm. Devaynes. | |
| 1789. William Devaynes. | Stephen Lushington. | |
| 1790. Sir Stephen Lushington, Bart. | William Devaynes. | |
| 1791. John Smith Burges. | Francis Baring. | |
| 1792. Francis Baring. | John Smith Burges. | |
| 1793. William Devaynes. | Thomas Cheap. | |
| 1794. William Devaynes. | John Hunter. | |
| 1795. Sir S. Lushington, Bart. | David Scott. | |
| 1796. David Scott. | Hugh Inglis. | |
| 1797. Hugh Inglis. | Jacob Bosanquet. | |
| 1798. Jacob Bosanquet. | Sir S. Lushington, Bart. | |
| 1799. Sir S. Lushington, Bart. | Hugh Inglis. | |
| 1800. Hugh Inglis. | David Scott. | |
| 1801. David Scott. | Charles Mills. | |
| 1801. David Scott (resigned) C. Mills. | John Roberts. | |
| 1802. John Roberts. | Jacob Bosanquet. | |
| 1803. Jacob Bosanquet. | John Roberts. | |
| 1804. Hon. W. F. Elphinstone. | Charles Grant. | |
| 1805. Charles Grant. | George Smith. | |
| 1806. Hon. W. F. Elphinstone. | Edward Parry. | |
| 1807. Edward Parry. | Charles Grant. | |
| 1808. Edward Parry. | Charles Grant. | |
| 1809. Charles Grant. | William Astell. | |
| 1810. William Astell. | Jacob Bosanquet. | |
| 1811. Jacob Bosanquet. | Sir Hugh Inglis. | |
| 1812. Sir Hugh Inglis. | Robert Thornton. | |
| 1813. Robert Thornton. | Hon. W. F. Elphinstone. | |
| 1814. Hon. W. F. Elphinstone. | John Inglis. | |
| 1815. Charles Grant. | Thomas Reid. | |
| 1816. Thomas Reid. | John Bebb. | |
| 1817. John Bebb. | James Pattison. | |
| 1818. James Pattison. | Campbell Marjoribanks. | |
| 1819. Campbell Marjoribanks. | G. A. Robinson. | |
| 1820. G. A. Robinson. | Thomas Reid. | |

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XXV.

| | CHAIRMEN. | DEPUTY-CHAIRMEN. |
|-------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1821. | Thomas Reid. | James Pattison. |
| 1822. | James Pattison. | William Wigram. |
| 1823. | William Wigram. | William Astell. |
| 1824. | William Astell. | Campbell Marjoribanks. |
| 1825. | Campbell Marjoribanks. | Sir G. A. Robinson, Bart. |
| 1826. | Sir G. A. Robinson, Bart. | Hon. Hugh Lindsay. |
| 1827. | Hon. Hugh Lindsay. | James Pattison. |
| 1828. | William Astell. | John Loch. |
| 1829. | John Loch. | William Astell. |
| 1830. | William Astell. | Robert Campbell. |
| 1831. | Sir Robert Campbell, Bart. | John Goldsborough Ravenshaw. |
| 1832. | John Goldsborough Ravenshaw. | Campbell Marjoribanks. |
| 1833. | Campbell Marjoribanks. | William Wigram. |
| 1834. | John Loch. | Henry St. George Tucker. |
| 1835. | Henry St. George Tucker. | William Stanley Clarke. |
| 1836. | William Stanley Clarke. | James Rivett Carnac. |
| 1837. | Sir J. R. Carnac, Bart. | John Loch. |
| 1838. | Sir J. R. Carnac (resigned Dec.). | Sir J. Law Lushington. |
| 1839. | Sir James Law Lushington. | Sir Richard Jenkins. |
| 1840. | Sir Richard Jenkins. | William Butterworth Bayley. |
| 1841. | W. B. Bayley. | George Lyall. |
| 1842. | George Lyall. | Sir J. L. Lushington. |
| 1843. | Sir J. L. Lushington. | John Cotton |
| 1844. | John Cotton | John Shepherd. |
| 1845. | John Shepherd. | Sir Henry Willock. |
| 1846. | Sir Henry Willock. | James Weir Hogg. |
| 1847. | Sir J. Weir Hogg, Bart. | Henry St. George Tucker. |
| 1848. | Henry St. George Tucker. | Lieut Gen. Sir J. Law Lushington. |
| 1849. | Sir J. L. Lushington. | Major General Archibald Galloway. |
| 1850. | Major-General Sir A. Galloway. | John Shepherd. |
| 1851. | John Shepherd. | Sir J. Weir Hogg, Bart. |
| 1852. | John Shepherd. | Sir J. Weir Hogg, Bart. |

A.D. 1851. The three years of grace, allowed to the East India Company for winding up their political affairs have begun. The period of winding up is fixed for the termination of their lease of the government of India is the 30th April, 1854, and preparations ought to be going forward for regulating the government of that vast continent consistently with the interests of the British people. The proprietors of India stock gave up all their rights, in 1834, by the acceptance of the Act of Parliament which abolished the commercial privileges of the Company, and declared that the Eastern possessions entirely belonged to the crown, and were merely vested in the Company for twenty years for the benefit of the

empire. The respite then granted to the Company must soon come to a close. It is, therefore, a public duty to investigate the subject, and ask "What course ought, in the present circumstances, to be adopted?" Twenty years ago, that is three years before the expiration of the last Charter, the Commercialists and Manufacturers of Great Britain exerted themselves by holding meetings, and by forming committees, to bring about the extinction of the commercial monopoly. Their efforts were successful; India was opened to their enterprize—and they have profited thereby. But now, when India forms, under the British government a vast union, no voice has been raised to moot the momentous questions—1st. Of what nature is to be the next rule of that country? 2nd. Is the present system to be perpetuated? And 3rd. Cannot a better be devised?

CHAPTER
XXV.
A.D. 1851.

Three
grand
questions.

India has, unfortunately, been hitherto looked upon in Parliament as a bore. Few of the young members study the Eastern questions; and, during the last sixteen years, no annual inquiry has been made by the Commons into the administration or government of that great continent, although such inquiry ought, in a constitutional and imperial sense, to have been annually instituted. The result is, that India is not yet fully understood; neither are the numerous advantages arising from the connection in any respect clearly developed.

India not
understood
in England.

It should never be forgotten, that India has cost England nothing; for, besides defraying every expense more than ten-fold, India has, in various ways, enriched a million of families in this island. Great Britain owes a great deal to India: and when the British people learn that the most extensive fields of prosperity are still open in that magnificent land, surely there can be no doubt that they will enter with spirit into the arrangement of plans for the welfare as well of this country as of the Eastern British Empire. This subject being more immediately connected with Indian Finance, we shall explain it in detail when treating of that important topic.

The
advantages
of India not
thoroughly
appreciated

A complete and searching investigation of Indian governmental matters, will involve many decisions of moment; and, among them, one as to whether the system of seniority is to be continued, or whether young, active, and intelligent civil servants are to be preferred. This decision, in case the last named plan be adopted, ought to be attended with the stipulation that an examination of the competitors should always take place, and that the office should be given to the worthiest of the rivals, under proper guarantees of future good conduct. The disad-

A complete
and search-
ing inves-
tigation
wanted.

CHAPTER

XXV.

A.D. 1851.

Dangers of
the actual
system.
Free rights
required.

The abuses
in India
demand
inquiry.

No inquiry
during
seventeen
years.
The cessa-
tion of the
present
Company

Likely in
A.D. 1854.

vantages of allowing the Directors or the Board of Control to retain all the patronage exclusively at their disposal, will form a subject of anxious inquiry; for the utility of offering certain employments for public competition has become evident. Family ties and partial interests must succumb before the general prosperity of the empire; and the cliques of the Directors, of the Proprietors, and of their Parliamentary adherents must be annihilated. The world is watching the progress of intelligence even in India; and young men educated in Europe will no longer be tolerated there to rule the natives as they please, with perfect impunity, from being, as they fancy, secure from supercession by their covenant with the Company, and certain of advancement as contingencies arise. India cannot longer be maintained by the close borough principles. Free trade is as necessary in places of emolument and beneficial employment as in merchandize or other commodities, for the welfare of 152 millions is involved in it. The application, in India, of the various branches of education demands great care: it requires to be decided whether the schools are to be public or private nurseries of learning. The administration of justice in the courts of the Mofussil (as the districts of the interior are called in India), demands a laborious inquiry, as also do the various systems of police. In England but little has as yet become known of the abuses that prevail in India; but they will yet force themselves before the British people, in a way by no means acceptable, unless Parliament by a satisfactory inquiry and investigation, and eradication of them all, does its duty and forestalls the outburst.

The various establishments of India cry out for inquiry, in order that their uses, abuses and results, may become apparent. Parliament has already laid down at home abundant examples of this course of examination, in the Official Salaries' Committee and other measures of that description. This course is necessary for India. No doubt there will be much difficulty in carrying it forward; but as it is far from being an impossibility, the sooner it, like the railway, is opened, the more speedily will its benefit be felt. The actual Indian governmental machine has been at work for seventeen years, and, at length, the time has arrived for overhauling it—for examining into its defects and effecting the necessary repairs.

Seventy years are said, by the royal prophet, to constitute the usual period of human life; and that period appears fixed for the East India Company, since from 1784 to 1854 will form the

allotted space. In 1784, the Board of Control was established, and it has gradually advanced to caducity at the expence of the Company, for, at the grant of each charter since that time, the Company has been required to transfer some special advantages to the British government. It was the application to the Company itself, of the system which the Company's agents in India had invariably urged on the native princes, namely : " accept this treaty (charter) and give me some advantage." A treaty once accepted caught the fly in the spider's web ; the more he struggled the more he was entangled in the meshes ; until at length he, from sheer exhaustion, ceased to move. The Company has, in its turn, become the fly, and now that body which was, some years ago, regarded as the merchant princes of Leaden-hall-street, is almost defunct before the insatiate spider, in the Board of Control, whose oath is worthy of notice. It is as follows :

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I, A.B., do faithfully promise and swear, that, as a Commissioner or Member of the Board for the affairs of India, I will give my best advice and assistance for the good government of the British possessions in the East Indies, and the due administration of the revenues of the same, according to law, and will execute the several powers and trusts reposed in me according to the best of my skill and judgment, without favor or affection, prejudice or malice, to any person whatever."

The Board of Control has absorbed the powers of the Company.

The Board of Control does its duty lazily ; for there is no man to spur it forward : it was at first adapted to control the vagaries of the Directors ; but it is now the drag upon the wheels of the governmental coach and stops all progress. A board of "energy and talent to produce good for India" is the present desideratum. There is no efficient public voice to control the acts of any authority in India, and the superintendence of the civil and military employés is by far too lax, for it tolerates vices of the grossest character : and hence the advancement of the country in wealth, civilization and happiness, is of the slowest kind, if it be not altogether torpid. Occasionally commotions arise which almost shake the social edifice to pieces, and Great Britain, having the care of it, is then frightened by the approach of danger into acts of justice and prudence. It is only at those periods of alarm, to which the Eastern empire is frequently exposed, that any wish to introduce measures likely to prove beneficial to India is exhibited. This fact has been illustrated by the mission of Sir Charles J. Napier as Commander-in-chief to Bengal. The sanguinary battle of Chillianwalla had forced the government of England, the Court of Directors, and the

The Board of Control proceeds lazily.

When alarmed shews signs of energy.

CHAPTER XXV. British people, to look out for an efficient General ; but no sooner had the hour of danger passed over, and Sir C. Napier attempted, with his wonted energy, to introduce salutary reforms into the army, than his efforts were stopped short, his plans neutralised, and he was obliged to withdraw from a useless conflict with the other authorities : and an old, decayed leader, incapable of the unrelaxing labour required in India, was appointed to take his place. The results are evident. The superior officers on the staff employments will migrate to the cool stations, and indulge in idleness and luxuries ; the work of their numerous offices will be left to subordinates, who are disproportionately paid, and who often possess but imperfect knowledge of their duties, or have but inefficient control over their charges. This laxity of superintendence is the fruitful source of the depredations on the revenue of India, one half of which is devoured by the Commissariat, and especially by the cunning and duplicity of the clever natives who, under the guise of utility, contrive by direct and indirect roguery, to obtain large sums from that ill-managed, although most extensive and expensive establishment.

Corruptions in the Indian administration. To this lax system must also be attributed the expenses, the delays, and the corruption which pervade the judicial system throughout India, but more signally in Bengal : to it also is traceable the demoralization of many of the different servants, in relation to their connections with the native females ; and which connections do more injury to Christianity in one, than the missionaries can do good in ten years ; and from it is drawn the monstrous cheater which can be easily seen in the departments of collection of the municipal and other taxes, particularly amongst the native agents. If the government of a presidency consists of lazy, doltish, money-loving old men, the secretaries are unable to imbibe energy from them ; if the Commanders-in-chief shun the places of labour, and hide in cool mountain grottoes, in order to preserve themselves until their five years of fancied exile are passed over, how can the officers of the numerous departments subject to their supervision, be expected to control their dependents with strictness ? Hence the administration of India is that of the Augean stable, which will hereafter require the labour of many a Hercules effectually to cleanse. The great want of India is that of censors to require morality from the highest and lowest employés, and honesty and zeal, energy and activity from all. Until these advantages are assured to India,

The want of strict control there.

Great Britain has no real security for the continuance of its power in that country.

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Two hundred years have scarcely elapsed since the English stood, as did all other Europeans, like pedlars at the gates of Hindustan, and asked permission to sell the products of Europe and to buy those of India. Their first solid footing, at Calcutta, was secured by the efforts of medical science ; the professors of which, on receiving firmans for permission to traffic and to build factories, made them over to the Company. Then the factors and writers entered into stipulations with the native princes, which were called treaties or conventions. The contracting parties, on both sides, looked upon those stipulations as useful, while they were advantageous, but no longer. The English were, therefore, in many cases compelled to use force. They raised and disciplined troops, who adhered to them because they paid duly. The civilians made the stipulations which the military enforced, and, by regular degrees the British, who kept up a succession of young men in India, overcame all opposition : and, while the military conquered kingdoms, the civilians speedily settled the conquests for the payment of tribute. Thus all the results of Indian art and labour have been gained for England.

Unlike the Portuguese in the East, the British allowed the natives full freedom to practise their own religions. Instead of building churches, the English raised regiments out of their superabundant revenue ; and while the Portuguese, overwhelmed by the wealth of Spain, and with no Moslem enemy to excite them, sunk into insignificance, the British gained the supremacy. The East India Company has now 250,000 men under arms in the East ; but these men have no hostile power to overcome ; and, unless care be taken, the army, like every machine not regularly and properly worked, is likely to bring about its own dissolution. Peace is dangerous to a state founded on mere conquest : for then the principle by which the rule was acquired is allowed to corrode its own vitality. Military science and skill must be kept alive, since, without having an army to fight at a minute's notice, India will never be secure. Science and benevolence may join hands and hearts to promote the welfare of the Indians ; but the military must be always at hand to protect them.

It is not necessary to enter into the gloomy views of those who fancy that mutinies will disturb the tranquillity of that country. All depends on the finances. The sepoys, if properly paid,

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The rule in
India how
obtained.

The
military.

The
civilians.

Dangers
from peace.

The safety
of British
India
depends
on the
finances.

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A. D. 1851. will serve faithfully. The finances of India are in a good state. Its debts in India amount, in round numbers, to forty-five millions sterling ; in England they exceed six millions. India affords an annual market for eight millions worth of English goods, which may be raised to sixteen. Its yearly revenues amount to upwards of twenty millions, which an able financier will speedily raise to treble that sum, without half the oppression to the poor Indians that the present ignorant system produces. The subject of finance we shall treat, in detail, in another chapter.

NOTE.—A complete list of the Governors of the three Presidencies, and of the Governors-General, will be given in the Appendices—under their respective headings.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE GEOGRAPHY AND STATISTICS OF INDIA—1851.

The great Geometrical Survey of India.—Colonel Lambton commences it in the Beginning of this Century.—The Undertaking is sanctioned by the Marquis Wellesley.—Colonel Lambton dies in 1823.—Colonel Everest succeeds him.—He comes to London and obtains the necessary Geodetical Instruments.—The grand Indian Arc is formed.—A great Number of Series is completed. The Area of British India and of the dependent States is ascertained.—The Survey is now carried on under the Superintendence of Colonel A. S. Waugh.—A Statistical Account is given of the Divisions of India.—The Bengal Presidency contains Seven Regulation Divisions with Nine Non-Regulation Provinces.—The Six Regulation Provinces of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Agra,...the Non-Regulation Provinces of the same Government.—The Twenty-one Revenue Divisions or Collectorates of the Madras Presidency,...the Three Non-Regulation Districts dependent on the Madras Government.—The Thirteen Bombay Revenue Divisions or Collectorates.—The Non-Regulation Provinces subordinate to the Bombay Government.—The Four Eastern Settlements: Penang, Province Wellesley, Singapore, and Malacca.—The Native States under the immediate Control of the Bengal Government.—The Native States subordinate to the Control of the Madras Government.—The Native States subordinate to the Control of the Bombay Government.—The French and Portuguese Possessions in India.—The Sum of all the British States,...of the Subordinate Native States, ...and of the Foreign Settlements, gives nearly an Area of 1,370,000 Square Miles, with about 152,000,000 of Inhabitants.—The Judicial Divisions correspond with the Revenue Subdivisions.

THE actual state of India and its prospects require now to be investigated. This subject is a vast one, yet the task must be performed. We have, therefore, to examine into the geography and statistics of each Presidency, with its special dependencies. Fortunately, the late publication of the official Report by the

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**CHAPTER XXVI.** officers engaged in the survey, has lessened that labour. This survey, which is the most magnificent geodetic undertaking of this century, now extends from Cape Comoree to Thibet, and from them eridian of Calcutta to that of Cashmeer: it was commenced by Colonel Lambton, after the conquest and death of Tippoo Saib. The undertaking received the sanction of the Marquis Wellesley, and of his brother, the Duke of Wellington. Colonel Lambton continued his labours until his death, at the age of seventy, on the 20th of January, 1823, at Hingham Ghat, near Nagpore. Some time previously, Colonel Everest was selected by the Marquis of Hastings, to carry on the heavy labours of the undertaking; and after several years' experience, that officer came to London, where he obtained from the Directors the geodetical instruments and other apparatus necessary for bringing the task to a successful issue. He was then appointed Surveyor General of India. In 1841, by incessant labour, the whole Indian arc was completed from Cape Comoree to the Himalaya mountains, and thus the main axis of Indian geography was formed. A great number of series were subsequently completed.

Colonel Everest having resigned; the survey is at present going forward under the superintendence of Colonel A. S. Waugh, with various highly talented assistants; its completion may be expected in about ten years.

The total area of British India as it now stands, including Scinde, the Punjab, the Jullunder Doab, and Tenasserim, has been estimated by competent authorities in science, to contain eight hundred thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight square miles, which with the Native States, estimated by the same authorities, at five hundred and eight thousand four hundred and forty-two square miles, makes a grand area of a million and one-third square miles. This vast superficies, extending over 1,370,000 of square miles includes every variety of configuration and of climate. It is twelve times as large as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and is inhabited by one hundred and fifty-two millions of human beings; and if properly cultivated and governed, is capable of sustaining four times that number. To aid the student in the examination of this interesting subject, a statistical account is annexed of the four great Divisions of India, and their subdivisions into Districts or Departments, called, in India "Collectorates or Zillahs," together with the various Native States which are dependent on, or protected by, each of the Four Presidencies. The area and population of the

principal districts are also given. The relations in which the Native States stand to the East India Company, and the officer to whom each state is immediately subordinate, are also explained.

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- THE four Governmental Divisions are, at present,  
 I. The Presidency of Bengal with its Capital at Calcutta.  
 II. The North-Western Provinces—the seat of the Lieutenant-Governor being at Agra.  
 III. The Presidency of Madras, with Madras as its Capital.  
 IV. The Presidency of Bombay, having its Government in that Island.

The four grand divisions of India.

- The BENGAL REGULATION DISTRICTS are seven, viz.:—
1. The JESSORE division, containing the districts or collectorates of Jessore, the twenty-four Pergunnahs, Burdwan, Hoogley, Nuddea, Bancoorah, and Baraset. Area 14,853 square miles. Population 5,345,472.
  2. The BHAUGULPORE division, containing the districts or collectorates of Bhaugulpore, Dinajpore, Monghir, Poorneah, Tirhoot, and Malda. Area 26,464 square miles. Population 8,481,000.
  3. The CUTTACK division, containing Cuttack with Pooree, Balasore, Midnapore and Hidgellee, and Koordah. Area 12,664 square miles. Population 2,798,883.
  4. The MOORSHEDABAD division, containing Moorshedabad, Ba-goorah, Rungpore, Rajshahye, Pubna, and Beerbboom. Area 17,566 square miles. Population 6,815,876.
  5. The DACCA division, containing Dacca, Furreedpore,—Dacca Jelalpore, Mymensing, Sylhet including Jyntea, and Bakergunge including Deccan Shabazpore. Area 20,942 square miles. Population 4,055,800.
  6. The PATNA division, containing Shahabad, Patna, Behar, and Sarun with Chumparan. Area 13,803 square miles. Population 7,000,000.
  7. The CHITTAGONG division, containing Chittagong, and Tipperah and Bulloah. Area 7,410 square miles. Population 2,406,950.

Bengal with its seven regulation districts.

The NON-REGULATION PROVINCES within the limits of the Presidency of Bengal, subject to the authority of Functionaries appointed by the Governor-General or Government of Bengal, are nine, as follow:—

The nine Bengal non-regulation provinces.

1. SAUGOR and NERBUDDA province, containing Jaloun and the Per-gunnahs ceded by Jhansie—Area 1,878 square miles—Population 176,297: the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, comprising the districts of Saugor, Jubbulpore, Hoshungabad, Seonee, Dumoh, Nursingapore, Baitool, and British Mhairwarrah. Area 15,670 square miles. Population 1,967,802.
2. CIS-SUTLEDGE province, containing Umballa, Loodiana including Wudnee, Kythul and Ladwa, Ferozopore, and the territory lately belonging to Sikh chiefs who have been reduced to the condition of British subjects, in consequence of non-performance of feudatory obligations during the Lahore war. Area 4,559 square miles. Population 619,413.
3. NORTH-EAST FRONTIER (Assam) province, containing Cossya Hills,

**CHAPTER XXVI.** Cachar, (lower) Camroop, Nowgong, Durrung,— and (upper) Joorhat (Seebpore), Luckimpore, and Sudiya, including Mutruck. Area 21,845 square miles. Population 780,935.

**A.D. 1851.** 4. GOALPARA province, containing an area of 3,506 square miles. Population 400,000.

5. ARRACAN province, containing an area of 15,104 square miles. Population 321,522.

6. TENASSERIM provinces, containing an area of 29,168 square miles. Population 115,481.

7. SOUTH-WEST FRONTIER provinces, containing Sumbalpore, Ramghur or Hazareebah, Lohurdugga, Chota Nagpore, Palamow,—Singbboom, Maunbboom, Pachete, and Baraboom. Area 30,589 square miles. Population 2,627,456.

8. The PUNJAB, inclusive of the Jullunder Doab and Kooloo territory. Area 78,447 square miles. Population 4,100,988.

9. The SUNDERBUNDs, from Saugor Island on the west, to the Ramnabad Channel on the east. Area 6,500 square miles. Population unknown.

#### TOTAL OF BENGAL.

Area of the Regulation Divisions (sq. m.)	118,702	Population	36,848,981
" Non-Regulation	"     "	211,950	"     "     " 11,109,339
		Total . . . 325,652	47,958,330

The north-western regulation provinces.

The REGULATION PROVINCES of the Agra Division of the Bengal Presidency, subject to the Jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North Western Provinces, are divided into six Regulation Divisions and seven Non-Regulation Districts, as follow:—

1. DELHI province, containing the districts of Paniput, Hurreeanah, Delhi, Rotuck, and Goorgaon. Area 8,463 square miles. Pop. 1,569,501.

2. MEERUT province, containing Saharunpore, Musaffirnuggur, Meerut, Boolundshuhur, and Allighur. Area 10,118 square miles. Pop. 8,384,432.

3. ROHILCUND province, containing Bijnour, Moradabad, Budaon, Bareilly and Phillibheet, and Shahjehanpore. Area 12,659 square miles. Population 4,899,865.

4. AGRA province, containing Muttra, Agra, Furruckabad, Meinpoorie, and Etawah. Area 9,059 square miles. Population 3,505,740.

5. ALLAHABAD province, containing Cawnpore, Fultehpore, Humeerpore and Calpee, Banda, and Allahabad. Area 11,839 square miles. Population 8,219,048.

6. BENARES province, containing Goruckpore, Azimghur, Jounpore, Mirzapore, Benares, and Ghazepore. Area 19,834 square miles. Population 7,121,987.

The N. W. non-regulation provinces.

The NON-REGULATION PROVINCES are as follow:—

The Bhattie territory, including Wuttoo, the Pergunnah of Kote Kasim province, the Jaunsar and Bawur province, the Dehra Doon province, Kumason

(including Ghurwal) province, Ajmeer province, and British Nizamur province. Area 13,599 square miles. Population 600,881. CHAPTER  
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TOTAL OF THE NORTH WESTERN PROVINCES.

Area of the Regulation Provinces . . .	(sq. m.) 71,972	Pop. 28,199,668
" Non-Regulation Provinces . . .	13,599	" 600,881
Total . . .	85,571	28,800,549.

MADRAS is divided,—

For Revenue purposes, into twenty-one Divisions or Collectorates, of which eighteen are under the Regulations of the Madras Government. They are as follow:—

1. RAJAHMUNDRY collectorate, containing an area of 6,050 sq. miles. Population 887,260.
2. MASULIPATAM collectorate, containing an area of 5,000 sq. miles. Population 544,672.
3. GUNTOOR, including Paulnaud collectorate, containing an area of 4,960 square miles. Population 483,831.
4. NELLORE collectorate, containing an area of 7,980 square miles. Population 421,822.
5. CHINGLEPUT collectorate, containing an area of 8,020 sq. miles. Population 404,868.
6. MADRAS, included in Chingleput, containing a population of 462,951.
7. ARCOT, South Division, including Cuddalore, containing an area of 7,610 square miles. Population 873,925.
8. ARCOT, North Division, including Consoody, containing an area of 5,790 square miles. Population 623,717.
9. BELLARY collectorate, containing an area of 18,056 square miles. Population 1,200,000.
10. CUDDAPAH collectorate, containing an area of 12,970 square miles. Population 1,228,546
11. SALEM collectorate, including Vomundoor and Mullapandy, containing an area of 8,200 square miles. Population 946,181.
12. COIMBATORE collectorate, containing an area of 8,280 square miles. Population 821,986.
13. TRICHINOPOLY collectorate, containing an area of 8,000 sq. miles. Population 684,400.
14. TANJORE collectorate, including Najore, containing an area of 3,900 square miles. Population 1,128,730.
15. MADURA collectorate, including Dindigul, containing an area of 10,700 square miles. Population 570,340.
16. TINNIVELLY collectorate, containing an area of 5,700 square miles. Population 1,065,423.
17. MALABAR collectorate, containing an area of 6,060 square miles. Population 1,318,398.
18. CANARA collectorate, containing an area of 7,720 square miles. Population 995,656.

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The  
Madras  
non-regu-  
lation  
districts.

The three NON-REGULATION DISTRICTS are under the control of the Agents of the Governor. They are as follow:

1. GANGAM, containing an area of 6,400 square miles. Pop. 438,174.
2. VIZAGAPATAM, containing an area of 15,300 square miles. Population 1,047,414.
3. KURNOUL, containing an area of 8,248 square miles. Pop. 241,632.

**TOTAL OF MADRAS.**

Area of Regulation Divisions (sq. m.)	119,946	Population	14,612,206
" Non-Regulation Divisions " "	24,943	" "	1,727,220
Total . . .	144,889		16,339,426

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The  
thirteen  
Bombay  
collector-  
ates.

The BOMBAY PRESIDENCY is,—

For Revenue purposes, divided into thirteen Regular Divisions or Collectorates, with three Non-Regulation Provinces. They are as follow:—

1. SURAT collectorate, containing an area of 1,629 square miles. Population 438,260.
  2. BROACH collectorate, containing an area of 1,319 square miles. Population 262,631.
  3. AHMEDABAD collectorate, containing an area of 4,356 square miles. Population 590,754.
  4. KAIRA collectorate, containing an area of 1,869 square miles. Population 566,518.
  5. CANDEISH collectorate, containing an area of 9,311 square miles. Population 685,619.
  6. TANNAH collectorate, containing an area of 5,477 square miles. Population 764,320.
  7. POONAH collectorate, containing an area of 5,298 square miles. Population 604,990.
  8. AHMEDNUGGUR collectorate, including Nassick sub-collectorate, containing an area of 9,931 square miles. Population 929,809.
  9. SHOLAPORE collectorate, containing an area of 4,991 square miles. Population 618,868.
  10. BELGAUM collectorate, containing an area of 5,405 square miles. Population 860,193.
  11. DHARWAR collectorate, containing an area of 3,837 square miles. Population 647,196.
  12. RUTNAGHERRY collectorate, containing an area of 3,964 sq. miles. Population 625,782.
  13. BOMBAY ISLAND, including Colaba, containing an area of 18 square miles. Population 566,119.
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The three  
Bombay  
non-regu-  
lation  
provinces.

The NON-REGULATION PROVINCES, under the control of the Bombay Government, are three, as follow:—

1. COLABA (formerly Angria's), containing an area of 318 square miles. Population 58,458.

2. SCINDE containing Shikarpore, Hydrabad, and Kurrachee. Area **CHAPTER  
52,120 square miles. Population 1,274,744.** XXVI.
3. SATTARA, containing an area of 10,222 square miles. Population **1,005,771.** **A.D. 1851.**
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**TOTAL OF BOMBAY.**

Area of Regulation Collectorates (sq. m.) . . .	57,405	Population 8,151,049
„ Non-Regulation Divisions „ „	62,660	„ 2,383,968
Total . . .	120,065	10,485,017

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The EASTERN STRAITS SETTLEMENTS are four, as follow:—

1. PENANG, containing an area of 160 square miles. Population 89,589. Eastern  
 2. PROVINCE WELLESLEY, containing an area of 140 square miles. settlements  
 Population 51,509.  
 3. SINGAPORE, containing an area of 275 square miles. Pop. 57,421.  
 4. MALACCA, containing an area of 1,000 square miles. Pop. 54,021.

**TOTAL OF THE EASTERN STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.**

Area 1,575 square miles . . . . .	Population 202,540.
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The NATIVE STATES, which, although not under the direct rule, being Native still within the limits of the political supremacy, of the East India Company, states sub-require to be classed with reference to the British authority, by which they ordinate to are immediately controlled. They are as follow:— Bengal.

**I.—BENGAL.**

The Government of BENGAL keeps—

A Political Resident at HYDERABAD, in the Deccan, at the court of the Nizam, whose territories extend over an area of 95,837 square miles, with a population of 10,666,080 and, a subsidiary alliance.

A Political Resident at LUCKNOW, at the Court of the king of Oude, whose territories extend over an area of 28,738 square miles, with a population of 2,970,000, and a subsidiary alliance.

A Political Resident at KATMANDOO, for the Rajah of Nepaul, whose territories extend over an area of 54,500 square miles, with a population of 1,940,000. This state is not under British protection; but the Rajah is bound by treaty to abide, in certain cases, by the decision of the British government, and is prohibited from retaining in his service, subjects of any European or American state.

A Political Resident at NAGPORE, with the Rajah of Berar, whose territories extend over an area of 76,432 square miles, with a population of 4,650,000, and a subsidiary alliance.

The Governor-General's Agent for SCINDIAH'S dominions, Bundelcund, Saugor, and Nerbudda territories, has the protection, of Gwalior, containing a territory of 83,119 square miles, with a population of 3,228,512, and a sub-

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**A.D. 1851.**  
Native states dependent on the Bengal government.

subsidiary alliance,—and also of Bundelcund, comprising the small states of Adyjghur, Allypoora, Bijawur, Baonee, Behut, Bijna, Berouna, Bhayseadah, Behree, Chirkaree, Chutterpore, Dutteah, Doorwai, Gurewlee, Gorihar, Jhansi, Jussoo, Jignee, Khuddee, Kampta, Logasee, Mukree, Mowagooon, Nyagaon, Oorcha, Punna, Paharee, Puhrah, Paldeo, Poorwa, Sumpthar, Surehlah, Tohree Futtahpore, and Taraon—the Saugor and Nerbudda territory, comprising Kothee, Myheer, Ocheyrah, Rewa and Mookundpore, Sohawul, and Shaghur, containing an area of 56,311 square miles, with a population of 5,871,112.

The Resident at INDORE has the protection of Indore, containing an area of 8,318 square miles, with a population of 815,164, and a subsidiary alliance,—and also of Amjherra, Alle Mohun or Rajpore Ali, Burwanee, Dhar, Dewas, Jowra and its Jaghiredara, Jabooa, Rutlam, and Seeta Mhow, extending over an area of 15,680 square miles, with a population of 1,415,200.

The BHOPAL Political Agent, under the Resident at Indore, has the protection of Bhopal, Rajghur and Nursinghur, and Koorwaae, extending over an area of 8,312 square miles, with a population of 815,360.

The Governor-General's Agents for the states of RAJPOOTANA, have the protection of the states of Alwur, Bhartpore, Bikaneer, Jessulmeen, Kishenghur, Kerowlee, Tonk and its dependencies, Dholepore, Kotah, Shallawur, Boondie, Joudpore, Jeypore, Odeypore, Pertabghur, Doongerpore, Banswara, and Serohee, extending over an area of 119,859 square miles, with a population of 8,745,098.

The Agent in ROHILCUND has the protection of Rampore, extending over an area of 720 square miles, with a population of 320,400.

The Superintendent of the HILL STATES has the protection of Bhagul, Bughat, Bujee, Bejah, Bulsun, Bussahir, Dhamie, Dhoorcattie, Gurwhal, Hindoor or Nalaghur, Joobul, Kothar, Koomyhar, Keonthul, Koomharsin, Kuhloor, Mangul, Muhlog, Manee Meyrah, Sirmoor, Mundi, and Sookeit, extending over an area of 11,017 square miles, with a population of 673,457.

The DELHI agency has the protection of Jhujjur, Bahadoorghur, Bullubghur, Patowdee, Deojana, Loharoo, and Furrucknuggur, extending over an area of 1,835 square miles, with a population of 217,550.

The Commissioner and Superintendent of the CIS-SUTLEDGE states has the protection of the following Sikh states (protected since April 25, 1809) Puttiala, Jheend, Furredkote, Rai Kote, Boorech (Dealghur), Mundote, Chichrowlee, Nabha, and Mulair Kotla, extending over an area of 6,746 square miles, with a population of 1,005,154.

The Political Agent on the SOUTH WEST FRONTIER has the protection of Korea, Sirjooja, Jushpore, Odeypore, Suctee, Sohnpore, Burgun, Nowagur, Ryghur, Patna, Gangpore, Keriall, Bonei, Phooljee, Sarunghur, Bora Samba, Bombra, Singbboom, Kursava, and Serickala, extending over an area of 25,431 square miles, with a population of 1,245,655.

The Superintendent at DARJEELING protects and superintends Sikkim, containing an area of 2,504, square miles, with a population of 92,648.

The Board of Administration for the affairs of the PUNJAB has the charge and protection of the Nabob of Bhawulpore, whose territories extend over an area of 20,003 square miles, with a population of 600,000—and of Golab Sing, with his territory (including Cashmeer), extending over an area of 25,123 square miles, with a population of 750,000.

The Governor-General's Agent for the NORTH EAST FRONTIER has the charge and protection of Cooch Behar, Tuleram Senaputty, and of the Cossya and Garrow Hills, comprising the Garrows, Ram Rye, Nustumg, Muriow, Molyong, Mahram, Osimla, and Kyrim and other petty states, with an area of 7,711 square miles, and a population of 281,605.

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A Political Agent protects Munneopore, containing an area of 7,584 square miles, with a population of 75,840.—Tipperah, an independent jungle country, containing an area of 7,682 square miles, with a population of 7,632,—and the Cuttack Mehala, viz:—Dhenkanaul, Autgur, Berumbah, Tiggreah, Banky, Nyaghur, Kundiaperra, Runpore, Hindole, Angool, Nursingapore, Talchur, Neelgur, Koonjerry, Mohurbunge, Boad, Autmallic, and Duspulla. Area 16,929 square miles. Population 761,805.

The NATIVE STATES, subordinate to the MADRAS government, are Native states as follow:—

A Resident has charge of COCHIN. Area 1,988 square miles, with a dependent population of 288,176, and a subsidiary alliance. on the

A Commissioner manages MYSORE. Area 30,886 square miles, with a population of 3,000,000, and a subsidiary alliance. Madras government.

A Resident has charge of TRAVANCORE. Area 4,722 square miles, with a population of 1,011,824, and a subsidiary alliance.

A Government Agent for the district of VIZAGAPATAM has charge of the Jeypore and Hill Zemindars, with their territories, extending over an area of 13,011 square miles, with a population of 891,280, as they are protected.

The NATIVE STATES, subordinate to the BOMBAY government, are as Native states follow:—

The Political Resident at BARODA superintends the Guicowar's dominions, comprising an area of 4,399 square miles, with a population of 825,526, and a subsidiary alliance. on the

The Political Agent at KATTYWAR superintends several petty chiefs, with a territory of 19,850 square miles, and a population of 1,468,900. Bombay government.

The Political Agent at PAHLUNPORE controls Pahlunpore, Radhunpore, Warye, Thurraud, Merwara, Wow, Soegaum, Charcut, Therwarra, Deodur, Baubier, Thurra, Kankrej, and Chowrar. Area 5,250 square miles. Population 388,500.

The Collector of KAIRA has the protection and charge of Cambay and Ballainore, containing an area of 758 square miles, with a population of 56,092.

The Agent to the Governor at SURAT protects Dhurrumpore, Bansda, and Suckeen, containing an area of 850 square miles, with a population of 62,900.

The Collector of AHMEDNUGGUR has the charge of the Daung Rajahs, Peint, and Hursool, containing an area of 1,700 square miles. Pop. 125,800.

**CHAPTER XXVI.** A Political Agent protects and manages KOLAPORE, containing an area of 3,445 square miles, with a population of 500,000.

**A.D. 1851.** A Political Superintendent manages SAWUNT WARREE, with an area of 800 square miles, and a population of 120,000.

A Political Agent in MYHEE CAUNTA controls Myhee Caunta, Daunta, Edur, Ahmednuggur, Peit, and other petty states, Rewa Caunta, Loons-warra, Soauth, Barrea, Odeypore (Chota), Mewassee States, Rajpeepla and other petty states, and Wusravee and adjacent country. Area 5,329 square miles. Population 894,846.

A Political Agent superintends CUTCH, with an area of 6,764 square miles, and a population of 500,586.

The Sattara Jaghiredar of Akulkote, with an area of 75 square miles, and a population of 8,325, is under the superintendence of the Collector of SHOLAPORE; and the remaining chiefs of Bhora, Juth, Ound, Phultam and Wyhee, are under the protection of the Commissioner in SATTARA.

The Southern Mahratta Jaghiredars of Sanglee, Koonwar, Meeruj, Jhunkundee, Moodhole, Nurgoond, Hablee, and Savanoor, are under a Political Agent in the SOUTHERN MAHRATTA country, and are protected. Area 8,700 square miles. Population 410,700.

The FOREIGN POSSESSIONS\* are the French and Portuguese, and are the following:—

The French settlements FRENCH settlements. Pondicherry, with an area of 107 square miles, and a population of 79,743.

Carical, with an area of 63 square miles, and a population of 49,307.

Yanaon, with an area of 13 square miles, and a population of 6,881.

Mahe, with an area of 2 square miles, and a population of 2,616.

Chandernagore, with an area of 3 square miles, and a population of 32,670.

The Portuguese settlements. Goa, and the Island of Damaun and Diu, with an area of 800 square miles, of which the population is said not to exceed 360,000.

\* The foreign possessions, in India, are now reduced to those of two powers, viz. the French and the Portuguese. The French possessions were often taken, but restored by the treaties of peace in 1763, 1783, 1802, and 1815. For several years during the war in the beginning of the present century, the Portuguese settlements were occupied and protected by British troops. In 1824 the Dutch exchanged their possessions for the British settlements in Sumatra; and the Danes sold Serampore and Tranquebar in 1844.

The grand total of the area and population of India is as follows:—

**CHAPTER  
XXVI.**

A.D. 1851.  
Total of the  
British  
states.

**BRITISH STATES,—**

	Area. Square Miles.	Population.
Bengal . . . . .	325,652	47,958,320
North Western Provinces . . . . .	85,571	23,800,549
Madras . . . . .	144,889	16,839,426
Bombay . . . . .	120,065	10,485,017
Eastern Straits Settlements . . . . .	1,575	202,540
Total of British Territory . . . . .	677,752	98,785,852

**NATIVE STATES, subordinate,—**

Total of the  
dependent  
states.

To Bengal . . . . .	583,404	43,054,596
To Madras . . . . .	50,637	4,691,280
To Bombay . . . . .	56,820	4,618,225
Total of subordinate Native States . . . . .	690,861	52,359,051

**The FOREIGN SETTLEMENTS are,—**

Foreign  
settlements

The French . . . . .	188	171,217
The Portuguese . . . . .	800	860,000
Grand Total . . . . .	1,869,101	151,676,120

The judicial divisions correspond generally with the revenue subdivisions. There do not appear to be any divisions, distinct from those recognised for revenue and judicial purposes, that can properly be called civil.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA—1851.

*Christianity said to have been preached in India by St. Thomas.—The Portuguese, being enthusiastic assailants of Mohammedanism, make Converts.—They build Churches.—The remarkable Ruins at Bassein.—The efforts of the Jesuits.—They adopt the Dress and Manners of the Suniassi Brahmins.—Their Knowledge of the Vernacular Languages.—They convert Half a Million in Southern India.—Their Converts being left to themselves relapse.—The Lutheran Missionaries.—William Carey's indomitable Resolution.—He is protected by the Marquis Wellesley.—The Institutions of Caste prevent Changes of Religion.—The Missionaries open Schools and give Instruction.—The Soldiers convert their Native Wives.—The Old English Settlers were opposed to Conversions.—A Dispute at Madras shows the Spirit of the Founders of the English Settlements.—The Company opposed to Missionaries.—The Baptist Missionaries at Singapore, struggle for their Rights from 1793 to 1813.—Their efforts successful.—Dr. Thomas Fanshawe Middleton is the First Anglican Bishop.—His Powers limited.—He builds Churches.—He promotes the building of a Missionary College at Calcutta.—His Death.—Dr. Reginald Heber succeeds.—His Labours and Death.—Dr. James succeeds and dies.—Dr. Turner succeeds and dies.—Dr. Daniel Wilson consecrated Bishop in 1832.—His visitations to different Places.—Dr. Daniel Corrie, Bishop of Madras, dies.—Dr. G. Trevor Spencer succeeds.—His resignation.—Dr. Dealtry is the present Bishop.—The First Bishop of Bombay is Dr. T. Carr.—His Resignation.—His Successor.—The appointment of two Chaplains belonging to the Scotch Church.—The Eight Classes of Missionaries.—Their remarkable Want of Success.—The Natives approach them in order to gain something.—The great Desideratum is a correct Translation of the Bible.*

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XXVII.  
—  
A.D. 1851.

It is a duty now to allude, however shortly, to the various efforts made to introduce the pure doctrines of the Christian religion among the millions who inhabit the far-famed country of the East.

The efforts made for that purpose have been of the most extraordinary kind.

Traces have been found of the first preaching of the Gospel, A.D. 1851. and there are a few still known as the Christians of St. Thomas, who are said to have derived the first principles of religion from the preaching of that Apostle.

The Portuguese, on arriving in India, were animated by the desire of extending their religious tenets. Being enthusiastic assailants of the Moslem creed, they converted many Indians. They also erected churches, of which the ruins still exist. Old Goa, Bassein, Chaul, and many other settlements show the labours of the converts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Bassein affords a specimen of modern ruins, which are comparable to those of Pompeii. In the still walled, though deserted fortress, were lately only two families living in the wildest jungle, one of Hindus, and another of Native Christians : the once beautiful churches remained without roofs, with the well-known banyan tree growing in the interstices of the walls. The presence of that tree is the sure evidence of decay, for as its branches shoot down roots, which fasten in every soil, no building raised by human hands can withstand its attacks ; all are speedily sapped and levelled to the earth.

It is not necessary to describe the extraordinary efforts made by the different Roman Catholic missionaries. The Jesuits tried to convert persons belonging to the most perfect order of the Brahmins, who are called the "Suniassi." Those zealous missionaries adopted the dress and manner of living of the Brahminical Suniassi, that is, they wore orange-coloured clothes, and abstained from using as food, flesh, fish and eggs, and sustained the other painful observances, as well as all the hardships and austerities of the caste. They were obliged to bathe in a public tank every morning and before every repast, of which they have but one each day. In order to carry out their object, they studied the Tamil and Teloogoo languages so profoundly as to be able to write them in a masterly manner. An instance is often quoted of an Indian work which was praised by Voltaire as containing the purest doctrines of Christianity, and which was, as he stated, many hundred years old. It has since been discovered to have been the production of an Italian missionary, and written in 1621. But although those ardent missionaries succeeded in converting nearly half a million in the south of India, the number of Christians there is at present but nominal, for as the political changes of Europe did not allow other zealous

CHAPTER  
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**CHAPTER XXVII.** missionaries to fill up the vacancies as they occurred, the converts were neglected, and many families fell back into their old systems. The Brahmins, as it might be expected, resisted the missionaries with all their efforts, and conversions amongst that caste were rare.

The  
Lutheran  
mission-  
aries.

The next missionaries after the Jesuits were the Lutherans, who at first derived their support from the kingdom of Denmark. Schwartz, Kiernander, and others preached during many years of the last century, but they did not convert many. Towards the close of that period, William Carey, a man of the most indomitable resolution, went from Northamptonshire to Calcutta to preach the gospel; and he succeeded against every difficulty in effecting his purpose. Other missionaries from England joined him in 1799, and as the East India Company would not countenance their endeavours, they found an asylum at Serampore, under the Danish flag. They established a fraternity, and by teaching and preaching, and by composing tracts in the different languages, they made some converts, but their efforts in extending the benefits of education were far more signal. Many natives have acquired information on scientific subjects, which tends to promote their happiness as social beings. Mr. Carey was protected on account of his varied learning, by the Marquis Wellesley, who appointed him to be a Professor in the College of Fort William.

But the institutions of caste form an insurmountable barrier to the numerous missionaries from Europe, who, although they waste years, and words, and even money, have converted very few—yet when they may have induced one or two apparently to adopt their particular tenets, it is their fashion to make a clamour in the newspapers and by pamphlets, although too frequently they are not secure of their new converts for any length of time.

Their want of success. Many of the missionaries, finding their preaching to the advanced in life to be profitless, have become teachers, and opened schools for the young, and in them they are able to impart instruction. The natives receive it with satisfaction, as it is calculated to advance their interests with their European masters. Some converts are made occasionally among the women who marry the European soldiers, and who, to please the objects of their affection, and to secure their own position, conform to the creed of their husbands.

Notwithstanding the remarkable want of success, which attends the efforts of many missionaries, the zeal which induces

others to try the task deserves praise. The Honourable Company, for two hundred and fifty years, has observed a cautious forbearance in relation to the religion of the natives, and has invariably desired their agents to make money, and not converts. The Portuguese, on the other hand, sought to gain converts. The following incident, which is related by one of the annalists, will show the characteristics of both nations two hundred years ago. A Portuguese Padre (all Christian clergymen are called "Padres" in India) at St. Thomé, in the middle of the seventeenth century, having refused to allow a Hindu religious procession to pass before his church, a dispute arose, and an appeal was made to the English. The chiefs of the latter settlement, urged the difficulty of converting the Hindus, and asked, "What could the Portuguese hope to gain from the Indians by such resistance? For as the lion is known by his paw, it may be easily discerned how small are the hopes and how great the dangers of forcing convictions. The Hindus are a subtle and politic race, jealous of their religious tenets, and often disputing amongst their own castes on points of difference, and thereby bringing about irreconcilable hatred and even bloodshed."

This decision of the Company to avoid all religious discussions and to oppose missionary exhibitions, was long combated by the eager enthusiasts, who wished to enlist even the English Governors themselves amongst their patrons. The most decided opponents to the will of the Government were the Baptists, who from their settlement at Serampore, during twenty years, that is from 1793 to 1813, fought the battle of the English missions in India, and by their perseverance gained the result of having freedom granted to all kinds of missions. In 1813, the consent of Parliament was obtained for the introduction of ecclesiastical establishments, according to the systems of the Churches of England and Scotland. The first Bishop of the Church of England appointed at that time was DOCTOR THOMAS FANSHAW Dr. Middleton, a clergyman of distinguished piety and learning, who assumed charge of all India as his diocese, at the close of November, 1814. He had Archdeacons at each of the other Presidencies, and on his arrival found fifteen chaplains in Bengal, twelve at Madras, and five in the Bombay Presidency.

The powers of the bishop were exceedingly limited, and he, like the subordinate chaplains, being dependent for salary on the Company, effected but little change in the system of conversions. However, new churches were built, the number of chaplains was augmented, and order and regularity, such as had not been seen

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A.D. 1851.
The for-
bearance
of the
Company.

CHAPTER XXVII. before, was introduced into the Church Establishment. Doctor Middleton gave great encouragement to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and also to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. He suggested to those societies to found and support a missionary college at Calcutta, of which he laid the foundation stone on the 15th Dec., 1820. He died on the 8th of July, 1822.

Dr. Heber. His successor was the celebrated **REGINALD HEBER**, a man of enquiring mind, cultivated intellect, and benevolent heart. He reached Calcutta in October, 1823; and in the following year, visited the stations in the Upper Provinces, and traversed the country to Bombay. He next touched at Ceylon, on his return to Calcutta, from which place he, in the following year, sailed for Madras, and thence set out at the hottest season for Tanjore and Trichinopoly. On April 3, 1826, he there, while heated, took a cold bath, which suddenly terminated his useful life.

Dr. James. Dr. JOHN THOMAS JAMES succeeded him in January 1828, and died in July of that year.

Dr. Turner. Dr. JOHN M. TURNER was the next Bishop. He reached India in Oct., 1829, and died on the 7th of July, 1830.

Dr. Wilson at Calcutta Dr. DANIEL WILSON was gazetted as Bishop of Calcutta on the 7th of April, 1832; and after his consecration he set out for his diocese. He reached Calcutta on the 30th of October, and was installed on the 5th of November. His activity was soon shown by his visitations to the numerous stations of India, the North-west Provinces, Penang, Singapore, Madras, Bombay, etc. He caused the new cathedral at Calcutta to be erected, and has, during twenty years, distinguished himself by his energy and zeal.

The alteration of the charter in 1834, authorized the appointment of two additional Bishops, one at Madras and another at Bombay. Dr. DANIEL CORRIE the Archdeacon of Madras, was consecrated Bishop of Madras; but he did not live long to hold the dignity. He died, after nearly thirty years' residence in India, on the 5th of Feb., 1837. His memory was so cherished in that city, that a grammar school was erected to perpetuate it.

Dr. Trevor Spencer. Dr. GEORGE TREVOR SPENCER was appointed to be his successor, and he arrived at Madras on the 21st Oct., 1839. A residence in India not being suited to his constitution, he resigned the appointment.

Dr. Dealtry Dr. T. DEALTRY was consecrated Bishop of Madras on the 2nd of Dec., 1849, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the private chapel at Lambeth Palace.

The first Bishop of Bombay, was Dr. THOMAS CARR, who had been Archdeacon there. He was consecrated and installed on the 25th of Feb., 1838. After a long residence in India, he obtained a furlough to England, and finding himself unable to perform the duties, he resigned in 1851.

Dr. J. HARDING will, it is stated, be consecrated to succeed him. Dr. Hard-
ing.

A special provision was made by Parliament in 1813, to have two Chaplains of the Church of Scotland, for the benefit of the North Britons at each of the Presidencies.

Subsequent to the charter of 1813, the missions to India have been much augmented. According to the Year Books of Missions, there were lately in India, Missionaries from

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel ;
 The Church Missionary Society ;
 The London Missionary Society ;
 The Baptist Missionary Society ;
 The General Baptist Missionary Society ;
 The Scotch Church Missionary Society ;
 The Free Church of Scotland Missionary Society ;
 The Wesleyan Missionary Society ;
 The American Missionary Society ;
 The German Missionary Society.

The chief characteristic of the Missionaries is the love of maximizing and belauding all their own efforts, in order to secure the advantages of their position. Yet their success as preachers is not great; for it is difficult to induce the natives to adopt the systems of men, who have no principle in common with themselves. The Natives stand aloof, or if they approach the European padre, it is to receive a present—a bribe—or some particle of instruction on points of which they were previously ignorant.

A great difficulty for the missionaries, arises from the translation of the Bible. As their Indian versions are translations from the English one, which is replete with mistakes of Eastern imagery, the re-translation into the Eastern languages renders it ill-suited to the native taste. One of the great desiderata of this age is a correct version of the sacred volume—not by one set or sect of Christians—but by the whole united and enlightened body, so that there may be a code to which all can refer as to a criterion; but when men are found talking of the Bible, who have never studied Dr. Kennicott's celebrated Old Testament in

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Dr. Carr  
at Bombay.

The errors  
in their  
translations

**CHAPTER XXVII.** Hebrew, and who have not examined his numerous readings, it cannot be wondered at that the crudities of the English translation, when dished up for Eastern taste, should produce no good result. The English Bible, before it is offered to the Indians, requires to be revised with critical care by men of learning and piety ; and then we may hope that it will be received with gratitude by them, and be read with profit. Moreover the Hindus do not value the English doctrines so high as to break up abruptly all the ties of family and caste for their adoption ; they have observed how strong are the prejudices of one class of Christians against the others ; and many of them knowing the differences amongst the Christians, ask, "to which sect would you have me adhere?" The utility of a correct version of the Sacred Scriptures as a guide for all is, therefore, manifest. Without it, the attempt on the part of the English missionaries to convert India, is a waste of time, patience and money. As schoolmasters and professors of literature and science, they may teach the vernacular knowledge of the age ; but the truths of our future existence vanish into thin air, when touched by those who have not sufficient means to explain them correctly.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

*The Education of the Civil Servants at Haileybury College.—The Utility of being an attentive Student there.—The Young Civil Servant on reaching India has great Advantages.—His Prospects.—The Official Designations changed in 1841.—The actual Designations, with the corresponding Rank.—The number in each of the Presidencies, and how employed.—The Complaints made against them.—Many of them dissatisfied at being exiled from England.—Necessity for selecting Young Men of Talent. ....The Judicial Department.—The Natives have the Civil Codes of the Hindus and Mohammedans administered.—The Criminal Code in use is the Mohammedan with British improvements.....The Europeans are tried by the English Law, which is administered by the Supreme Courts.—Lists of the Judges in those Courts from their Establishment to the present Year.*

### CIVIL SERVANTS.

THE Government of India is carried on by the civil servants of the Company, with what success history shows. They are educated for the administration of India, and are required to spend at least four terms at Haileybury College, in Hertfordshire, which was founded for their instruction in 1809. The regulations for the admission of candidates are necessarily strict. The advancement to which the good students are entitled is sufficient to encourage young men of talents and moral worth to the noblest exertions ; for even their rank in India is determined by the certificate of the Principal as to their industry, proficiency and good conduct. Their studies comprise the Latin and Greek classical writers, mathematics, history, political economy and law, as well as instruction in the eastern languages, such as the Hindoo, Hindustani, Mahratta, Teloogoo, Sanscrit, Persian and Arabic. For proficiency they obtain prizes, medals and other honourable distinctions. On arrival in India, the student has various facilities afforded to him as aids for mastering the languages necessary at the Presidency in which he is located, and then, after twelvemonths' application, his appointment to office depends a

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studies.

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The excellent prospects of civil servants.

Their designations and rank.

Their number in the Bengal service.

In the Madras and Bombay services.

good deal upon himself, and upon the interest which his friends at home have with the Directors. The duties which he undertakes are arduous, and demand his strenuous attention, but when properly discharged reflect honour on the individual, and produce the greatest advantage to his "Honourable Masters," as he officially calls the Directors of the East India Company. The salaries are sufficient for all reasonable wants, beginning at 500/- per annum, and rising as high as 10,000/-—and this with the allowance of a furlough to Europe, and the prospect of a handsome retiring pension, after twenty-five years' service—afford a strong stimulus even under the influence of a tropical sun. A good civil servant dispenses happiness amongst millions over whom he holds control—but the contrary results arise from men of different characteristics. The widows and children of all the civil functionaries who die in the service are provided for on a liberal scale from a well-managed fund.

The official designations of the civil servants which had from the commencement been continued as, I. "Senior Merchants;" II. "Junior Merchants;" III. "Factors;" IV. "Writers;" were, by a warrant, dated June 28th, 1841, divided into six classes,—1st. of thirty-five years' standing, who rank in India with Major-Generals; 2nd. of twenty years', with corresponding rank; 3rd. of twelve years'; 4th. of eight years'; 5th. of four years'; and 6th. of fresh-comers, who rank with subalterns.

In the year 1850, the number of Bengal civil servants was four hundred and eighty-four, of whom eighty-five were absent on permission, leaving three hundred and ninety-nine for active duties. They were employed in the following manner:—in the Supreme Council, two; as Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, one; in the Secretariat, ten; in the Treasury and Account Offices, ten; as Commissioners of Revenue, twelve; on the Boards of Revenue and Customs, eleven; employed in the Punjab, thirty-five; in the Salt Agencies, six; in the Akkaree department, two; as Inspector of Jails, one; Post Master General, one; in the Customs' department, five; in the Opium department, two; in the Survey department, five; as Political Residents, four; in the different branches of the Judicial department, including the fiscal, the civil, and the criminal, two hundred and ninety.

In 1850, the number of Madras civil servants was one hundred and eighty-nine, and of Bombay, one hundred and thirty-five; they were employed in nearly the same manner as those of Bengal.

The complaints made against the civil servants arise principally from the narrow class-views inculcated at college, where interest has its influence, as well as in other places. Many things are said to be learned there, which have to be unlearned in India. The accusations of exclusiveness and aristocratic feelings, belong rather to the system than to the individuals, many of whom look upon themselves as exiles from Europe, who are forced to pass the best years of life at a distance from all the enjoyments of civilized society, and who would willingly exchange, if they could, for humbler and more congenial avocations at home in Great Britain, rather than "be-lording" (in the India phraseology, "be-haudering") over black serfs in the torrid zone.

It is not our object to describe the government of the East India Company either in the roseate hues of optimism, or in the dark colours of pessimism. That it has produced much good in India, is undeniable—but that much remains to be done is equally true. The period of alteration is fast approaching and the interests of England, as well as of India, require that the prizes of highly-paid offices in the East shall be opened to public competition, and be given to the young men fittest for performing the duties. Unless talents for administration are usefully employed, the public service will be badly performed, and those talents will tend towards destruction, which ought to be dedicated to the arts of improvement in the already existing structure.

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#### THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

The administration of justice in India is of two kinds ; the old natives, that is the Hindus, have their own code of civil law, while the Mohammedans have also their civil laws administered to them. The criminal code for the natives of all castes is that which was introduced by the Mohammedans after their conquest of the country, with the improvements gradually made by the British. The Provincial Courts in the interior are called Cutcherries—and require a special study to understand all their details.

The British subjects in India claim their inalienable right of British law being judged by the laws of their native country. The first regular Courts of British law were established in 1726, under the name of Mayor's Courts. They were subsequently altered and amended. In 1774 the Supreme Court was established at Cal-

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Their  
complaints.

**CHAPTER XXVIII.** cutta, and in July 1797 an Act was passed by Parliament for the better administration of justice at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay.

A.D. 1851. The Mayor's Court was then abolished, and a Recorder's Court established in the two last-named cities. The Recorder's Court was elevated into the rank of a "Supreme Court" at Madras, in 1800, and in 1823, at Bombay.

As a list of the Judges who filled those important offices must be of interest to many British subjects, we annex the names of the Chief Justices and Puisne Judges at each of the Presidencies :—

## CHIEF JUSTICES AT CALCUTTA.

|                                 |                                       |                 |          |                |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------|----------|----------------|
| The Chief Justices at Calcutta. | Sir Elijah Impey, Kt. . . . .         | Oct. 22, 1774   | recalled | Jan. 27, 1783. |
|                                 | Sir Robert Chambers, Kt. . . . .      | Sept. 8, 1791   | resigned | Aug. 8, 1798.  |
|                                 | Sir John Anstruther, Bart., . . . . . | Aug. 8, 1798    | "        | Feb. 22, 1806. |
|                                 | Sir Henry Russell, Bart. . . . .      | July 12, 1806   | "        | Nov 9, , 1813. |
|                                 | Sir Edward Hyde East, Bart. . . . .   | Nov. 9, 1818    | "        | July 9, 1822.  |
|                                 | Sir Robert H. Blossett, Kt. . . . .   | Dec. 23, 1822   | died     | Feb. 1, 1823.  |
|                                 | Sir Christopher Puller, Kt. . . . .   | April 15, 1823  | died     | May 26, 1824.  |
|                                 | Sir Charles E. Grey, Kt. . . . .      | June 29, 1825   | resigned | July 2, 1832.  |
|                                 | Sir Wm. Oldnall Russell, Kt. . . . .  | July 4, 1832    | died     | Jan. 22, 1833. |
|                                 | Sir Edward Ryan, Kt. . . . .          | Dec. 2, 1833    | resigned | Jan. 6, 1842.  |
|                                 | Sir Lawrence Peel, Kt. . . . .        | April 22, 1842. |          |                |

## PUISNE JUDGES AT CALCUTTA.

|                                      |                                      |                  |            |                                    |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------|------------|------------------------------------|
| The puisne<br>Judges at<br>Calcutta. | Sir R. Chambers, Kt. . . . .         | Oct. 22, 1774 .  | C. J.      |                                    |
|                                      | Sir S. C. LeMaistre, Kt. . . . .     | Oct. 22, 1774 .  | died       | Oct. 31, 1787.                     |
|                                      | Sir John Hyde, Kt. . . . .           | Oct. 22, 1774 .  | died       | July 8, 1796.                      |
|                                      | Sir William Jones, Kt. . . . .       | Oct. 22, 1783 .  | died       | April 27, 1794.                    |
|                                      | Sir William Dunkin, Kt. . . . .      | Sept. 8, 1791 .  | resigned   | Aug. 1, 1797.                      |
|                                      | Sir James Watson, Kt. . . . .        | March 1, 1796 .  | died       | May 2, 1796.                       |
|                                      | Sir John Royds, Kt. . . . .          | Oct. 23, 1797 .  | died       | Sept. 26, 1816.                    |
|                                      | Sir Henry Russell, Bart. . . . .     | May 31, 1798 .   | C. J.      |                                    |
|                                      | Sir William Burroughs, Bart. . . . . | Nov. 3, 1806 .   | resigned   | Dec. 20, 1815.                     |
|                                      | Sir Francis M'Naghten, Bart. . . . . | March 1, 1816 .  | "          | March 2, 1825.                     |
|                                      | Sir Anthony Buller, Kt. . . . .      | Sept. 26, 1816 . | "          | Jan 1, 1827.                       |
|                                      | Sir I. Franks, Kt. . . . .           | Oct. 6, 1825 .   | "          | March 15, 1834.                    |
|                                      | Sir E. Ryan, Kt. . . . .             | May 21, 1827 .   | C. J.      |                                    |
|                                      | Sir John P. Grant, Kt. . . . .       | Oct. 17, 1838 .  | { resigned | April—died at<br>sea May 17, 1848. |
|                                      | Sir Benj. Heath Malkin, Kt. . . . .  | Oct. 6, 1835 .   | died       | Oct. 21, 1837.                     |
|                                      | Sir H. Wilmot Seton, Kt. . . . .     | Nov. 18, 1838 .  |            | June 15, 1848.                     |
|                                      | Sir Arthur Buller, Kt. . . . .       | Oct. , 1848.     |            |                                    |
|                                      | Sir James W. Colville, Kt. . . . .   | Nov. 10, 1848.   |            |                                    |

## CHIEF JUSTICES AT MADRAS.

CHAPTER  
XXVIII.A.D. 1851.  
The Chief  
Justices at  
Madras.

|                                  |                 |                         |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| Sir Thomas A. Strange, Kt. . . . | Dec. 26, 1800 . | resigned June 4, 1815.  |
| Sir John H. Newbolt, Kt. . . .   | Sept. 6, 1816 . | " Aug. 31, 1820.        |
| Sir Edmond Stanley, Kt. . . .    | May 17, 1820 .  | " Jan. 28, 1825.        |
| Sir Ralph Palmer, Kt. . . .      | Jan. 28, 1825 . | resigned Oct. 25, 1835. |
| Sir Robt. Buckley Comyn, Kt. .   | Dec. 31, 1831 . | " Jan. 17, 1842.        |
| Sir E. I. Gambier, Kt. . . .     | May 22, 1842 .  | " June, 1848.           |
| Sir C. Rawlinson, Kt. . . .      | April 15, 1850. |                         |

## • PUISNE JUDGES AT MADRAS.

|                                 |                  |                                       |                                    |
|---------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Sir Henry Gwillim, Kt. . . .    | Dec. 26, 1800 .  | resigned Oct. 28, 1808.               | The puisne<br>Judges at<br>Madras. |
| Sir Benj. Sullivan, Kt. . . .   | Dec. 26, 1800 .  | " May 7, 1809.                        |                                    |
| Sir Francis M'Naughten, Kt. . . | May 7, 1809 .    | { removed to Bengal,<br>July 3, 1815. |                                    |
| Sir John H. Newbolt, Kt. . .    | May 30, 1810 .   | C. J.                                 |                                    |
| Sir Edmond Stanley, Kt. . . .   | July 3, 1815 .   | C. J.                                 |                                    |
| Sir Anthony Buller, Kt. . . .   | Sept. 6, 1815 .  | rem. to Ben. Ap. 10, 1816.            |                                    |
| Sir A. G. Cooper, Kt. . . .     | April 15, 1817 . | died Aug. 30, 1821.                   |                                    |
| Sir Charles E. Grey, Kt. . . .  | May 17, 1820 .   | re. to Ben. Aug. 18, 1824.            |                                    |
| Sir W. Franklin, Kt. . . .      | April 12, 1822.  | died in May, 1824.                    |                                    |
| Sir Ralph Palmer, Kt. . . .     | Aug. 18, 1824 .  | C. J.                                 |                                    |
| Sir Robt. B. Comyn, Kt. . . .   | Jan. 28, 1825 .  | C. J.                                 |                                    |
| Sir G. W. Ricketts, Kt. . . .   | March 7, 1825 .  | died at sea July 14, 1832.            |                                    |
| Sir E. I. Gambier, Kt. . . .    | Nov. 28, 1836 .  | C. J.                                 |                                    |
| Sir J. D. Norton, Kt. . . .     | April 5, 1842 .  | died at sea Sept. 24, 1848.           |                                    |
| Sir W. W. Burton, Kt.. . . .    | Aug. 29, 1844.   |                                       |                                    |

## RECORDERS AND JUDGES AT BOMBAY.

A judicial Charter was granted in 1726 by the crown, and Mayors and The Aldermen were appointed; but the administration of justice was defective, and the Recorder's Court was established; and on

Oct. 8, 1798, Sir William Syer was sworn. He died Oct. 7, 1802; and on

Feb. 14, 1803, Sir Benjamin Sullivan, the Puisne Judge of Madras, went thither and acted as Recorder of Bombay; until

May 28, 1804, when Sir James Mackintosh, Kt., took the office of Recorder, which he resigned on Nov. 5, 1811.

Soon afterwards, Sir John Newbolt, Puisne Judge of Madras, became acting Recorder; until

March 10, 1813, when Sir Alexander Anstruther, Kt., took that office. He died July 16, 1819.

Nov. 17, 1819, Sir Andrew George Cooper, the Puisne Judge of Madras, became acting Recorder; until

Oct. 24, 1820, when Sir W. David Evans, Kt. (translator of "Pothier on Obligations"), assumed the office. He died Dec. 5, 1821; and on

Feb. 13, 1822, Sir Anthony Buller, Kt., Puisne Judge of Calcutta, became acting Recorder; until

Feb. 8, 1823, when Sir Edward West, Kt., (author of an "Essay on Rent"), took the office.

**CHAPTER  
XXVIII.**  
 A.D. 1851.  
 The Chief  
Justices at  
Bombay.

**CHIEF JUSTICES.**

The Supreme Court was established; and on May 8, 1824, the Recorder,  
 Sir E. West, Kt., was appointed Chief Justice, with two assistant Judges.  
 He died at Poonah, Aug. 18, 1828.  
 Sir Jas. Dewar, Kt. (one of the}  
 "tame Elephants") . . . . . died Nov. 25, 1830.  
 Sir Herbert Abingdon Draper } Dec. 1, 1831. . . resigned Feb. 2, 1839.  
 Compton, Kt. . . . .  
 Sir John W. Awdry, Kt. . . . June 21, 1839. " Feb. 18, 1841.  
 Sir Henry Roper, Kt. . . . March 16, 1841. " Nov. 2, 1846.  
 Sir David Pollock, Kt. . . . Nov. 8, 1846. died May 22, 1847.  
 Sir Thomas Erskine Perry, Kt. . Nov. 9, 1847.

**PUISE JUDGES.**

The puise  
Judges at  
Bombay.

Sir C. Harcourt Chambers, Kt. . 1824. . . . . died Oct. 18, 1828.  
 Sir Ralph Rice, Kt. . . . . 1824 . . . . . left India 1827.  
 Sir J. P. Grant, Kt. . . . . 1828 . . . . . resigned Sept. 1830.  
 Sir W. Seymour, Kt. . . . . Sept. 1829 . . . died in Dec.  
 Sir J. W. Awdry, Kt. . . . . Dec. 31, 1830. C. J.  
 Sir Henry Roper, Kt. . . . . Oct. 30, 1839. C. J.  
 Sir T. E. Perry, Kt. . . . . April 18, 1841. C. J.  
 Sir William Yardley, Kt. . . . Oct. 1847.

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## CHAPTER XXIX.

### THE MILITARY—THE COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF.—1851.

*The Three grand Divisions of the Indian Army : the Bengal Army ; the Madras Army ; the Bombay Army.—A considerable Body of British European Troops always in India.—Character of the Hindu and Mohammedan Sepoys.—Strict Justice and strict Discipline are the sure Means of securing their Fidelity.—The Commanders-in-Chief.—Lists of them at each Presidency, since 1774.*

THE support of the British empire in India, is the Indian army. It is composed of three distinct armed corps, called, I, the army of Bengal; II, the army of Madras; III, the army of Bombay; each of which has its regular staff, with the due proportion of engineers, horse and foot artillery, cavalry and infantry.

I. The Bengal army has now three brigades of horse-artillery ; the first consists of three European and two native troops ; and each of the 2nd and 3rd brigades consists of three European and one native troops ; six battalions of European foot artillery, of four companies each, and three battalions of native foot artillery, of six companies each ; an engineer corps ; eleven regiments of light cavalry ; two regiments of European fusiliers ; seventy-four regiments of native infantry ; three corps called the regiments of Khelat-i-Ghilzie—of Loodianah—and of Ferozepore ; eighteen regiments of irregular cavalry ; five regiments of Punjab cavalry ; five regiments of Punjab infantry ; four Sikh infantry corps in the Punjab ; a corps of Guides at Lahore, with local regiments, viz., one battalion of Calcutta ; one battalion of Ramghur ; one battalion of Hill-rangers ; one battalion of Nusseree ; one of Sirmoor ; one of Kemaon ; two of Assam ; one of Mhairwarrah ; one of Arracan, one of Hurreeana ; two regiments of Oude infantry ; one battalion of Sylhet infantry ; two Bheel corps, one of Malwa and one of Meywar ; a Sebundee corps of sappers and miners ; a camel corps, and a Shekhawattee brigade . . . . Gwalior supplies a contingent of an artillery corps, two regiments of cavalry, and seven of infantry. Malwa, Bhopal, Khotah and

CHAPTER  
XXIX.  
  
A.D. 1851.

Bengal  
army.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

A.D. 1851.  
The  
Madras  
Army.

## The Bombay Army.

## The European army.

### **Costs of the native army.**

Joudpore, support a contingent force of artillery, cavalry and infantry.

II. The Madras army has one brigade of horse artillery, composed of four European and two companies of native troops; four battalions of European foot artillery, of four companies each; and one battalion of native foot artillery, of six companies; a corps of engineers; eight regiments of light cavalry; a regiment of European fusiliers, and a regiment of European light infantry; and fifty-two regiments of native infantry.

III. The Bombay army has one brigade of horse artillery, consisting of four European troops; two battalions of European foot artillery, of four companies each, and two battalions of native artillery, twelve companies; a corps of engineers; three regiments of light cavalry; a regiment of European fusiliers, and one of European light infantry; and twenty-nine regiments of native infantry, with one corps of Poonah irregular horse; one Guzerat irregular horse; a Guzerat provincial battalion; a Candeish Bheel corps; a marine battalion; a Sawunt Warree local corps; a Kolapore local corps; five corps of irregulars in Scinde, viz., two regiments of irregular horse, and two Beloochee battalions, with a Scinde baggage corps; a corps called the Cutch irregular horse, and the Ghaut light infantry.

The British Government maintains a considerable army of Europeans in India, the expences of which are defrayed by the Company. The payment of last year amounted to 275,000L

The costs of each army, exclusive of war charges, for the year 1849 and 1850, being the last published (calculated at 2s. per Company's rupee), are as follows:

|                                  |              |            |             |              |
|----------------------------------|--------------|------------|-------------|--------------|
| Bengal Army, . . . . .           | <i>Co's.</i> | <i>Rs.</i> | 5,40,81,344 | = £5,408,134 |
| Madras Army, . . . . .           | "            |            | 2,52,46,957 | = 2,524,695  |
| Bombay Army . . . . .            | "            |            | 1,75,76,480 | = 1,757,648  |
| Cost of the Native Army in India |              |            |             | £9,690,477   |

The Hindu  
and Mo-  
hammedan  
sepoys.

The Indian regiments are usually composed of two classes of men, the Hindus and the Mohammedans, both of whom are happy when tolerably well treated and well paid. They have no ardent attachment to their country, such as the Europeans are supposed to feel under the name of patriotism ; yet the former adhere to their religious and family ties, which they call castes ; but even of that adherence, the traces become faint as the sepoys grow old. The Madras and Bengal regiments have more than once proved by their mutinies, that they require to be treated

with strict justice, or rather that they are not to be treated with wantonness or injustice, by insulting their prejudices and inflaming their passions. The experience of two hundred years has taught the Company's officers to conduct themselves with care and caution towards their soldiers, or, as they are universally called, "the sepoys." The opinion formed by the native soldiers is, that the British are their best paymasters, and therefore they fight for the Company "whose salt they eat." The sepoys of Bengal have strong notions of their personal dignity, as being descendants of high castes ; but they submit to strict discipline if allowed to conform to their peculiar practices ; the Madrassees are brave, but obstinate if irritated ; the Bombay troops being composed of mixed races, are more pliant and submissive than either of the other two. The sure secret of bending the Indian's will to discipline, is to convince him that he will be treated through life with moderation and kindness, with honesty and justice. Let that conviction be at any time overturned, and the British rule in India will not be worth a year's purchase. The Indians do not understand the two principles which have such paramount influence in many parts of Europe, viz., feudal names, and personal gratitude : feudal rights do not subsist in their land, and names are but air ; gratitude is but a passing shade, which vanishes with the object. The soldier cannot forget that the Europeans he sees are an evanescent set, who have no fixed personal interests in the soil, who go to the East like bees to gather honey, and leave the flowers to perish without any feelings of remorse :—how can it be expected that the East Indians should become grateful or fixedly attached to persons who are always sighing for the hour of return to Europe, and for the cool climate of the British Isles ?

CHAPTER  
XXIX.  
A.D. 1851.

#### COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF.

There are four Commanders-in-chief in India, viz. I., the Commander-in-chief of all the forces in India, who is also usually the holder of—II., the commission of Commander-in-chief of the Bengal army ; III., the Commander-in-chief of the Madras army, and IV., the Commander-in-chief of the Bombay army. The first Commander in India, was Major-general Stringer Lawrence, who distinguished himself in the military operations on the Coromandel coast, in 1748, and during the second siege of Madras, in 1758. His successor was Brigadier-general Calliaud.

▲ ▲

**CHAPTER XXIX.** The Directors, in 1764, appointed Lord Clive to be Commander-in-chief, as well as Governor and President of Bengal, and he held

**A.D. 1851.** those appointments until his resignation in 1767. Sir Eyre Coote was appointed his successor. His powers were disputed by the Madras Council, and he returned overland to Europe. Bengal.

After some negotiations between the Directors and the Ministers, General Clavering was, in 1774, appointed Commander-in-chief, with a right to the second seat in the Council. He died, and Sir Eyre Coote was sent out to succeed him. By several subsequent Acts of Parliament, the appointment of the Commanders-in-chief was fixed as second in each of the Councils, but without the right to succeed as Governor in any Presidency, unless by special authorization for that purpose.

The annexed lists give the names of the Commanders-in-chief of the three Presidencies, subsequent to the Regulating Act of 1774.

#### COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF IN INDIA AND OF BENGAL

|                                                                                     |                   |                      |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| Lieut.-Gen. John Clavering . . .                                                    | Oct. 27, 1774.    | died Aug. 30, 1777.  |
| The Military Board with their head, Brigadier-General Giles Stibbert (provisional). |                   |                      |
| Lt. Gen. Sir Eyre Coote, K.B. . .                                                   | March 25, 1779.   | died April 27, 1783. |
| Brig. Gen. G. Stibbert (provisional).                                               |                   |                      |
| Lt. Gen. Robert Sloper . . .                                                        | July 12, 1785.    |                      |
| Gen. Lord Cornwallis, Gov.-                                                         | { Sept. 12, 1786. |                      |
| Gen. and Com.-in-Chief . . .                                                        |                   |                      |
| Maj. Gen. Sir R. Abercromby . .                                                     | Oct. 28, 1793.    |                      |
| Lt. Gen. Sir Alured Clarke . .                                                      | May 17, 1798.     |                      |
| Lt. Gen. Gerard Lake (after-<br>wards Lord Lake) . . .                              | { July 31, 1801.  |                      |
| Gen. the Marquis Cornwallis,<br>Gov.-Gen. and Com.-in-chief                         |                   |                      |
| Lt. Gen. Lord Lake . . .                                                            | Oct. 10, 1805.    |                      |
| Lt. Gen. Sir George Hewitt . .                                                      | Oct. 17, 1807.    |                      |
| Lt. Gen. Sir Geo. Nugent, Bt. .                                                     | Jan. 14, 1812.    |                      |
| Gen. the Earl of Moira (after-<br>wards Marquis of Hastings),                       | { Oct. 4, 1813.   |                      |
| Gov.-Gen. and Com.-in-chief                                                         |                   |                      |
| Lt. Gen. Sir E. Paget . . .                                                         | Jan. 18, 1823.    |                      |
| Gen. Lord Combermere . . .                                                          | Oct. 7, 1825.     |                      |
| Gen. Rt. Hon. George Earl of<br>Dalhousie . . . . .                                 | { Jan. 1, 1830.   |                      |
| Gen. Sir Ed. Barnes . . . . .                                                       |                   |                      |
| Gen. the Rt. Hon. Lord W. C.<br>Bentinck, G.-G. and C.-in-chf                       | { Oct. 16, 1833.  |                      |
| Gen. Sir Henry Fane . . . .                                                         |                   | Sept. 5, 1835.       |
| Gen. Sir Jasper Nicolls . . .                                                       | Dec. 7, 1839.     |                      |
| Gen. Sir Hugh Gough (after-<br>wards Lord Gough) . . . .                            | { Aug. 11, 1843.  |                      |
|                                                                                     |                   |                      |

Gen. Sir C. J. Napier . . . May 7, 1849.  
 Gen. Sir W. M. Gomm . . . Dec. 7, 1850.

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COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF AT MADRAS.

|                                    |                                    |                                |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Lt. Gen. Sir Robert Sloper . . .   | June 1785.                         | Commanders-in-chief at Madras. |
| Lt. Gen. Sir J. Dalling . . .      | July 21, 1785.                     |                                |
| Lt. Gen. Sir Arch. Campbell . . .  | April 6, 1786.                     |                                |
| Major Gen. Sir W. Medows . . .     | Feb. 20, 1790.                     |                                |
| Major Gen. Sir Alured Clarke . . . | Jan. 15, 1796.                     |                                |
| Major Gen. G. Harris . . .         | March 27, 1797.                    |                                |
| Lt. Gen. John Stuart . . .         | Aug. 1, 1801.                      |                                |
| Major Gen. Sir J. F. Cradock . . . | Oct. 17, 1804.                     |                                |
| Lt. Gen. H. M'Dowall . . .         | Sept. 17, 1807.                    |                                |
| Lt. Gen. G. Hewitt . . .           | April 10, 1810.                    |                                |
| Major Gen. Sir S. Auchmuty . . .   | Sept. 27, 1810.                    |                                |
| Lt. Gen. Hon. J. Abercromby . . .  | May 21, 1813.                      |                                |
| Lt. Gen. Sir T. Hislop . . .       | May 25, 1814.                      |                                |
| Lt. Gen. Sir A. Campbell . . .     | June 15, 1821, died Dec. 11, 1824. |                                |

Gen. Bowser (Senior Officer).

|                                   |                   |                                |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| Lt. Gen. Sir G. T. Walker . . .   | March 8, 1826.    | Commanders-in-chief at Bombay. |
| Lt. Gen. Sir R. W. O'Callaghan    | May 11, 1831.     |                                |
| Lt. Gen. Sir Peregrine Maitland.  | Oct. 11, 1836.    |                                |
| Lt. Gen. Sir Jasper Nicolls . . . | Sept. 21, 1888.   |                                |
| Major Gen. Sir Hugh Gough . . .   | Oct. 5, 1889.     |                                |
| Lt. Gen. Sir S. F. Whittingham    | Aug. 1, 1840.     |                                |
| Major Gen. Sir J. Allan (acting)  | Jan. 19, 1841.    |                                |
| Major Gen. Sir R. H. Dick , . .   | Feb. 11, 1841.    |                                |
| Lt. Gen. the Marquis of Tweed-    | } Sept. 20, 1842. |                                |
| dale (and Governor) . . .         |                   |                                |

Lt. Gen. Sir G. H. F. Berkeley . March 13, 1848.

Lt. Gen. Sir R. Armstrong (ap- ) April, 1851.  
 pointed) . . . . .

COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF AT BOMBAY.

|                                   |                                   |                                |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Brig. Gen. Lawrence Nilson . . .  | Jan. 6, 1785.                     | Commanders-in-chief at Bombay. |
| Major Gen. W. Medows . . .        | Sept. 6, 1788.                    |                                |
| Colonel Abercromby . . .          | Jan. 21, 1790.                    |                                |
| Major Gen. James Stuart . . .     | Jan. 15, 1797.                    |                                |
| Major Gen. Oliver Nicolls . . .   | Jan. 22, 1800.                    |                                |
| Maj. Gen. Hon. J. Abercromby .    | Nov. 28, 1809.                    |                                |
| Maj. Gen. Sir M. Nightingall .    | Feb. 24, 1816.                    |                                |
| Lt. Gen. Sir Chas. Colville . . . | Oct. 9, 1819.                     |                                |
| Lt. Gen. Sir T. Bradford . . .    | May 3, 1826.                      |                                |
| Lt. Gen. Sir T. S. Beckwith . . . | Dec. 3, 1829 . died Jan 21, 1832. |                                |
| Lt. Gen. Sir Colin Halkett . . .  | Jan. 21, 1832.                    |                                |

|               |                                                       |                |
|---------------|-------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| CHAPTER XXIX. | Lt. Gen. Sir John Keane (afterwards Lord Keane) . . . | July 22, 1834. |
| ~ ~ ~         | Lt. Gen. Sir T. M'Mahon . . .                         | Feb. 14, 1840. |
| A.D. 1851.    | Lt. Gen. Sir Willoughby Cotton                        | April 8, 1847. |
|               | Lt. Gen. Sir John Grey . . .                          | Dec. 30, 1850. |

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The military divisions, with the districts comprehended within their respective limits, are as follow :—

Military divisions of Bengal. BENGAL.—Presidency Garrison at Fort William and Alipore. The Presidency Division comprises :—Assam, Chittagong, Arracan, Jyntia, Sylhet, Goalparah, Mymensing, Tipperah, Dacca, Jelalpore, Backergunge, Cooch Behar, Rungpore, Dinajpore, Malda, Bogra, Beerbboom, Moorshedabad, Rajshahye, Pubna, Pachete, Bancoorah, Burdwan, Nuddea, Jessor, Singbboom, Baraboom, Midnapore, Hoogley, 24 Pergunnahs, and Baraset.

The Dinapore Division comprises :—Sarun, Tirhoot, Poorneah, Eastern Ghazepore, N. E. Shahabad, Patna, Monghir, Bhaugulpore, Behar, Sirgoojah, Palamow, Ramghur, Odeypore, Chota Nagpore, and Sunbulpore.

The Benares Division comprises :—Goruckpore, Azimghur, Joynpore, Western Ghazepore, Allahabad, Benares, S. E. Shahabad, Rewa, Singrowlee, and Eastern Bundelcund.

The Cawnpore Division comprises :—Oude, Furrucksabad, Meinpoorie, Etawah, Cawnpore, Futtehpore, Humeerpore, Banda, and Western Bundelcund.

The Meerut Division comprises :—Ghurwal, Kumaon, Dehra Doon, Saharunpore, Musaffirnuggur, Bijnour, Moradabad, Meerut, Boolundahuhur, Phillibheet, Bareilly, Budaon, Shahjehanpore, Delhi, Goorgaon, Alighur, Muttra, and Agra.

The Sirhind Division comprises :—Cis-Sutledge States, Hill States, Bhatiana, Hurreeana, Paniput, and Kurnaul.

The Gwalior Division consists of Scindiah's Territory.

The Jullunder Doab Division comprises the Jullunder Doab.

The Punjab Division is composed of the Middle Districts of the Punjab, from the Sulimaun Mountains on the west to Kooloo on the east.

The Scinde Saugor Division is the upper part of the Punjab, between the Indus and the Jhelum River, and bounded by the Salt Range.

The Peshawur Division is the North-western part of the Punjab, and bounded by the Indus River and the Salt Range.

The Mooltan Division is formed of the lower, or southern part of the Punjab.

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Military divisions of Madras. MADRAS.—The Central Division comprises :—Guntoor, or North and South Arcot, Nellore, or Chingleput and the northern part of Salem.

The Northern Division comprises :—Masulipatam, Rajahmundry, Vizagapatam, Gangam, and the Bengal districts of Cuttack.

The Southern Division comprises :—The southern part of Salem, Coimbatore, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Madura, Tinnevelly, and the Travancore Territory.

The Mysore Division is formed of the Rajah of Mysore's dominions.  
The Malabar and Canara Division is composed of the Malabar and Canara  
Collectorates.

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The Ceded District comprises :—Cuddapah, Bellary, and Kurnoul.

The Hyderabad subsidiary force is stationed in the Nizam's dominions.

The Nagpore subsidiary force is stationed in the Rajah of Nagpore's territory.

The Sangor District extends over the Sangor and Nerbudda territory.

Besides the above-named divisions, Madras troops are stationed at Dharwar, Kulladgee, and Sholapore, in the Bombay Presidency, and also at the stations of Moulmein, Penang, Malacca, Singapore, and Labuan. In conjunction with the Bombay troops, they garrison Aden.

**BOMBAY.**—The Presidency Garrison comprises all the troops stationed on the Island of Bombay.

Military  
divisions of  
Bombay.

The Southern Division comprises :—The southern part of Rutnagherry, Sholapore, Belgaum, Dharwar, Sawunt Warree, Kolapore, and the southern Mahratta country.

The Poonah Division comprises :—Candeish, Ahmednuggur, Tannah, Poonah, and the Sattara territory.

The Northern Division comprises :—Ahmedabad, Kaira, Surat, Broach, and the Guicowar's territory of Kattywar and Baroda.

The Scinde Division is composed of Scinde and Cutch.

Rajpootana field force occupies the various territories forming Rajpootana.

Besides the above-named districts, the Bombay troops occupy the detached fort of Asseerghur, and, in conjunction with the Madras troops, garrison Aden.

In order to understand the campaigns of the East Indies, it may be useful to mention here, that they begin after the hot and rainy seasons, which continue from April to September on the Western coast, and up to December on the Coromandel shore.

#### THE INDIAN NAVY.

The trade of India was seriously injured in the beginning of The Indian navy. the eighteenth century, by the pirates and privateers that frequented the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar. The East India Company was, therefore, compelled to form a marine department, and to build vessels of war of different sizes. Gun-brigs were at first used; but in process of time, other vessels were got ready at Bombay, where an excellent factory for naval architecture, as well as some fine docks have been erected. Aided by the ships of the Royal navy, which are sent to the squadron in the Eastern seas, the Indian navy has been successful in sup-

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A.D. 1851. pressing piracy and sea robberies near the coast of India. Comments have been latterly made upon the inutility of the Indian navy; but the arguments are based upon the effects of the presence of that marine force, and are as conclusive as those which would recommend the disbandment of the army because there is no war; although it is evident that if there were neither army nor navy, both would be instantly required.

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#### THE MEDICAL SERVICE.

The  
Medical  
Service.

Another branch of the Company's service deserving of notice is the Medical, which is composed of two grades, namely, Surgeons and Assistant-surgeons. Both receive considerable emoluments, and are entitled to all the advantages derivable from their most useful and honourable employment. In 1850, their number in the Bengal Presidency was one hundred and twenty-nine surgeons, and two hundred and thirty assistant surgeons; on the Madras establishment, seventy-three surgeons and one hundred and sixty assistant-surgeons; and for Bombay, fifty-three of the first rank, and one hundred and five of the latter.

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## CHAPTER XXX.

### THE FINANCES OF INDIA.—1851.

*The Capital of the Company.—Its various Changes.—The Debts in India.—The Annual Charges.—Estimate of the Revenue of each Presidency.—The Six chief Articles of Taxation.—Their estimated Annual Product.—The Expenses of Collection....The Land Impost.—Its Oppression under the British Rule.—The British hitherto unable to give adequate Relief.—Four Provinces specially suffer.—The System of Tribute introduced by Akbar.—The Zemindars and the Talookdars—The Bengal Ryot.—His Mode of Living.—The early Rates of Levying this Tax.—The North Western Provinces are under a better System.—The Madras System.—The Bombay System...The Salt Monopoly.—Its Effects.—The British Conquerors were Monopolists.—The Company manages it for a Profit....A Financial Improvement proposed.—Public Works in India....often stopped from Financial Difficulties.—The Canals.—The Railroads.—The Dangers to be feared during their Progress.—The most watchful Superintendence required.*

#### CAPITAL OF THE HON. THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

The original Capital of the Company was 2,000,000*l.* The Act, 6 Anne, cap. 17 (under which the union of the two Companies was effected), authorized an increase of 1,200,000*l.* to be raised by additional subscriptions of the proprietors. This addition was made for the purpose of granting a loan to the government, and very stringent proceedings were prescribed with respect to those proprietors, who refused or neglected to pay up their quota of the additional subscription. By 26 Geo. III. cap. 62, a further addition of 800,000*l.* was sanctioned ; and it was provided that the new stock might be subscribed at the rate of 160*l.* per cent. The 29 Geo. III. cap. 65, empowered the Company again to increase their Capital Stock by an addition of 1,000,000*l.*, and provision was granted to receive subscriptions for the increased amount at the rate of 170*l.* per cent. A further extension took place under 33 Geo. III. cap. 47, to the amount of 1,000,000*l.*, which was allowed to be raised at the rate of 200*l.* per cent. The 37th Geo. III. cap. 31, authorized an addition of 2,000,000*l.*

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A.D. 1851.  
The capital  
of the  
Company  
and its  
various  
changes.

**CHAPTER XXX.** No increase of Capital, however, took place under that Act; and the Company was permitted, by 47 Geo. III. cap. 41, to raise the required sum on bond. The amount of Capital Stock thus remained at 6,000,000*l.* The annual dividend secured, on the suspension of the Company's trade was, by Clause XL of the Act 3 and 4 William IV. cap. 85, fixed at 10*l.* 10*s.* per cent. on the 6,000,000*l.* Capital Stock, being the same amount as had been paid, without interruption, from the year 1793, and which was confirmed by 33 Geo. III. cap. 52, and 53 Geo. III. cap. 155.

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Actual debts in India.

Actual debt, in India, according to the official accounts of 1850 :—

|                                                                |                       |                                                   |  |             |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------------------|--|-------------|
| Bengal debt . . . .                                            | (Co's Rs.)            | 44,57,00,682                                      |  |             |
| N. W. Provinces . . . .                                        | "                     | 87,48,375                                         |  |             |
| Madras . . . .                                                 | "                     | 90,98,986                                         |  |             |
| Bombay . . . .                                                 | "                     | 1,29,62,141                                       |  |             |
|                                                                | Co's Rs. 47,15,10,184 | In English money, at 2 <i>s.</i> per Sicca Rupee. |  | £44,204,080 |
| The Bonded debt in England . . . . .                           |                       |                                                   |  | 8,920,592   |
| Miscellaneous debts in England (in excess of Assets) . . . . . |                       |                                                   |  | 1,257,725   |
| Capital of the Company . . . . .                               |                       |                                                   |  | 6,000,000   |
| Total . . . . .                                                |                       |                                                   |  | £55,382,397 |

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Annual charges.

#### ANNUAL CHARGES ACCORDING TO THE OFFICIAL ESTIMATES OF THIS YEAR.

|                                                                                                  |                  |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| Bengal charges (including the interest on its debts<br>Co's Rs. 2,10,52,644) . . . . .           | Rs. 10,92,83,610 |
| North Western provinces, and Punjab, and<br>Trans-Indus Territory . . . . .                      | 1,75,14,000      |
| Madras charges . . . . .                                                                         | 8,34,76,038      |
| Bombay charges . . . . .                                                                         | 8,14,42,547      |
| Total including War charges (in Co's Rs.) .                                                      | 18,56,66,190     |
| In English money at 2 <i>s.</i> per Sicca Rupee .                                                | £17,406,206      |
| Charges to be disbursed in England, including<br>interest on the Capital and Home Debt . . . . . | 2,750,987        |
| Estimated total charges on the Revenue of<br>India, for the year ending April 30, 1852 .         | £20,157,143      |

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## THE REVENUE OF INDIA.

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XXX.A.D. 1851.  
The  
sources of  
revenue.

The Revenue of the different Presidencies, according to the estimates laid before Parliament, is received from the Mint Duties ; the Post-Office Collections ; the Stamp Duties ; the Excise Duties ; Judicial Fees and Fines ; Miscellaneous Civil Receipts ; from the Land Revenue ; from the Imposts, Duties and Tolls called *Sayer* ; from the Duties and Taxes levied on the manufacture and sale of Spirituous Liquors and Intoxicating Drugs, known as *Abkarree* ; from the Revenue Miscellanies ; from Tribute paid by the Ceded Districts ; from the Customs ; the Monopoly of Salt ; the sale of Opium ; Marine and Pilotage Duties ; and Marine and Dock Dues.

The Revenue estimated at each of the principal Establishments, in the year 1850, is as follows :—

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | Estimate of<br>the yearly<br>revenue<br>of each<br>Presidency. |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| Bengal (including the receipts of the Prince of Wales' Island, of Singapore and Malacca, together with the subsidy of 8 lakhs from the Nagpore Government, and 12 lakhs from the Nizam, and the tribute from the Rajpoot and other States), gives the net sum of . . . . . | <i>Co.'s Rs.</i> 8,72,36,862                                   |
| The North Western Provinces produce . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 5,08,03,000                                                    |
| The Punjab with the Trans-Indus Territory . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 1,85,05,000                                                    |
| Madras Revenue . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 8,77,92,794                                                    |
| Bombay Revenue . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 2,68,68,170                                                    |
| Total Revenue of India . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | <i>Co's. Rs.</i> 21,57,00,826                                  |
| In English money, at 2s. per <i>Sicca Rupee</i> . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | £20,221,952                                                    |
| Leaving (this year) an estimated surplus of . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | £64,809                                                        |

The six chief articles of revenue are the Land Tribute ; the Opium Duties ; the Salt Monopoly ; the Customs ; the Sayer and <sup>chief</sup> Abkaree Duties ; and the Stamps. The last estimate of their <sup>articles of</sup> revenue, receipts, for this year, is the following, in Company's Rupees :—

|             | Land<br>Tribute. | Opium<br>Duties. | Salt<br>Monopoly. | Customs.    | Sayer and<br>Abkaree. | Stamps.   |
|-------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------|-----------------------|-----------|
| Bengal .    | 3,50,60,700      | 3,75,46,569      | 1,47,38,000       | 83,27,500   | 30,31,400             | 22,37,600 |
| N. W. Prov. | 4,89,25,000      | none.            | 47,50,000         | 12,16,000   | 29,50,000             | 14,50,000 |
| Madras .    | 3,47,94,373      | none.            | 46,45,996         | 10,27,101   | 24,56,139             | 4,20,363  |
| Bombay .    | 2,29,09,690      | 80,79,300        | 23,56,220         | 27,99,010   | 9,28,350              | 5,55,000  |
| Punjab .    | 1,00,97,000      | none.            | ....              | ....        | 13,54,000             | 57,000    |
| Total .     | 15,17,86,763     | 4,56,25,869      | 2,64,92,146       | 1,33,09,611 | 1,07,19,889           | 47,19,963 |

Total of the six principal sources of taxation throughout India, estimated for the actual year.

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XXX.  
—  
A.D. 1851.  
Their  
estimated  
annual  
product.

|                             |              |
|-----------------------------|--------------|
| Land Tribute . . . . .      | 15,17,86,763 |
| Opium Duties . . . . .      | 4,56,25,869  |
| Salt Monopoly . . . . .     | 2,64,92,146  |
| Customs . . . . .           | 1,33,09,611  |
| Seyer and Abkaree . . . . . | 1,07,19,889  |
| Stamps . . . . .            | 47,19,963    |

Gross Revenue . Co.'s. Rs. 25,26,54,241

Expenses  
of collect-  
tion.

#### EXPENSES OF COLLECTION.

|                                                               |                       |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| In Bengal . . . . .                                           | Ca.'s Ra. 1,92,56,181 |
| " N. W. Provinces . . . . .                                   | " 53,73,000           |
| " Madras Presidency . . . . .                                 | " 66,61,751           |
| " Bombay "                                                    | " 36,15,190           |
| " the Punjab . . . . .                                        | " 11,21,000           |
| Total expense of collection . . . . .                         | " 8,60,27,122         |
| Clear amount of receipts from the }<br>six articles . . . . . | " 21,66,27,119        |

In English money, at 2s. per Sicca Rupee £20,308,792

#### THE LAND IMPOST.

The land  
impost,

On the subject of Indian taxes, much has been written, and many useless comments made. The fact is undeniable, that from an erroneous system of finance, the misery of millions is augmented to an almost unbearable extent. Two of the taxes are especially oppressive on the poorer classes, and the East India Company, as well as the British legislature, are highly interested or rather bound by every human and Christian duty, to devise some means of relief for the sufferers. The two most oppressive taxes are the Land-tribute and the Salt monopoly.

Its oppres-  
sion under  
the British  
rule.

The Land-tax is now more galling to the Ryot than ever it was under the early Moslem yoke. Then he was asked to give a small portion of the product of his lands ; but the British rule exacts the lion's share. The more he labours, or the greater becomes his crop, the larger is the exaction ; for in India, and especially in the Bengal Presidency, the practice is to levy the land-tribute on the amount of crop, as growing. In India, each village, while under the Mohammedan yoke, was of itself a little corporation, which preserved its inhabitants, and gave them a home, and food, and security. But some of the British governors, influenced by the semi-feudal system of the British Islands, thought it would be useful to create a landed aristocracy, and they (P. Francis was the father of this scheme) declared the Tax-gatherers, or Collectors of the revenues, with whom they, as rulers,

had dealings, to be landed Proprietors and Lords of the soil. The consequence of this novelty was the destruction of the village system in several provinces, and the giving power to men who, instead of using it well, created misery amongst the poor cultivators. The power and influence of the Zemindars, the imperfect machinery of the British courts, and the facility of obtaining corrupt witnesses, soon gave the newly established Landlords an extension of their despotism, which cannot now be easily controlled.

It is humiliating to the East India Company to find that notwithstanding their extensive conquests, and their boasted civilization, their laws, their courts of justice, and their numerous magistrates, they have not been able to afford complete protection to the Ryot against the Zemindars. Eighty years ago Governor Verelst, in Bengal, declared his opinion of their oppressions ; and it is verified, according to the best evidence, up to the present hour.

The perpetual settlement in Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Benares, was effected by Lord Cornwallis, in 1792, when many fraudulent impositions were practised on his agents, which continue still,

although some of the late governments have endeavoured by resumption and other measures to remedy the evil. Mention is often made of the good times of Akbar, who, two centuries and a half ago, regulated the payment of the Bengal revenue by the agency of an able financier, called Rajah Todermul, in such a manner that the Imperial portion of the produce of the land was

paid directly to the Government by the cultivator. Zemindars

were then unknown ; but collectors of the large districts afterwards assumed the rights of Zemindars or landlords ; and when

they were incorporated into one large fiscal division, the collectors of the small districts became Talookdars.

The system once introduced, was soon consolidated, and the Ryot had no redress ; non-payment, oppression and starvation, were the results. The Viceroy of Bengal, or his Dewan, was, of course, responsible for the revenue to the Emperor ; and he obliged the Talookdars and Zemindars, as his collectors, to make good their amount of tribute and taxes ; and they did not hesitate to use every means of raising money for themselves, by exacting the last farthing from the Ryot, and for which, if not paid, they even now turn him out of house and home. The English have for themselves abolished the old custom of making an offering every time they approach a great man, and the Company's officers are prohibited from accepting presents ; but the Zemindars expect that their Ryots

CHAPTER  
XXX.  
A.D. 1851.

The  
British  
hitherto  
unable  
to give  
adequate  
relief.

Four  
provinces  
suffer.

The  
Zemindars  
and the  
Talookdars.

**CHAPTER XXX.** shall never approach them empty-handed. Mr. Verelst is a witness of what took place in 1769, as his statement testifies :—  
**A.D. 1851.** “The truth cannot be doubted, that the poor and industrious are taxed by the Zemindar or collector, for every extravagance that avarice, ambition, pride, vanity or other intemperance may lead him to, over and above what is generally deemed the established rate of rent. If he is to be married, a child born, honours conferred, luxury indulged, presents or fines (*nuzzuranas*) are exacted ; even for his own misconduct ; all must be paid by the Ryot, and what heightens the distressful scene, the more opulent, who can better obtain redress for imposition, escape, while the weaker are obliged to submit.” Thus, at the present day, if the Ryot cannot find means for making the present in his own family, he must borrow it from another, and has to pay the most exorbitant interest for whatever he receives as a loan.

**The Bengal ryot.** The Bengal Ryot is described in England as “feeding on rice and wearing a slight cotton frock ;” but the fact is, that he lives on coarse rice and dall (*vetches*), for good vegetables or fish would be luxuries to him. His dress consists of a bit of a rag around his loins, and a slender sheet, called “chudder.” His bed is a coarse mat and a pillow ; his dwelling a low thatched roof ; his only property an uncouth plough, and two badly fed bullocks, and one or two water pots, called lotahs ; with a little

**His mode of living.** His mode of seed, called *beej dhan*. From early morn to noon, and from noon till sunset he toils ; and still he is in appearance and in reality a haggard, poverty smitten, wretched creature, often fasting for days and nights without food ; or having only one miserable meal in the twenty-four hours. The East India Company once had the power of preventing much of this misery ; but instead of doing so, the Governors General of the time rivetted the chains on the Ryots ; and now their present agents cannot find a remedy for the evil, which their predecessors established sixty years ago.

**The early rates of levying the tax.** The land impost, as the part of the crop recoverable by the Government, was at an early Hindu period fixed at one-sixth, and in times of war, the Moslems levied a fourth ; but as oppression rivetted the chains, it has been augmented, so that it now exceeds one-half, and against this oppression there is no redress, in the four provinces already specified.

**The N. W. provinces are under a better system.** Fortunately for the North Western provinces, the English rulers have received a lesson from experience, and an arrangement has been made for thirty years, instead of the perpetuity fixed in Bengal. The regular survey and classification of the lands have also enabled the authorities to form an assessment on rather

more equitable terms. The rights of the occupiers of lands were examined and justice ensured to them. Vast works are in progress, such as the canal of the Ganges, etc., which will facilitate irrigation, and augment the cultivation of immense districts, now lying waste from want of water, and of course those districts will be improved.

In the Madras Presidency a better system of land-letting has, in general, been adopted, which permits the Ryots to pay their quota to the government directly without the intervention of the accursed Middlemen, or the Zemindars, or Talookdars of Bengal.

In the Bombay Presidency, the lately acquired lands have been measured, surveyed, and estimated ; and their quota of taxation is fixed for a period sufficient to test its correctness.

It ought to be remarked here, that the use of certain words in financial matters, while they have widely distinct meanings, in various parts of the country, has caused much confusion in revenue details, as well in India as in England. A fixed and proper nomenclature is a desideratum in this most important matter.

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#### THE SALT MONOPOLY.

The Salt Monopoly is another of the productive branches of the revenue ; its annual receipts amount to about one-tenth of the whole. The necessity of having some articles for taxation has long since been admitted ; but yet one may doubt if there is not something like Asiatic despotism in raising, for the mere purposes of revenue, the price of an article of primary necessity, to three times its real value. Yet such is the practice in India ; and the effect is that the poor natives in many places are forced to use the most unhealthy substitutes for this condiment. However, the imposition of the tax dates from times long anterior to the rule of the Company. The abuse of the salt-carrying licences, granted by the Emperor of Delhi to the English, was one of the numerous causes of the quarrels in Bengal, which ended in the deposition of the Nabobs or Sovereigns and the establishment of the Company. One of the first arrangements of the Company's government after it had secured the collection of the revenue to itself, was to grant the permission to trade in the salt monopolies to the higher servants in lieu of salary. Thus the conquerors of Bengal became monopolists, and brought down upon themselves the indignation and ire of the Court of Directors who, in the year 1764 and 1765, thus expressed their

The British  
conquerors  
were  
monopolists

CHAPTER  
XXX.  
A.D. 1851.  
The  
Company  
manages it  
for profit.

feelings, in a letter to the Bengal government :—"An unbounded thirst after riches seems to have possessed the whole body of our servants, to that degree that they have lost all sight of justice to the country, and of their duty to the Company." Lord Clive was at that time sent "to remedy these evils, and to restore our reputation among the country powers, and to convince them of our abhorrence of such oppression and rapaciousness." The Company afterwards took the management of the salt monopoly into its own hands, and continued to receive the profits as a part of the general revenue. The latest official regulation bears date the 30th March, 1849, which fixes the duty on alimentary salt at 250 rupees per 100 maunds for five years. The facilities for smuggling are very great, and are not neglected in Bengal, where scruples on such subjects are far from having weight.

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## IMPROVEMENT IN THE FINANCES.

Improvement in the finances proposed.

To the East India Company and to the British Government; the question of improvement in finance is one of vital moment. To the former every improvement must be of paramount importance, especially now when it is publicly said, that, in consequence of the Company's treasury being unable to meet all the demands for ameliorations in India, many beneficial measures contemplated by the Court of Directors and by the different Indian governments, are in a state of abeyance. To meet the exigencies of this period a plan, based on the clearest and strictest principles of the science of finance, has been proposed by the writer of these lines, who has, as he trusts, proved in this book that he understands the actual state of India, to the consideration of various of the leading personages of the British legislature, to Lord John Russell, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to the Rt. Hon. Sir George Grey, the Rt. Hon. J. Milner Gibson, and to Messrs. Cobden, Bright, Hume, and even to the House of Commons.\* The opportunity is alone wanted to enable the author of the plan, to increase the revenues of India, without any oppression whatsoever, to treble their present amount, and thereby to afford to the East India Company the most ample means of doing to the natives of India all the good they desire. The sound principles of science on which this plan is based, demonstrate that no other efficient

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\* A petition on the subject was presented on the 15th of April last.

measure can ever be discovered for relieving the distress of British subjects as well in India as in Europe. This notice of the plan is introduced into this history in order that posterity may hereafter learn that there exists at the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century, one man, who being thoroughly aware of the wants and wishes of his fellow-subjects in India and throughout the British empire, understands how, and is willing, nay more, is anxious and eager, if adequately supported, to promote, by efficient means, the welfare of all those who are subject to the British sovereign, that is, including the inhabitants of the East Indies, to at least one-fourth of the whole human race.

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#### PUBLIC WORKS.

Having thus alluded to the financial improvements, some observations are necessary in relation to the public works of India. The Company being trustees for the Crown, and having to act for the benefit of the empire at large, must be regarded as responsible for those improvements. No doubt that during the last twelve years, the financial difficulties caused by the different sanguinary wars, may have occasioned temporary stoppages of those works ; but now when peace is secure, the continuance of the improvements has become imperative. Still there is a feeling abroad of the unsatisfactory state of the Indian finances. Sir Robert Peel, in 1842, proposed a plan for their arrangement, which he regarded as of the highest importance, in consequence of the influence which they, by depression or elevation, invariably produced on the finances of England. It is time for the British people to regard India in its true light, namely, as a vast, moral, social, commercial and financial study, which is to be considered with care, of which the wants ought to be remedied, and the capabilities of improvement called into full activity. Two grand schemes of territorial improvement have been begun —but as usual in the East, with slow progress—they are, the Ganges, and other Canals, and the Railroads. Under the Mogul dynasties many canals were formed, which served the double purpose of draining some extensive districts, and of irrigating others. Many of them have ceased to produce the results for which they were originally intended, because they are neglected ; and from the marshes which they create, they, instead of fertility, plenty, and happiness, spread malaria and pestilence through

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works in India.

Often stopped from financial difficulties.

The canals.

The railroads.

**CHAPTER XXX.** the plains. The Railroads are in progress, but they too must be watched, least they be changed into means of enabling contractors and employés to make large sums of money, instead of becoming the lines which are to unite all India in the ties of social inter-communications, and of permanent prosperity. That watchful superintendence which ensures success must be ever exercised, for without it the usual failings of a tropical climate preponderate. *Insouciance*, apathy and irregularity dwell together in India. Since the pretence has been advanced, that the Company may be regarded as farmers, whose lease of India is nearly expired, it behoves the Board of Control, or rather the British legislature, but above all, the Directors, to take care that no injury shall arise to the general weal.

A.D. 1851.  
The  
dangers  
in their  
progress.  
Watchful  
superin-  
tendence  
required.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

THE COMMERCE, THE PRODUCTS, AND THE LITERATURE OF INDIA.  
THE OVERLAND ROUTE—1851.

*The past Policy of the East India Company was to acquire India; the future Policy must be to preserve it.—Burke's Opinion of the best Mode of rendering a Nation flourishing and prosperous.—The Territorial Rights of the Company still remain.—They are likely to be demanded by the British Legislature, or perhaps by some Party proclaiming the Independence of India.—The Continuance of the British Connection is best for India, which is now unfitted for moving alone.—A Century hence India may, through the fault of British Statesmen, attempt to walk in the Wake of the American States, if Justice be not done by Great Britain.—The Trade of India with Great Britain has changed.—England, instead of importing Indian Manufactures, seeks to find a Market in India for her own.—The Raw Material must be produced in India.—The Production of the Raw Material is not properly encouraged.—The Indians, although often oppressed, still survive, and will outlive the East India Company...Grain and Pulse cultivated with care produce one hundred fold.—The Ryot frequently starved.—The Want of Water the great Cause of Famine.—The eight chief Articles of Cultivation...Cotton, Opium, Sugar, Coffee, Indigo, Tea, Tobacco and Silk.—Observations on the inferior Quality of the Cotton generally grown.—The four chief Causes of its Deterioration.—The Want is proved of a System of Justice and Encouragement.—The Americans find means to supply the Canton Market with Cotton, superior to that of India.—The various Things necessary for the good Cultivation of Cotton...Opium is reared for the Use of the Chinese...The Americans are about to establish a Rivalry in that Market.—Notices of the other six Articles....The Literature of India is neglected in England.—No complete Translations in English of the great Indian Works.—The Germans, Italians, French, Russians and modern Greeks have Translations, which the English do not possess.—The Utility of such Translations, in order to understand the Currents of the Hindu mind...The Overland Route has raised the Value of India to*

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XXXI.  
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*England—The Probability of the Time for the Voyage being diminished within a few Years.—Egypt is of great Interest to England; and in case of War will be first attacked.—The several means of preserving India detailed.—The System of Finance may be improved.—The End.*

The British have secured the lion's share of Indian commerce.

THE wish to obtain a share in the commerce of India was the first motive that led Englishmen to that country ; and they, by energy and perseverance, have obtained the lion's share : they have secured the whole to themselves. The great object hereafter must be, not to acquire territory, but to retain securely that which is at present subject to British rule. The policy of preservation differs from that of acquisition ; the East India government must, therefore, adopt another course from that which it has hitherto so steadily pursued. A celebrated writer of the last century, whose name is known even in India, Edmund Burke, stated that :—“ The stock of materials, by which any nation is rendered flourishing and prosperous are, its industry, its knowledge, or skill,—its morals, its execution of justice,—its courage,—and the national union in directing these powers to one point, and making them all centre in the public benefit.”

Burke's opinion of the best mode of government.

The commercial interests of the Company, as separated from the territorial ones in 1813, were demanded by the British people in 1834, and ceded from necessity. The next demand will be for the territorial rights ; which, as far as past experience teaches us to scan the future, will yet be demanded in one, or perchance both, of two ways ; first, by the British legislature, which already holds the right of governing and making laws for India ; and second, perhaps, by some party starting into existence, in India, and declaring its independence. As observers of human events we maintain that India may become more happy, more flourishing, and more beneficial to its own children, and to the great family of mankind, by continuing its connection, for at least another century, with the British empire, than it can by any possibility become, even if separated and alone.

The territorial interests may soon be demanded.

The dangers of India proclaiming her independence.

India now unfit for self-government.

India is as yet too young, too ignorant, too weak, too much accustomed to walk in leading strings, to attempt to move alone. A century hence she may attempt the hazardous step, if indeed she find such a course to be to her interest ; but the fault will, undoubtedly, in such a case be that of the British statesmen, even more egregiously than was that of those who brought about the severance of America from England. Great Britain has nothing to fear from India, but she has much to gain ; Great

Britain must treat India with kindness to retain its attachment ; and if full, fair, and impartial justice, be not in every respect rendered by Great Britain to India, Great Britain will speedily and deservedly lose the prize which has cost a century's efforts to acquire.

CHAPTER  
XXXI.

A.D. 1851.  
Trade with  
India  
changed.

During the early years of the British connection with India British commerce was carried on by the exportation of Indian manufactured products, in various shapes, from that country. But the genius of British industry has surpassed the efforts of the East—and the British people, by their machinery, are enabled to do more than all the Eastern nations taken together. The result is, that instead of purchasing manufactured articles from India, Great Britain wishes to obtain there a market for her own fabrics. She asks India to buy rather than to sell. Yet the raw products must come from India, or from some other climate warmer than England. Hence the necessity which exists of encouraging the native Indians to rear these products. And what is that encouragement ? It is grievous to say it, but the truth must be told, that it is rather a discouragement. The natives are taxed, harshly treated, and subjected to much misery from the British yoke. The unhappy Indians have always been the victims of the worst human rule ; they have been conquered over and over again, and each victor, as he left the brand of his iron heel, exclaimed, "*va victis.*" Yet the conquerors have vanished ; and the conquered, having repaired the evils under which they groaned, have grown again into a flourishing people. The East India Company may improve the history of Indian serfdom ; but in itself that Company may flourish or may fade ; still the Indian people will be perpetuated, as long as a fertile soil and a glorious sun will supply them with means of subsistence.

The raw  
product  
must be  
reared in  
India.

Its culture  
is badly  
encouraged

The fertile  
soil of India  
will ever  
produce  
abundance.

In India grain and pulse are grown in all parts of the country ; and such is the fertility of the soil, that the product, when reared with care, is often one hundred fold. Yet in many parts the ryots—as the cultivators are called—are reduced to starvation, and eke out a miserable existence, by dependence on the tender mercies of the Town Soucars (bankers), or village usurers, who grind them to the dust. The Brinjarries, or corn dealers, make large profits as regratters of the necessaries of life. Rice is the favourite article of Indian food ; and it is known to grow best in a soil covered with water, therefore the rainy seasons and low grounds near the rivers are suited to its perfection. A dry summer, by preventing the vegetation of the grain, causes

Yet the  
ryot often  
starves.

**CHAPTER XXXI.** a famine, and thousands perish. This dearth of water occurs often in different places.

**A.D. 1851.** The other chief exportable products are Cotton, Opium, Sugar, Coffee, Indigo, Tea, Tobacco, and Silk.

COTTON is chiefly produced in the following places :—from New Orleans seed—at Dharwar, Coimbatore, Candeish ; and from native seed at Dacca, Tinnivelly, Surat, Broach, Berar, and Omut-warra.

Next to the grain required for food, the natural product most in demand throughout India, is Cotton. It is used in every form and for every purpose of dress and domesticity. Cotton has, from the earliest period, been known as an Eastern product. The Hebrew and Greek name was "*karpas*"—from which the Romans formed the Latin word *carbasus*. Some nations of the modern day call it the *tree wool*. The quantity raised in India is enormous ; yet the cultivators, from adhering to their ancient systems of tillage, have never produced any cotton equal to that now reared in the United States. Independently of their bad systems of culture, the natives, like other people, throw the blame on several deteriorating causes, and principally on the

**Badly cultivated.** four following, viz.:—1st. The oppressive fiscal regulations. 2nd. The want of proper roads, and means of removing the cotton. 3rd. The baneful effects of the different middle men, who screw the ryots to the utmost. And, 4th. To the exorbitant demands of the village usurers, to whom the wretched cultivators are frequently forced to apply for means to purchase seed. In such circumstances, it cannot be expected, that the soil should be prepared in the best manner ; and a bad half, or third crop, of the worst material, is the result.

**Inferior quality produced.** When the time for gathering in the crop has come, the oppressed ryot is unable to do it properly : he is forced to wait for assistance, or to lodge the carelessly gathered cotton in a large open hole, where it is exposed to the vicissitudes of the season, and its value considerably deteriorated. From not having means to take it to a good market he has to sell it for a trifle. Thus passes the life of the ryot : and thus oppression begets negligence, negligence begets apathy, and apathy begets misery, in regular succession, throughout India. If India be treated with fairness and justice ; if due encouragement be given to industrious cultivators, that vast and most magnificent continent, which is now like plastic clay in the hands of the British legislature, of the Board of Control, and of the Directors of the East India Com-

**The dete-  
riorating  
causes.**

**The  
wretched  
life of the  
ryot.**

pany, will produce cotton of every kind that the most fastidious spinner in Lancashire can, by any possibility, wish for. But we must not trust, for these good results, to the system that is now at work there, which is one that is calculated to do evil more than good.

It may be useful to mention here, that the first names by which cotton cloth was known in Europe came from India. Thus the name of "Calico" was adopted by the Portuguese from "Calicut," where they found that cloth : Muslin is derived from "Moussul," where it was first manufactured, etc.

We are bound, also, to observe, that the neglect of this staple of India is felt even in the Canton market, where the Americans have found means of importing cotton more suited to the wants of the Chinese manufacturers than is the article now sent from India. Thus the system of oppression contributes to bring about its own destruction, by spoiling the market for its own commodities.

The actual cultivation of cotton, in India, is said to require several things in order to be successful, viz.: to be grown contiguous to a navigable river, or to the sea, so as to be easily removable to the general market ; an alluvial soil ; ridge tillage ; drainage to prevent too much wet ; irrigation whenever the rains fail ; careful weeding and cleaning of the ridges ; clean and careful picking of the pods ; and, lastly, to be properly packed and brought to the screws before the Monsoon damages it by too much moisture.

OPIUM is cultivated at Patna and Benares, in the Bengal Presidency, and in the Malwa districts. An absurd clamour has been raised against the growth of this drug, as if it were injurious to the Chinese. Its abuse is undoubtedly wrong ; but, against the use of it, no man can urge a valid reason, as it is a matter of taste. The Americans are not regardless of the profits arising from the sale of opium in China, and they are making arrangements for establishing a rivalry, for that and other trades, against India, in the various markets along the coast of that great "flowery empire."

SUGAR is produced in the valleys of the Ganges, and in many parts of all the Presidencies ; and, if necessary, can be produced in great quantities.

COFFEE is grown in Chota Nagpore, Malabar, Travancore, and Mysore. Its cultivation, in India, is still in its infancy.

CHAPTER XXXI.  
A.D. 1851.  
Good kind  
may be  
reared.

American  
cotton sent  
to China.

Opium  
where  
grown.

Its abuse  
injurious.

**CHAPTER XXXI.** INDIGO is abundantly reared at Jessore, and other districts of Lower Bengal, and a little in Scinde. There are many other places in which it may be cultivated, if required.

A.D. 1851.

Indigo.

Tea.

TEA trees have been placed in the Assam districts, and in the Kumaon and Dehra Doon plantations, and in the Himalayas; but the success is yet but partial. If properly cultivated, and duly encouraged, it will hereafter prove highly beneficial to trade.

Tobacco.

TOBACCO is grown at Masulipatam, Rajahmundry, Coimbatore, and Sandoway ; but it is not imported into Europe, nor taken care of as in the Spanish colony at Manilla.

Silk.

SILK is produced at Moorshedabad, Burdwan, and Assam ; and has long been an article of valuable import to the Honourable Company.

#### THE LITERATURE OF INDIA.

The literature of India neglected in Great Britain.

Translations to be found in other countries.

The long-subsisting link of literature, which learned men of future ages may think ought to have joined England and India, has hitherto been neglected on the side of the former. It is undeniable that India was civilized even at the period of Alexander's invasion, and numerous vestiges remain of its learning ; but the British conquerors affected to despise such antiquities. The Board of Control is accused of keeping the purse-strings so closed, as to prevent the Directors from contributing to make the lore of India known in Great Britain. It will scarcely be credited, in this enlightened country, at this advanced era, when there is such a halo of exhibitionary glory around the brows of England, that complete translations of the grand Indian works, such as the Rama-yana, the Maha-Bharat, the Vedas and Puranas, and of various celebrated poems, have not been published in English. The Germans, the Italians, the French, even the Russians and the Modern Greeks, have some of those works laid before them in good translations. But the rich, powerful, East India Proprietors, although annually receiving millions of Pounds Sterling from that country, have not thought it worth while to dedicate their attention to this subject. The Czar Nicholas, gives 10,000*l.* per annum for translations ; the East India Company dedicates nothing specific to that purpose. Professor Wilson, to whom India and England are equally indebted, has, at his own cost, published a translation of the Vishnu Purana,

and other works. The modern Greeks, at Athens, possess, at present, the advantage of estimating, in their own language, a translation of a great deal of the beautiful Indian poetry of the olden times, which Great Britain, with all her scientific characters, her learned authors, her colleges, her universities, her East India Company, and her vast resources, has not yet been able to have them obtain.

However, it is not just to throw the blame on the Company or the Proprietary. The fault lies at the door of other parties, that is, of the Administrations, which have, by means of the Board of Control, rendered India a hothouse, in which some weeds and a few flowers, of literature are forced into premature existence, while the old magnificent lords of the early Indian forest-mind are neglected; they, nevertheless, still live, and require merely to be awakened into full life and activity, to produce a powerful effect, not only in India but in England. It is a mistake to think of changing the currents of the Hindu mind without seeing clearly whence those currents take their rise, and which is the course they follow. They will never be known unless by having the early literature thoroughly translated.

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#### THE OVERLAND ROUTE.

The value of India to England has been raised by the facilities of intercommunications which steam has introduced. The distance may now be estimated at twenty-five days' voyage to Bombay and little more than thirty days to Calcutta, for within a few years the time will, no doubt, be considerably lessened. The establishment of a railway from Alexandria to Cairo, and from Cairo to Suez, will save two days at least in the transit through Egypt. Egypt itself forms, at this time, an object of more than ordinary interest, in consequence of the extraordinary fortifications erected there. In case of a general war, that country will be one of the first points of attack from the enemies of the British empire, who may attempt to break off the regular communications with India. Those who desire full information relative to the overland route, will find it detailed in Captain D. L. Richardson's illustrated work called "The Anglo-Indian Passage."

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**CHAPTER  
XXXI.**

A.D. 1851.  
The sure  
means of  
preserving  
India.

**THE SURE MEANS OF PRESERVING INDIA TO ENGLAND.**

The sure means for England to preserve India are easy; they are by following the principles of the early East India Company which are to be found in books written half a century back, by collecting the revenue according to the rules laid down in the long-adopted Hindu regulations; by administering justice according to the Indian laws; by speaking to the people in their own language; by not disturbing them in the possession of their private property; by not allowing any persons to maltreat them by not interfering, as a government, with their religious persuasions; and by the gradual introduction of education, and of sound and really practical improvements, which will act beneficially on their moral and social condition. The East India Company has done much; yet much remains to be done for securing the permanent happiness of the Indian race.

**End.**

Here this labour must close. Yet, before I lay down the pen, I may explain that the object of this work is to solve a problem—doubted by many—that is, whether the Finances of Great Britain can be augmented and improved? I hold the doctrine that they are capable of being raised to an extent never hitherto thought of. To prove this doctrine, I undertook to develop the history of India, and I hope that I have satisfied the reader that the system of Finance, on which depends the happiness of millions in the East, may be ameliorated.... The details and the means of performing that task must be explained elsewhere.

## **APPENDIX.**

**B B**



## APPENDIX.—No. I.

## ANNALS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN BENGAL.

[*From official sources, and in part never before published.*]

- 1634.—THE East India Company obtains permission to carry on trade at Pippley.
- 1646.—Their trade is further extended by the licences obtained through surgeon Gabriel Boughton. The factories in Bengal are subordinate to Fort St. George and Bantam.
- 1682.—Attempts are made to cultivate flax in Bengal.
- 1683.—Bengal becomes an agency distinct from Fort St. George. Factories at Cossimbazar, Patna, Ballasore, Maldia, Dacca, and Hoogley. Again under the management of the Madras President, Mr. Gyfford, who visits Bengal.
- 1686.—The Nabob of Bengal seizes the factory at Patna, and obliges the English to flee from Hoogley, then an open town, and to take refuge in Chutta or Soottanuttee, near Calcutta.—Dec. 20.
- 1687.—Part of the garrison of Fort St. George comes to Calcutta. Job Charnock makes a truce with the Nabob of Bengal; but in consequence of the disputes with the Mogul, he and the fleet retire to Madras. The new Nabob offers better terms. The Company's affairs are much embarrassed by pirates and interlopers.
- 1690.—Job Charnock returns to Bengal to re-establish the factories. He selects the spot for a fort (now Fort William), where large trees were growing.
- 1691.—The village of Calcutta purchased. Its name is derived from a temple dedicated to the goddess Calee.
- 1692.—Job Charnock dies at Calcutta.—Jan. 10.
- 1694.—Mr. Ellis is agent, and is displaced by Sir J. Goldesborough, the Commissary General, who appoints Mr. Eyre to preside. Calcutta becomes subordinate to Madras.
- 1695.—Mr. Eyre obtains an order removing the embargo on goods in Bengal. The homeward-bound fleet captured by the French.
- 1700.—Calcutta is again appointed a presidency. Sir C. EYRE, the first president, is succeeded by Mr. BEARD, 1704. Sir Edw. Littleton, the agent of the rival Company, addresses Mr. Beard with diplomatic politeness, but his request for aid is refused. Aurungzebe orders the property of the London Company to be seized, in order to force them to pay for the injuries done to the Mogul ships by the pirates and privateers.

- 1704.—**MR. BEARD**, being sick resigns his office, and withdraws to Madras, where he dies. The title of "President" ceases. Money collected to build a church in Calcutta. The two Companies coalesce at Calcutta, and a council of eight members is formed from both.
- 1706.—**RALPH SHELTON** and **ROBERT HEDGES** are the chairmen at alternate meetings. Benjamin Bowchier protests against the acts of the council in condemning him unheard. As member of the council he signs a protest, and soon after dies. Orders arrive from the Directors for the complete amalgamation of the two Companies. Ralph Sheldon and J. Winter are Chairmen alternately. Hedges protests against his exclusion.—Sept. 21, 1706.
- 1707.—**J. WINTER** resigns to **ROBERT NIGHTINGALE**.—July 30.
- 1708.—The Council orders the Church to be completed. The trade from Patna much disturbed. Complaints made to the Dewan. He asks 35,000 Rupees as a present, for which Mr. Sheldon gives his note. Robert Nightingale retires from the Council.
- 1709.—**ABRAHAM ADDAMS** takes his place. R. Sheldon dies at Hoogley, and is succeeded by John Russell, April 26. The boats and goods are stopped at Rajmahal, and the Dewan asks 20,000 Rupees more.
- 1710.—**ANTONY WELTDEN** arrives with a Commission as President and Governor. A new Council is appointed including Hedgea.—July 20.
- 1711.—New orders come from the Court revoking the appointment of Antony Weltden, and naming (R. Sheldon, dead) or **JOHN RUSSELL**, March 17. The latter takes the government. 300 Rupees per month, and for six months, are allowed to the ex-President Weltden. Mr. Cowthorpe is chosen to be a Member of Council, but he declines the post.
- 1712.—The Moslem Governor of Hoogley, being in trouble, sends his head Eunuch to ask refuge for his family at Calcutta, which the Council do not think desirable to grant, lest his opponents should get the upper hand. Notice received that Ferokhsiar intends to send persons to extort money from the wealthy, the English being at the head of the list. They appeal for protection to the Nabob, who writes to the Emperor and obtains it for them. The French take English ships in the bay of Bengal. The Council decide on sending a mission to conciliate the good-will of "the King," as he was called in Calcutta. Letters are sent, in the following style, to "the Grand Mogul" and to "his Vizir."—May 2.

" GOD." \*

" GOVERNOR JOHN RUSSELL, ENGLAND.

" The supplication of John Russell, who is as the minutest grain of sand, and whose forehead is the tip of his footstool, who is absolute monarch and prop of the universe, whose throne may be compared to that of Solomon's, and whose renown is equal to that of Cyrus, the Conqueror of the World, and the hereditary support of justice, eradicating oppression.

" The Englishmen having traded hitherto in Bengal, Orissa and Behar,

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\* This superscription obtains the respect of the Mohammedans for all writings.

custom free (except in Surat), are Your Majesty's most obedient slaves, always intent upon your commands. We have readily observed your most sacred orders and have found favour; we have, as becomes Servants, a diligent regard to your part of the sea. The present designed for Your Majesty, from the Company, is at Calcutta, near Hoogley. We hope to send it after the rains, and likewise to procure a Firman for Free Trade. We crave to have Your Majesty's protection in the above-mentioned places, as before, and to follow our business without molestation.

*"Calcutta, Sept. 15, 1712."*

" LETTER TO THE VIZIR.'

" GOD."

" GOVERNOR JOHN RUSSELL, ENGLAND.

" The Petition of John Russell, President of the English Company, to the Nabob in his most celestial Palace, whose renown has pierced the very skies, and to whom all nations bow, the ornament to the Vizirs, spreading as a Prime Jewel in a King's crown, compared to the Princes, the stay and right hand of the whole kingdom, both now and for ever."

" Your Highness knowing that we Englishmen trading in Bengal, Orissa and Behar, no duties being laid upon our merchandize (except in Surat) are entirely the King's Vassals, always intent to serve him, and have most cheerfully observed whatever he has commanded, and have found favour. Our diligence has not been wanting to take care of these seas. The present designed for His Majesty, from the Company, is at Calcutta, near Hoogley. We hope to despatch it after the rains, that we may procure Firmans for free trade. We beg a Hoosbulhookhum in the Foujdar's name, as a safe conduct for our present; by which grant we shall be assisted with their men to the extremity of their several bounds; we being in nowise dilatory in our despatch of it. We entreat you would further our supplication to the King, having been always assisting, and besides whom we have no other advocate. Pray be so kind, in the interim, to procure us a Hoosbulhookhum for free trade, before the present goes, that our ships may not be detained. I entreat the favour of an answer to my supplication. Let riches as the Sun arise and smile upon you."

1713.—John Russell, getting sick, goes to Nuddea. Jan. 5, Robert Hedges acts for him. Letters are written to four leading courtiers to gain their favour. Governor returns in good health from Chandernagore. Trade is stopped for a time at Hoogley. Mr. Hedges succeeds in removing the embargo. John Russell, being recovered from a long sickness, determines to go to England for health. Resigns to Mr. Hedges.—Dec. 8, 1718.

ROBERT HEDGES, President, appoints Cojah Sirhaud to be the agent at the Mogul's Court. The Cojah had previously secured the grant of Calcutta and its dependencies to the Company, for a small sum. He was known from childhood to the King Ferokhsiar and was a favourite. The negociators were three. 1st. Mr. John Surman. 2nd. Cojah Sirhaud, an Armenian. And, 3rd. Mr. John Pratt; with Edward Stephenson, as

**Secretary.** They take the present and a list of all former Firmans. The King pays the charge of removal of the present from Patna, to the amount of a lakh. The Danes compelled to quit their settlement, on the Hoogley, escape on board a Surat ship. The English try to accommodate the matter. Letters from Delhi show the difficulty of the negotiations, as the examinations of the Moslems were going forward. Firmans said to have been sealed, but not delivered. Large sums expended. Mr. Hamilton, the Surgeon of the mission, cures the King of a disease, and out of gratitude the Mogul grants whatever he wishes. He asks for the Firmans and privileges which are assured to the Company. Three Firmans obtained: one for Bengal, one for Madras, and a third for Surat. Many delays from the cupidity of the Moslems. Letters dated at Delhi, June 7, received in Calcutta July 16, state that Mr. Surman and Cojah Sirhaud had their audience of leave from King Ferokhsiar on May 30. Great satisfaction felt at the result. Robert Hedges dies, Dec. 28, 1717.

1718.—**JAMES WILLIAMSON** took charge of the government for some days. **SAMUEL FEAKE**, the next member of council, arrives from Cossimbazar. Jan. 12, 1718. Some alterations in the Dewan's establishment renders the business of the English merchants easy. Samuel Feake resigns, Jan. 17, 1723.

1723.—**JOHN DEANE** succeeds. Sends large sums, for investment, to Cossimbazar, and sends writers also. Mr. Hercules Courtenay gives trouble by entering into the service of one of the Emperor's generals, and thereby breaking the neutrality observed by the English. Mr. Surman being in the office of Chief Justice, has some examinations which displease Mr. Cotesworth, a member of council, who resents them, and is suspended by the Council. John Deane resigns, and sails for Europe. Jan. 30, 1726.

1726.—**HENRY FRANKLAND** succeeds. In January, 1727, from difficulty of finding goods, it is resolved to send quantities of saltpetre in their ships to Europe. Orders issued to reduce the military force, and give leave to vessels to pass and repass in the river. Charles Hampton is chosen Mayor: Thomas Braddyll Sheriff, and some Aldermen chosen. News arrives of the murder of the officers and supercargoes of ships at Judda, by the Arabs, who plundered the vessels of large sums. The President receives complaints of the Company's covenanting servants being much indebted. Offers to restore all deserters to the French at Chandernagore, which offer is reciprocated. H. Frankland dies of fever after twelve days' sickness, Aug. 28, 1728.

1728.—**EDWARD STEPHENSON**, the next in council, is chosen to be President, and holds office for three weeks.

**JOHN DEANE** arrives with the Company's commission, Sept. 18. Disputes at Dacca injure trade. Ostend ships try to sail under the king of Poland's pass to the Ostend factory. The agents at Cossimbazar and Dacca ordered to hold themselves ready to quit those places. The Council offers four lakhs of rupees to destroy the Ostend ships. A small Ostend ship is taken near Cudjullee, in the river. The Nabob, Seojah Khan, gives leave to attack the Ostenders, and takes 8½ lakhs for his consent. John Deane resigns and returns to Europe, Feb. 15, 1732.

1732.—JOHN STACKHOUSE succeeds. Omichund, the council's broker, is detected in mal-practices. The merchants not satisfied. Omichund threatens to join the French settlement. He is continued as broker. The Dutch protest against the English Council for withdrawing the guard-ships. Omichund detected in cutting the selvedges; and other tricks, on inquiry, are established. The Nabob demands money; and, when the grants and firmans are shown to him, says, that they had been granted when the Company was in its infancy, and sending five or six ships; but now, when sending a hundred or more every year, it was but just to pay something to the government which afforded such advantages; besides which the Company screen many native merchants, by exporting their goods, which do not pay the customs. Mr. Cooke, the cashier at Patna, detected in embezzling the money. He escapes; but is arrested, and brought to Calcutta. Omichund and another, Ramchund, dispute, and their misconduct is discovered. Batty Colmo, a new broker, is chosen. Trade is to be opened at Benares by Humphries Cole, who negotiates for the purpose. Rammaut Chose, the Banyan, and servant of President Stackhouse, being found to be indebted to the Company, the majority of the Council order their President to pay the balance. He appeals to the Court at home. J. Stackhouse resigns.—Jan. 29, 1739.

1739.—THOMAS BRADDYL succeeds. Ships lost at the entrance into the Hoogley. A sloop sent to give a caution to all vessels approaching the shore, and to put pilots on board.

1742.—A ditch is dug round Calcutta to resist the incursions of the Mahrattas. Omichund claims a large sum, which the Council dispute. T. Braddyl resigns.—Feb. 4 1746.

1746.—JOHN FOSTER succeeds. Omichund Deepchund tries to obtain again the English brokerage. He struggles hard to play off the Dutch and English merchants against each other. The English trade, at Calcutta, increases vastly. The Nabob complains that some runaway ryots have fled from Cossimbazar to Calcutta. Omichund becomes a monopolist of saltpetre. The President and Council take the oath of fidelity to the Company. Omichund lends money to the government of Calcutta. John Foster dies of fever, and John Jackson, named to succeed, being absent,

WILLIAM BARWELL is chosen to act.—March 28, 1748.

1749.—Meassrs. Barwell, Pattle, Kempe, and Eyre, are removed from the Council, July 18.

1749.—ADAM DAWSON takes charge of the factory. The Nabob complains that some Englishmen, under German colours, have threatened to seize his ships in the Hoogley. An answer is given that the Council is resolved to give them no aid or countenance. Mr. Rawson, the Master Attendant, recommends an increase of pilots, from six to eight, and that good boats, built at Bombay, be used in the river. Omichund continues to hold means of acting for the Company. Adam Dawson and others are dismissed by orders from the Directors.—July 6, 1752.

1752.—WILLIAM FYTCH, President, dies of dysentery.

ROGER DRAKE, Jun. becomes President, and during his rule the Bengal Presidency suffers exceedingly. Suraj-ud-Dowlat takes the field. He invests Cossimbazar—proposes to treat with Mr. Watts, the chief of

that factory—takes him and two other members prisoners, and frightens the garrison of the fort into a surrender. Encouraged by this success, he next attacks Calcutta, and makes heavy demands on its government. He offers to make peace if all his demands are complied with. He is twice repulsed, with great slaughter, but on a third assault effects an entrance into the town, which is plundered, June 20, 1756. At the Council of war it is said that the fort has not powder for three days. The President Drake declares himself a Quaker, and escapes, with the ladies, on board ship. The horrors of the Black Hole have been already detailed. Amongst the persons found, by the native army, confined in the fort, was Omichund, who had been arrested by order of the Council; and he, from hatred, is said to have been the cause of the confinement of Mr. Holwell in the Black Hole. Mr. Holwell, with three of his companions, is taken from the *Black Hole* to Suraj-ud-Dowlat, who sends them to Omichund's garden-house, and has them embarked for Moorshedabad. During their voyage, of thirteen days, their bodies break out into ulcers. At Moorshedabad they meet with kindly treatment from the Armenian, Dutch and French merchants, and the grandmother of the Viceroy obtains their release.

1757.—Calcutta is re-taken by Colonel Clive and Admiral Watson, and is delivered up to the Council, for President Roger Drake had returned, Jan. 2. The Mosque is ordered to be destroyed, and the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion is prohibited in Calcutta. All the property belonging to Omichund is sequestered. Clive takes Hoogley, and a peace is patched up with Suraj-ud-Dowlat, who is influenced in all his proceedings by Omichund, who is playing double. Suraj-ud-Dowlat again collects an army, and is encouraged by the French at Chandernagore. Clive invests that place, and, after a naval fight, it capitulates, with 183 pieces of artillery, some of heavy calibre. Four forts are taken; the reputation of the English is raised. A conspiracy is concocted, amongst his own followers, against Suraj-ud-Dowlat, at the head of which is Jaffier Ali Khan, who communicates the plan to Mr. Watts, the second in the Calcutta Council, and shows that Suraj-ud-Dowlat contemplates further hostilities, and had applied to M. Bussy, on the Malabar coast, for aid from the French. A convention is entered into with Jaffier Ali Khan, who agrees to give two millions sterling to the English for their losses by the capture of Calcutta. Omichund contrives to mix himself up with the transaction; and he demands 350,000*l.*, or threatens to betray the secret. To humour him, a fictitious convention is drawn up on red paper, in which his claims are specified. The battle of Plassey takes place, and is followed by the death of Suraj-ud-Dowlat, and the elevation of Jaffier Ali Khan to the viceroyalty. Then Omichund finds that all his former deceits are punished, by his name not having been mentioned in the real treaty. Jaffier Ali Khan gives 750,000*l.* to the English soldiers as a present; so that he pays nearly three millions for his throne and security.

1758.—Roger Drake, Jun., is obliged to resign the President's chair. Messrs. Watts, Maningham, Beecher, and Holwell, undertake to govern each a month.

WILLIAM WATTS succeeds, and consults the other members of

council, and all agree to give the government into the hands of Colonel Robert Clive.—June 22, 1758.

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## GOVERNORS OF BENGAL.

- 1758.—**COLONEL CLIVE** tries to govern Bengal by continuing the Mohammedans in the administration of civil and criminal justice, in the collection of the revenue, and in the general powers of internal superintendence and regulation. The disastrous state of affairs in the Carnatic encourages Jaffier Ali Khan to pursue a course hostile to the English. Mr. Kier-nander, the Swedish missionary, arrives in Calcutta, from Cuddalore, and remains for many years in a dwelling-house given by Colonel Clive. The eldest son of the king of Delhi invades Bengal; but he is defeated by Clive, who then obtains the jaghire, which is now known as Lord Clive's fund. Clive next defeats the Dutch. He resigns, Jan. 24, 1760.
- 1760.—**J. Z. HOLWELL** succeeds as Governor of Bengal. He resigns.—July 27, 1760.
- 1760.—**HENRY VANSITTART**, being appointed by the Directors, arrives and takes the government. The state of the Company is deplorable. Troops are not paid and threaten mutiny. The treasury is empty, and but little means of providing for the expenses of the war, and means are adopted to make money by squeezing the natives. Jaffier Ali Khan is found unable or unwilling to comply with the stipulations of the treaty. He is deposed and his son-in-law appointed. Intrigues and confusion prevail. There are two parties in the Bengal council. Disputes arise with Meer Cassim, and the grossest oppressions are perpetrated under the English protection. The abuse of the transit duties, by the Company's servants. Their cupidity and exactions become intolerable to the Moslems. Ram Narrayin is sacrificed. The Nabob resists. Battles take place and a massacre at Patna. Mr. Vansittart gives a larger building for the mission school. He resigns Nov. 26, 1764.
- 1764.—**JOHN SPENCER** succeeds. He resigns May 8, 1765.
- 1765.—**LORD CLIVE**, being considered the only man fitted for bringing the affairs of the Company into order, is despatched from London as Commander-in-chief, and as President and Governor of Bengal. The Directors condemn the rapacity and unwarrantable acts of their servants, in defrauding the Bengal government of its dues. Lord Clive obtains the Dewanee of Bengal.—Aug. 12.
- 1766.—Lord Clive introduces various reforms; amongst them that of prohibiting presents, and of adequately paying the Civil servants. He devises a plan for defraying the expenses of such improvement, by a monopoly of salt, betel nut, and tobacco. He attempts to reform and remodel the army, but the plan is opposed by Sir R. Fletcher and others. Lord Clive, by prudent and resolute conduct, succeeds in his object. He dismisses several officers and crushes a mutiny. His health being affected by the Eastern climate, he resigns Jan. 28, 1767.
- 1767.—**HARRY VERELST**, a Member of Council, succeeds. His rule is a period of comparative tranquillity. He makes various regulations for the benefit of the Company's trade, and for enabling the Directors to pay

the bills drawn on them from India. The Civil servants are deprived of the salt monopoly. He resigns Dec. 16, 1769.

1769.—**JOHN CARTIER** succeeds as Governor. His government is recollected chiefly for the frightful famine which desolated Bengal. It was caused by a deficiency in the fall of rain. He resigns April 13, 1772.

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#### GOVERNORS GENERAL.

1772.—**WARREN HASTINGS** succeeds as Governor of Bengal. The revenue business and treasury are removed from Moorshedabad to Calcutta, as also the Sudder Dewanee Adawlut. Oct. 20, 1774, the Company, being in distress for money, apply for a loan which is granted: and Parliament passes the Regulating Act, which is called the New Charter, Act 13, George III., cap. 63. It names Warren Hastings Governor-General and appoints four Members of Council, viz.,—Lieutenant-General Clavering, Hon. Colonel George Monson, Richard Barwell, and Philip Francis.

1784.—The Asiatic Society established. After an eventful rule, of which the details are given in the history, Warren Hastings resigns Feb. 1, 1785.

1785.—**SIR JOHN MCPHERSON** succeeds as Provisional Governor, Feb. 1. He declares the government to be in great difficulties on account of the finances, and of the relaxed habits of the service.

1786.—**LORD CORNWALLIS** assumed the government, Sept. 12. During his rule the perpetual settlement of the land tribute is effected, which has led to much oppression. His attention is much dedicated to the war against Tippoo Saib. He effects various financial and judicial reforms. He resigns and embarks at Madras.

1793.—**SIR JOHN SHORE** (afterwards **LORD TEIGNMOUTH**) becomes Governor-General, Oct. 28. He doubts of the chances of any reforms by the English service. He takes all the French and Dutch settlements; and, after much labour to defend the English interests against the French, he resigns at a critical time. His adherence to the non-interference system weakens the English influence.

1798.—**SIR ALURED CLARKE**, Commander-in-chief, holds the government provisionally. Under him the Indian army is reorganized. French privateers at the mouth of the Ganges.—March 6.

1798.—**THE EARL OF MORNINGTON** (afterwards **MARQUIS WELLESLEY**) arrives as Governor-General, May 17, and forms three armies: one at Calcutta, another on the Oude frontier, and a third at Madras. Tippoo is defeated, and Shah Zeman, who had crossed the Indus at Attock, is obliged to retreat. The French expedition to Egypt causes great excitement in India. The utmost energy is required from the Governor-General, who is seconded by his brother, Colonel Wellesley. The Governor-General orders the suppression of certain newspapers, on account of their spreading alarming intelligence. He establishes a censorship. In Oct. the French sepoys, at Hyderabad, compelled to lay down their arms. To this Governor-General, Calcutta is indebted for great improvements—the Government House, the Barrackpore

residence, the colleges, the taste for fine buildings. His rule is the Augustan period for Calcutta. His expenditure is not pleasing to the Directors, and they determine to remove him from India. He publishes an able defence of his proceedings. He requests that his resignation may be accepted.

1805.—The MARQUIS CORNWALLIS arrives as Governor-General and Commander-in-chief, July 30. He dies at Ghazepore, Oct. 5.

1805.—Sir G. HILARIO BARLOW is Governor-General *ad interim*. His proceedings produce dangerous results. The mutiny takes place at Vellore Jan. 31, 1807.

1807.—EARL MINTO arrives as Governor-General, July 31. He labours to make retrenchments and other arrangements, which are not acceptable to the natives. He is obliged to use coercive measures; and, after some difficulties at Madras, publishes an amnesty. The Pindarrees cause great confusion in India. The Calcutta Bible Society originated. He resigns.

1818.—EARL MOIRA (afterwards MARQUIS of HASTINGS) arrives as Governor General, Oct. 4, at a time of crisis. He has several wars to carry on which occupy his attention: the Pindarree, the Nepaulese, and Maharrata wars. The settlement of the newly-acquired districts requires much care. The cholera first scourges the Indian army.

The following public works are carried on or completed:—

The construction of a road from Calcutta to Juggurnauth, upwards of 300 miles in length, with branches to the principal towns, is commenced, 1812.

1813.—A canal connecting the Ganges and Bugruttée rivers. The improvement of the navigation of the Nuddea rivers, by dredging and the removal of rocks, etc.

1814.—Two bridges are erected on the estates of Rajah Ram Dyal Sing. A tank is excavated, and a bridge and a building for Divine Worship erected at Meerut. The Ahmednuggur aqueduct is repaired. The western end of the nullah to the bridge at Gebra near Moorshedabad completed. The military road from Calcutta to Benares restored to Range Ghaut. Construction of a pucca road from Allahabad to Burdwan. A road from Puttab Ghaut.

1815.—Mooring-chains and a dépôt for stores at Saugor. Town Hall at Calcutta completed. Erection of a mausoleum, at Ghazepore, to the memory of Marquis Cornwallis. Erection of lighthouses at Saugor Island, Point Palmyras, and certain floating lights there; likewise of one at the Island of Moyapore.

1816.—The clearing of the Island of Saugor authorized. The houses of the Botanical Gardens rebuilt. Establishment of a native hospital at Patna. Erection of a lighthouse at Kedgeree. Repairs and alterations of the government houses at Calcutta, and in the park at Barrackpore, completed in 1827.

1817.—Repair of an ancient aqueduct in the Dehra Doon. Restoration of the Delhi canal, and of a canal in Goruckpore. A new road at Moothucollah. Telegraphs between Calcutta and Nagpore. A road from Tondah to Bamouree. New road from Patna to Gyah. The road from Puttab Ghaut to the military road near Hurripaul widened.

- 1818.—Eight bridges built for entrances to the city of Delhi. The road repaired between Mahratta bridge, Calcutta, and a bridge connecting the main road with the gate of the hospital at Dum Dum. Construction of a well in the centre of the proposed gunge at Bumouree and Tondah. (In 1820 this work was abandoned in consequence of the unhealthiness of the situation). Construction of a road from Puttah Ghaut to Hurripaul. The road between Patna and Shehargotty raised.
- 1819.—Construction of a chapel at Benares. Extension as far as Ruderpore of the road constructed from Bumouree to Tondah in Kumaon. Bridges over the Ramgunga and Soojo rivers in Kumaon.
- 1820.—Erection of an exchange by the merchants of Calcutta, on a site of ground granted by government. Formation of a botanical garden at Saharunpore. Construction of part of a road from the Barrackpore cantonments to a spot opposite the village of Buddee Pantee. Construction of sangha bridges over the Bulleah and Soowal rivers in Kumaon. Sinking two pucka walls at Dehra in the Doon.
- 1821.—The construction of the lighthouse at Saugor is abandoned, and one on Edmonstone's Island authorized in its stead; which is also afterwards abandoned, and a second lighthouse on Moyapore constructed. Measures for building a Scotch church (St. Andrews), and a grant of government in aid of its erection. It is completed in 1824. Erection of two chapels at Benares and Dacca; also completion of a new chapel at Futtighur. A church opened at Howrah, in which a Protestant clergyman of any persuasion is allowed to preach. Construction of a church at Fort William, and of a new chapel at Calcutta. Rammohun Roy commences a magazine called "*The Brahminical Magazine*," which has a short meteorlike existence. It contains the criticisms of a clear native mind on the missionaries—whom it accuses of being like Jenghis Khan—"the persecutors of the faith of the conquered." Measures adopted for improving the routes of communication between the principal positions of the army, from Agra to Mhow via Lakheree and Mokundiah; from Mhow to Delhi by Neemuch and Nusseerabad; from Aseerghur to Hussiangabad, then to Mhow via Mundlasir, and to Nagpore via Berhampore and Ellichpore; from Cawnpore to Saugor through Bundelcund, and thence to Nagpore by two routes, viz.: by Jubbulpore and by Hoshungabad; from Calcutta to Nagpore through the Singboom country.
- 1822.—Excavation of a canal to unite the Hoogley with the Ganges through the Salt Water Lake. (This work was proposed in this year, and the line surveyed, but the operations were only commenced in 1829). Additional moorings laid down at Kedigeree. Measures for the survey and improvement of the port of Cuttack. Arrangement respecting the moorings laid down off the Esplanade, for government vessels, sanctioned. Formation of teak and sissu plantations at Bauleah, Sylhet, and the Jungle Mehals. Construction of a line of telegraph from Fort William to Chumar. Construction of a road from Chilkeah to Howel Baugh in Kumaon, for mules and tatoos, for commercial purposes, and more particularly for facilitating the commerce between Tartary and the Plains. Three new sangha bridges built, and a fourth constructed over the rivers in the Kumaon district. Increased means employed for making a part

- of the new road from Calcutta to Nagpore via Sumbulpore. Construction to Puttah of the new road from Barrackpore to Buddy Pautee. The Marquis of Hastings resigns, 9th Jan. 1823.
- 1823.—JOHN ADAM, Senior Councillor, succeeds provisionally.—Jan. 9. He quarrels with the newspapers, and is not popular. Mr. S. Buckingham is deported, to please some less successful newspaper editors. Construction of a hospital for the pilgrims resorting to Juggurnauth. Excavation of a canal to unite the Damrah and Churramunnee rivers. Reopening of Ferozeshah's canal in Delhi. Restoration of Zabita Khan's canal in the Upper Doab.
- 1823.—LORD AMHERST (afterwards EARL) arrives, as Governor-General Aug. 1. Great alarm in Calcutta, on account of the apprehended invasion from Burmah. Public works—the course of Ali Murdha's canal drawn into Delhi—works on the Seetabuldee hills—construction of buildings on the eastern bank of the Hoogley, and of pucca pillars, as beacons, to be made subservient to telegraphic communication—execution of certain works at Diamond Harbour—moorings at the new anchorage—chains and spiral buoys for the anchorage westward of the Kanacka river. Erection of a new mint at Calcutta commenced.
- 1824.—Wooden bridge built across the river Pabur, at Raeen. Military road between Nagpore and Ryepore. Erection of a chapel at Dum Dum, and another at Meerut. Construction of two churches at Cawnpore. Erection of a church at Dacca. Erection of an additional church at Calcutta. Erection of a church at Burdwan. The cutcha sides of the road from Dum Dum to Shaum Bazar bridge, raised and turfed. Revetments of timber and planking, as an embankment to the Ganges, at Dinapore, to preserve public buildings. Construction of two new tanks at Nusseerabad. Construction of a new road from Mirzapore to Saugor, Jubbulpore, Nagpore, and Omrawattee to Bhopalpore, Mhow, etc.
- 1825.—Establishment of a botanical garden at Singapore. Erection of bungalows and serais for travellers, in the military road from Calcutta to Benares. A road constructed from Cuttack to Padamoondy or Aliva, particularly desirable for the transit of military stores.
- 1826.—Erection of a new Madrissa, or Mohammedan college, in Calcutta. Erection of a new Sanscrit college in Calcutta. Construction of a new dawk road between the presidency and the new anchorage. Construction of the rope suspension bridges, known afterwards as "Shakesperian bridges" introduced. Additions to the Orphan School at Allipore. Construction of two bridges over the Singhea Khal and Sodepore Khal nullahs, on the new Benares Road.
- 1827.—Improvements of the Dawk road, through Shakespeare's Pass to Cannel Creek, and the construction of a Shakesperian bridge over the Kowar torrent, on the Benares road. Natives of India allowed to sit as jurors. New building for the Madrissa or Mohammedan college. Erection of the Hindu college completed. Four Shakesperian bridges thrown over the Ramgunga, Kum mee, and Ramghur rivers. Lord Amherst resigns, March 10, 1828.
- 1828.—W. BUTTERWORTH BAYLEY (Senior Councillor) takes the government provisionally, March 10. The public revenue is deficient. Operations for the removal of the rocks which obstruct the navigation of the

Jumna. Erection of staging bungalows on the road from Shergatty to Gya, and thence to Patna. Erection of an asylum at Benares, for the destitute and blind, by Rajah Kula Shemker Ghoseaul. Construction of the beacons towards the eastern end of the Straits of Malacca. Of a bridge and boundary pillar at Agra.

Lord W. C. BENTINCK arrives as Governor-General. July 4. His Lordship's efforts, as a financier, are known. He endeavours to establish good order throughout India. Palmer & Co. fail at Calcutta, for many millions, being the first of numerous failures. During this government the following public works are carried on :—4 iron suspension bridges; 86 bridges of masonry; 70 different roads, some 28 miles long; 412 tanks; 113 wells; 107 ghats; 15 serais for travellers; 9 iron chain bridges thrown over the rivers in the province of Kumaon.

1829.—The formation of roads in the districts of Jounasai and Bhewar. Construction of a road from Balasore to the sea beach.

1830.—New road from Cuttack to Gangam viâ Khoordah, intended as a high road of communication between Bengal and Fort St. George. Construction of the Jyntea road. A road is ordered to be constructed, viâ Hoogley and Burdwan, to Bancoorah. Staging bungalows and serais at Gopeengunge, Allahabad, Shajadpore, Futtahpore, Cawnpore, Koostan, and Gya. Two pucka wells constructed at Meerut. An extensive canal, connecting the Ganges with the Hoogley, crossing the circular road near the Mahratta ditch, on the north side of Calcutta. Subscriptions collected for completing the Strand road. The numerous other important measures of Lord W. C. Bentinck, the half-batta and "merit-fostering questions," are detailed in the history. Great failures in Calcutta and other parts of India take place. 1833. Agra bank established, July 1. Having honestly discharged the double duties of Governor-General and Commander-in-chief, Lord W. C. Bentinck resigns March, 1835.

1835.—Sir CHARLES G. METCALFE is provisional Governor-General, Mar. 20. He removes the restrictions to which the press had previously been subjected. This arrangement tends to render his name popular. The freedom is extended to all native as well as English publications, and its results have been felt by all classes in India. Much comment made on the political utility of this measure. The Begum Sumroo dies at an advanced age, and leaves money for religious purposes.

1836.—LORD AUCKLAND (afterwards EARL) arrives as Governor-General, March 4. He is the most unfortunate of the Governors-General. He abolishes the town duties. The iron suspension bridge over the Kalee Nundee, near Futtighur, is opened. Lord Auckland recommends that a Committee be formed for establishing a fever hospital. The sanatory state of Calcutta attracts attention. The Martinière College established. He augments the Civil Courts and selects the best judges. He introduces a better system of collecting the Land Tribute in the North Western Provinces. The pilgrim tax is abolished. He confirms the full liberty of the press. The natives are raised to the rank of judges and magistrates. He sanctions the use of the Vernacular languages in the schools and courts of justice, but he leaves magistrates as bad as ever: the police continues to be the opprobrium of the British Indian government.

- 1840.—Dr. Helfer, while on a scientific expedition, is murdered in the Andaman Islands, Jan. 31. The Metcalfe testimonial erected. The ship *Duke of Buccleugh* lost on Point Palmyras, Feb. 7. The pilgrim tax abolished at Allahabad, Gya and Juggurnauth. March. The steamer *Hope* lost on the Kilsikamma coast, March 11.—The Right Rev. Dr. Taberd, V. A., of Bengal, dies July 30.
- 1841.—The 2nd Regiment of the Bengal Cavalry disbanded for cowardly conduct at Purwan Durrah, Feb. Tharawaddie makes some threatening movements. Public meetings to encourage steam communications. The government of Lord Auckland is signalized by wars in Afghanistan and China. He quits India at a most critical period. He came to India to cultivate peace, and he left it engaged in two most distressing wars, that of Afghanistan and of China. Earl Auckland gives over the government to his successor, and embarks for England, March, 1842.
- 1842.—**LORD ELLENBOROUGH** arrives, as Governor-General, Feb. 28. India is in a most excited state. He, being the creature of impulse rather than of principle, dedicates his attention to retrieve the disasters of Cabul, by yielding. He tries to withdraw the army; but, finding that the troops are successful, he becomes enthusiastic in his military tastes. Dwarkanauth Tagore proceeds to England. Lord Ellenborough suspends Mr. Erskine, a civil servant, for his writings in the *Friend of India*. The Governor-General issues an order to limit the tenure of staff appointments to five years. The death of David Hare, a great friend of the natives, takes place. Mr. Erskine is restored by the Directors. Peace made with China.
- 1843.—A piece of plate voted, at a public meeting, to Mr. Greenlaw, on account of his exertions in favour of steam communications. The Seal College opened. The Court of Directors vote a gold medal to Dwarkanauth Tagore. Lord Ellenborough makes preparations for attacking the Punjab. His conduct towards the Directors, whom he defies, not being satisfactory, he, to his great chagrin, is dismissed abruptly. The public works in India languish during his rule. However, slavery is abolished, as also the lottery. He gains credit by abandoning the patronage of the Bengal and Agra governments.
- 1844.—W. W. BIRD takes the government provisionally, June 15. The 34th Regiment of Native Infantry disbanded for refusing to march to Scinde, as ordered. A whirlwind in Jessore. The Ex-Ameers arrive in Calcutta. Mutiny in the lines of the 64th Bengal Native Infantry. The ship *Cameo* is wrecked at Kedgeree. The *Arabe* at Hyderabad murder Nabob Eram ud Dowlat and his son. Severe gale at Calcutta, Aug. 21. Foundation of a new church at Simla, laid by Bishop Wilson. The ship *Brilliant*, from Bombay, lost at Saugor. The Rajah Kisse-nauth, of Berhampore, commits suicide. Dacoits murder Capt. Alcock between Cawnpore and Agra.
- Sir H. HARDINGE (afterwards VISCT. HARDINGE) arrives as Gov. General, July 28. He comes out with a high military reputation. He finds that the expenditure in the fortifications of Aden is too great. He proceeds cautiously to select able assistants; and, acting by the advice of Mountstuart Elphinstone, given in England, avoids meddling in civil details. He lets the Hindus go on their own way. He recommends

the like conduct to the native princes, the King of Oude, the Nizam of the Deccan, etc. He promotes education. He regulates military punishments. The Sikh war calls him into the field, and, after four victories, he grants peace. He subsequently dedicates attention to the improvements, the canals, the roads, the railways, the bridges, etc. He prohibits Sunday works, infanticide, human sacrifices, etc. He tries to effect reforms in the post-office. He orders the repairs of the Taj Mahal, and is a strict utilitarian.

1845.—The government establishes vernacular schools, throughout the country, for the benefit of the poorer classes. Terrible hail-storm at Patna. The *Fire Queen* steamer starts from Calcutta for the Straits. Five Hindu medical students sent to London. Serampore bought from the Danes for £125,000. A great fire in Calcutta. A riot in Hydrabad, subsequent to the death of Chandu Lall. An Act for increasing the customs' duties passed by the Supreme Council. The Bishop of Calcutta proceeds to England, and the Bishop of Madras acts as metropolitan. The Assam Company incorporated. Forged opium-passes discovered. The Nizam resumes lands which he had granted to Pestonjee, a Parsee. Earthquakes in Bengal. Great distress caused by the overflow of the rivers. New Articles of War published for the native army. A revolution takes place in Burmah.

1846.—A Mohammedan conspiracy detected at Dinafore: the Moonshee of a regiment is found to be the leader, with £90,000 in his possession. The government occupied with the Sikh war. An *émeute* at Hydrabad amongst the soldiers, who demand their pay. The barracks at Loodiana fall in during a thunder-storm. Many persons killed and injured. The Governor-General restores the 34th Regiment of Native Infantry. The Nizam's territories are much disturbed. He expels the Rohillas. Dwarkanaauth Tagore dies in England. Capt. Durand, at Moulmein, sentences an editor to a heavy fine and imprisonment for commenting on the government; but the Supreme Government remits the penalty. A bloody revolution takes place in Nepaul. The Rohillas, who are expelled from the Nizam's territories, cause confusion in Bhopaul; but they are cut down by the regular force. A meeting held in Calcutta to erect a monument to the memory of Dwarkanaauth Tagore, and a fund is formed for educating native youths at the University of London.

1847.—The death of Tharawaddie is announced; his son is slain by Moungbwa, who takes the throne. The Americans try to penetrate into Japan, but fail. The King of Japan answers the American President's letter with the order "Begone, and come back no more." The Suttee abolished in the Nizam's dominions at the instance of the English Resident. Several British regiments sent to Hydrabad to suppress an apprehended revolt: none, however, takes place, and the troops are withdrawn. Depredations committed in the Shekawattee districts by Dhoongur Sing, whose progress is arrested. The Adawlut Court prohibits the probing, by the police, of wounds to learn their depth, length, etc. New regulations respecting medical men. Strange publications relative to the Pagoda funds. Some subordinates dismissed. Hydrabad much agitated by plunderers and murderers. Meetings of the Hindus at Calcutta, to counteract the missionaries. Tirhoot nearly all flooded. Earthquakes and storms in

Bengal. Doonghur Sing is captured. Lord Hardinge has several interviews with the King of Oude. Irregularities and peculations discovered in the Post-Offices of the North Western provinces. Numerous failures in Calcutta, and great mercantile depression. Lord Hardinge sends his resignation to the Directors. The natives of Calcutta present complimentary addresses before his departure, and enter into a subscription for having a statue erected to his memory in that city. Lord Viscount Hardinge embarks at Chandpal Ghaut, Jan. 18, 1848.

1848.—The EARL of DALHOUSIE (afterwards MARQUIS) arrives, as Governor-General, Jan. 12. He comes, like his predecessors, anxious to maintain peace; but the Sikhs are resolved on another struggle. The war with the Sikhs and various improvements are mentioned in the history. The electric telegraph introduced. Post-office improvements proposed. The failures continue. Carr, Tagore & Co., are amongst them. The mismanagement of several banks becomes publicly known.

1849.—The self-called King of Delhi attempts to send a letter to the Queen of England, but the Indian authorities refuse to forward it. Twelve members of the civil service publish a notice of their insolvency in the Gazette.

1850.—The principle is legalized that no individual, in future, be punished for changing his religion. This is considered as a triumph by the missionaries, and is dissatisfaction to the native orthodox enthusiasts. The Ganges canal is continued on a scale of unprecedented magnitude. Some improvements made in the police. Efforts made to extend schools throughout the Punjab.

1851.—The Court of Directors grant a pension of £400 per annum to Mr. J. S. Buckingham, who was deported by Mr. Adams in 1828.

Calcutta, called "The City of Palaces," is the modern Capital of India.

The great Sanitarium of Bengal is at Simla. Darjeeling, on account of its vicinity to Calcutta, is much frequented.

The soubriquet of the Bengaloes is "Qui hi?" from the question which is asked in Hindustanee—"Koei hei?" "Is any one in attendance?"

## APPENDIX.—No. II.

## ANNALS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AT MADRAS.

*[From official sources, and in part never before published.]*

We have already described, at page 90, the founding of Fort St. George, at Madras, in the year 1639, by Mr. Day. The goods obtained there are declared to be excellent in other markets; and, notwithstanding the intrigues of the Dutch and Portuguese, and even of other difficulties arising from the civil war in England, the trade is carried on successfully. Mr. Day, the founder of Madras, goes to Bengal, and encourages the erection of a factory at Balasore.

- 1643.—The first official communications are received by the Company from Madras and Bengal. The Company do not give much confidence to the Madras factory, and therefore they place it under the presidency of Bantam.
- 1658.—Fort St. George is declared a presidency, as being the only secure place for the Company on the Coromandel coast.
- 1654.—The establishment reduced to two factors and ten soldiers.
- 1662.—Sir E. WINTER appointed President.—Feb.
- 1668.—GEORGE FOXCROFT appointed, but retained prisoner by Sir E. Winter, and not surrendered until the latter is assured of pardon.—Aug. 22.
- 1671.—Mr. Foxcroft is President until Jan.
- 1672.—Sir W. LANGHORN President. He agrees to give 1200 pagodas for half the customs' duties of Madras, to the Rajah of the Carnatic.
- 1680.—STREYNSHAM MASTER is dismissed. WILLIAM GYFFORD, who had been an active agent at Tonquin and elsewhere, is named President of Madras. 1683 And of Bengal also.
- 1685.—The Company orders Fort St. George to be strengthened.
- 1686.—Six companies of Infantry are sent to Madras for the purpose of forming a regiment, and an expedition against the Company's enemies in Bengal. The Rajah of Golconda makes various grants to the President. Mr. Gyfford, dismissed, and Mr. YALE appointed to Madras only.
- 1687.—Population of Madras and its environs 800,000. It is raised to the rank of an independent presidency and incorporated.
- 1691.—Mr. Yale dismissed and Mr. HIGGINSON appointed.
- 1693.—Dr. Blackwell, the surgeon of Fort St. David, is bribed to betray it. He is discovered.
- 1696.—THOMAS PITT is appointed Governor.
- 1702.—Madras blockaded by Daoud Khan, Aurungzebe's general, who is obliged to retreat. Pitt, the Consul of the English Company, dictates

to Pitt, his cousin, the President for the London Company, who refuses obedience. Sir W. Norris arrives at Masulipatam, and notifies to the native government that he has come as Ambassador from the King of England, but they do not understand him, since the English established at Masulipatam refuse to admit him. He sails, in dudgeon, to Madras. Sir W. Norris succeeds in reaching Delhi, and has an audience, but he cannot satisfy Aurungzebe about the suppression of piracy, and he therefore quits the Emperor's court: but has not proceeded further than Berhampore, when he is stopped by Aurungzebe's general, and detained three months. He reaches Surat, where he embarks for England, and dies on his passage, Oct. 10. His mission is a gross failure; for, instead of promoting the English commerce, it does it great injury.

1708.—Mr. Consul Pitt dies at Deveramput, May 8. His death facilitates the settlement between the servants of the two Companies.

1704.—Madras is much troubled by pirates on the coast, and in the straits of Malacca. Aurungzebe threatens the English in consequence of the piracies perpetrated. Governor Pitt appeals to the Dutch and to the Danes for their aid. Daoud Khan, at San Thomé, seizes goods. Pitt threatens. The Portuguese Governor and merchants, with their bishop, appeal to Pitt against any bombardment. Pitt sends an agent to watch their proceedings. Daoud Khan demands a large sum of money. He ruins some gardens near Blacktown. Fort St. David's is besieged. Terms made with Daoud Khan, for a cessation of hostilities, by giving 25,000 rupees. Rd. Pearson, a debauchee civil servant, is dismissed, and sent to England. A Roman Catholic patriarch, of Antioch, holds correspondence from Pondicherry, with the Madras Governor, who gives a kind reception, and offers liberal treatment to his clergy, while they behave well; but if he or they leave Madras they are not to return. Many disputes in council. President Pitt has the sole authority, and maintains the Government. He is embarrassed by a strange dispute between two castes of natives, each contending for their rights as to which of their hands is the superior, and each threatening to fit from the place unless their claims are settled, as to whether *the right hands* are superior to *the left hands*. The left-handed men demanded at least to be equal to the right-handed men. The President sets up stone pillars and separates the parties, but it requires the utmost vigilance to maintain quiet; and some of the right-handed men abandon the town. Governor Pitt buys, in 1704, a valuable diamond for 20,400*l.*, which he has polished in London, and sells, in 1717, to the Regent of France, for 185,000*l.* He was the grandfather of the celebrated Earl of Chatham. Governor Pitt is unexpectedly called on to resign his office, by the captain of a ship which had arrived from England. He is indignant at the treatment he has received, but surrenders the government to Gulstone Addison, brother of the celebrated writer, Sept. 18, 1709.

1709.—G. ADDISON dies, Oct. 17. Edmond Montague, a Councillor, governs provisionally during fourteen days.

1709.—WILLIAM FRASER returns to Madras and becomes Governor, Nov. 2. He recommends forgetfulness of past quarrels, and mutual peace.

1711.—EDMUND HARRISON Governor, appointed by the Court, arrives July 11. He has a long dispute with Robert Raworth, Governor of

- Fort St. David, which he settles with great difficulty. Raworth is supported by the French, and Garrison is obliged to go in person to obtain the keys of the Fort. He promotes old Sergeants to the rank of Ensign. Their discipline is contemptible. He embarks for Europe, Jan. 8, 1717.
- 1717.—JOSEPH COLLETT becomes Governor. Erects charity schools. Causes silver to be coined in the King's name. Sends Lieut. Roach to drive Diarum out of Trivadore, which is gallantly done. Roach is promoted to the rank of Major. Madras is, at this period, regarded as the chief factory of the Company. Charges are brought against the Governor of Sumatra, which are investigated there. The Rev. Charles Long is sent as Chaplain to Fort St. David. J. Collett embarks, Jan. 18, 1721.
- 1721.—FRANCIS HASTINGS, a Councillor, is Governor. He is much occupied with an investigation into the murder of some English at Syriam in Pegu.
- 1721.—NATHANIEL ELWICK arrives from England and becomes Governor, Oct. 15. He and the Council take much trouble to obtain the payment of twenty-nine treasure-chests, which had been made way with by Governor Hastings, with the concurrence of the store-keeper, Cooke. By threatening to arrest them, the Council obtains security in diamonds and in claims on several ships. The balance due by Hastings amounts to 72,027 pagodas. Hastings gives security, and dies in November. Governor Elwick borrows 10,000 pagodas from the Jesuits in China, and agrees to pay them 6 per cent. A dreadful storm rages at Madras, Nov. 13—15. The bridges carried away and several ships wrecked. Disputes with the French at Pondicherry, about ships taken by the English privateers. The Madras government complain of the insolence of certain Armenians, who, because they land goods at Pondicherry, imagine they, although dwelling at Madras, are beyond control. The importation at Pondicherry of goods by British subjects is prohibited. An order is issued by the Madras Government, to prevent the government slaves at Fort Marlborough from being employed by private individuals. N. Elwick resigns the government and embarks, Jan. 12, 1725.
- 1725.—JAMES MACRAE succeeds, Jan. 12. Letters from Vizagapatam state that the Nabob is much indebted; and fears are entertained that the soldiery will begin the plunder of the country. Some men sent to protect Vizagapatam. The first Protestant Mission at Madras is begun in 1726. The ship *Amity* is seized by the French at Port Louis as an interloper. Two Bengal ships are seized at Judda. J. Macrae resigns and takes his money home in specie as his best investment, May 14, 1730.
- 1730.—GEORGE MORTON PITR, the Deputy Governor at Fort St. David, succeeds, May 14. Great complaints are made by the Natives, of the oppressions and exactions of Gooda Anconah, the dobash of the late Governor. He is arrested, tried, and being found guilty, is ordered to pay 20,000 pagodas, with which he complies. An extraordinary trick is tried on the Governor. A diamond merchant professes to have one of great value, which, after much ceremony, he takes to the Governor in a sealed bag, and having deposited it there, goes home and dies. The Governor opens this bag in the presence of several members of Council, and finds a sand-stone. Mr. Peers, a member of Council, and two other gentlemen having been taken up for a night row, are suspended from

the service and with difficulty restored by the Home Authorities. G. M. Pitt embarks, Jan. 28, 1785.

1735.—RICHARD BENYON succeeds. He finds the Triplicane and town bridges in bad condition ; orders them to be repaired, and that certain town dues should be applied thereunto. Having doubts as to his right within the boundary of Madras, to arrest Moornen for debt, without the sanction of the Mayor's court, he asks the opinion of the Council, who support his privileges. Another difficulty arises, from an European constable having maltreated a Polygar without those bounds. Notice is given to the Sheriff not to proceed beyond his jurisdiction, and the fees taken from the Native are ordered to be restored. A sailmaker, guilty of murder in Canton, is taken for trial, first to Madras and afterwards to London. The Town-hall terrace found to be in a dangerous state from white ants.

1739.—A letter from Imaum Saib to Coja Petrus, cautions the Madras Government to beware of the movements of Sou Rajah, who contemplates the plundering of Madras, by sending Bajee Rao, at the head of 40,000 men, to attack it. The Governor in council orders the walls and fortifications to be repaired and strengthened. A merchant Captain called Coxon, having, with his two mates, behaved very insolently to the French authorities at Madras, is left to their mercy to be treated as he deserves. Richard Benyon embarks, Jan. 17, 1743.

1743.—NICHOLAS MORSE succeeds in the government. The appearance of the Mahrattas on the banks of the Kistna spreads alarm. Nizam-ul-Mulk, when going to Golconda, returns from fright. The Mahrattas threaten. War breaks out in Europe. Diados, a Guzeratbee Shroff, is found guilty of insulting Mr. Berrington, and fined 300 pagodas. A Patan plot to murder the Nabob of Arcot is frustrated. The Council orders the fortifications to be repaired and strengthened. Dupleix, Governor of Pondicherry, excites their jealousy by repeated acts. An English squadron appears off Madras under Commodore Barnet. He dies at Fort St. David in April, 1746. Peyton succeeds. He fights an action June 25, and retires to refit at Trincomalee. Labourdonnais, the French Admiral, attacks Madras, Sept. 4. On the 7th, bombards the White Town. On the 8th, two English Deputies propose a surrender. He insists on his own terms. The English refuse. The bombardment is renewed until the 10th, when the English submit, having lost five men : they become prisoners of war, but on condition that the town should be ransomed on easy terms. The Nabob expresses his dissatisfaction, but Dupleix promises much money, and to give him the town. The French authorities dispute against each other ; and although their fleet is strengthened, the opportunity of conquering all the English settlements is lost by their delays. A storm breaks out, Oct. 2, which disperses the French fleet—several ships founder and others are driven on shore. The treaty for the ransom of Madras is signed, and Labourdonnais sails for the Isle of France, leaving 1,200 men to garrison Madras. The Nabob tries to take the town, but is repulsed. He then moves to St. Thomé, from which place he is driven by the French, under Captain Paradis, who is appointed by Dupleix to be Commandant at Madras, and the capitulation being declared void by Dupleix, rigid terms are imposed on the

English. The Governor and the principal inhabitants are taken as prisoners to Pondicherry. Madras remains in possession of the French from Sept. 10, 1746, to Aug. 18, 1749, when it is restored by virtue of the treaty of peace signed at Aix-la-chapelle. The government of the English settlements devolves on the Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, Charles Floyer. The French try to take the fort, but they retreat on the appearance of Commodore Peyton with his fleet. The English fleet being reinforced, approach the coast in June, and decry that of the French. Admiral Griffin allows them to escape, and is subsequently on his return to England brought to a court martial, and sentenced to be suspended from the service. Admiral Boscawen having arrived in the Indian seas, Pondicherry is besieged for fifty-eight days; but from mismanagement it is then abandoned. Ensign Clive first distinguishes himself at this siege. Richard Prince is Deputy Governor. Major Lawrence having occupied Madras on its evacuation by the French, finds the fortifications considerably improved. The Directors, at the time of the peace, express a wish that the Government should continue at Fort St. David.

[The French on this occasion taught a good two-fold lesson to the English; first, that the Native troops under Native commanders cannot withstand Native troops commanded by Europeans; and, second, that the Natives are excellent soldiers, and easily disciplined by Europeans. This lesson when reduced to practice, led to the conquest of India].

1750.—THOMAS SAUNDERS becomes Governor Dec. 8. He has frequent occasions to oppose Dupleix. He is encouraged by Mr. B. Robins, the Engineer, to attack Musaffir Jing, but Captain Cope and the officers oppose the attempt. He soon afterwards employs Mr. Pigot and Lieut. Clive, who show much spirit. Saunders being a determined man will not yield to Dupleix. He agrees to a conference with the French authorities, but nothing is settled, as Dupleix is remarkable for duplicity. The French king having sent out M. Godeheu to Pondicherry, Mr. Saunders makes terms with him, and soon afterwards embarks for England, Jan. 18, 1755.

1755.—GEORGE PIGOT becomes Governor. The Nabob, Mohammed Ali, comes to Madras. The apprehension of another attack from the French obliges the Madras Government to strengthen the fortifications. Four thousand labourers are employed thereon, until driven away by M. Lally, who attacks the city Dec. 17, 1758. The Black town is soon taken, but the assailants, although a breach in the walls is effected, cannot penetrate into the town. The siege is abandoned Feb. 16, when a squadron from Bombay arrives with succour to the besieged. Since that memorable time, Madras has not been taken or even besieged. Hyder Ali approaches it in 1767 and 1781, but does not assail it. Native troops cannot take it by storm, and while the sea is open there is no danger from a blockade. George Pigot resigns. He goes to England, and is created a Peer, Nov. 14.

1768.—ROBERT POLK succeeds, as Governor, and quits Jan. 25, 1767.

1767.—CHARLES BOURCHIER follows until Dec. 31, 1770.

1770.—JOSIAS DUPRE is the next. He resigns Feb. 2, 1773.

1773.—ALEXANDER WYNCH holds the government until Dec. 11, 1775.

- 1775.—**LORD PIGOT** becomes Governor. He is violently removed by the majority of the Council, Aug. 24, 1776, and succeeded by  
**GEORGE STRATTON**, who is suspended, by orders from the Court of Directors, June 11, 1777. Lord Pigot is ordered to be restored; but he dies under restraint, May 10, 1777. The four violent members are subsequently tried in England, and fined £1000 each.
- 1777.—**MR. WHITEHILL** arrives, with the Courts' orders, Aug. 31, and takes the government.
- 1778.—Sir THOMAS RUMBOLD arrives Feb. 8, and takes the government. He quarrels with the Supreme Government. He departs for England, April, 1780. The acts of Sir Thomas Rumbold are displeasing to the Directors, particularly his alleged corrupt installation of Sitteram Raz, in the Dewanee of Guntoor. He and the Members of Council are dismissed by the Directors. He is arraigned before Parliament, after his return to England, but no results follow. Pondicherry taken by Sir H. Munro, Oct. 17.
- 1779.—Mahé taken.
- 1780.—Mr. WHITEHILL, succeeds Oct. 10. He is suspended by orders from the Governor-General, and is followed by  
**CHARLES SMITH**. Hyder approaches Madras: but, although he ravages the neighbouring country, he is unable to take it.
- 1781.—**LORD MACARTNEY** arrives, and assumes the government, June 22. He puts himself at the head of the militia, and takes Sadras and Pulicat. He proposes peace, which Hyder rejects. Tippoo initiates a number of his English prisoners into Mohammedanism by stupefying them first with drugs. He poisons a number of other officers. After many remarkable events Lord Macartney signs the peace with Tippoo, and resigns the government to the oldest civil servant, and proceeds to Calcutta, where he has an interview with the Governor-General, June 18, 1785.
- 1785.—**ALEXANDER DAVIDSON** (Councillor) provisional Governor, June 18.
- 1786.—Sir ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, Governor April 6. The Military Female and Male Orphan Asylums established.
- 1789.—**JOHN HOLLAND**, Councillor, governs (provisionally) Feb. 7.  
**EDWARD J. HOLLAND**, Councillor, governs (provisionally) Feb. 12. Tippoo threatens Travancore.
- 1790.—Major-Gen. W. MEADOWS, Commander-in-chief, takes the government, Feb. 19. He leads the army against Tippoo with varied success, until the Marquis Cornwallis takes the command, and defeats Tippoo within a year. Peace is established.
- 1792.—Sir CHARLES OAKLEY, Bart., Governor, Aug. 1. Pondicherry taken, Aug. 23, 1793.
- 1794.—**LORD HOBART** arrives, as Governor, Sept. 7. An expedition fitted out at Madras, aided by His Majesty's squadron, reduces the Dutch settlements at Ceylon, Malacca, Banda, and Amboyna. Cochin is also taken after an obstinate resistance. The lighthouse erected 1796. Lord Hobart has disputes with the Supreme Government, and with the Court of Directors.
- 1798.—**MAJOR-GENERAL HARRIS** takes the government, provisionally, as Commander-in-chief, Feb. 21. The Earl of Mornington reaches Madras, April 26, and, after an interview with the authorities, proceeds to

- Calcutta.** The army is ordered to assemble at Madras. Great alarm, at Madras, from fear of Tippoo's violence. The Governor-General pushes the war to the utmost.
- 1798.—**LORD CLIVE** arrives as Governor, at Madras, Aug. 21. The Governor-General hastens to Madras, and sends several letters of expostulation to Tippoo, which the latter refuses to answer, although he sends agents to France. Tippoo attacks the British, and is defeated and slain. The Church Missionary Society instituted at Madras.
- 1802.—**LORD W. C. BENTINCK** arrives, as Governor, Aug. 30.
- 1803.—A navigable canal opened from Blacktown to Ennore river. War with Travancore, arising from some misunderstandings with the Dewan. After several fights the lines are stormed and peace is restored.
- 1807.—The Madras Medical Fund established. In consequence of the mutiny at Vellore Lord W. C. Bentinck is abruptly dismissed.
- WILLIAM PETRIE (Councillor) governs provisionally, Sept. 11. A dreadful hurricane at Madras, Dec. 9.
- Sir G. HILARY BARLOW, Bart., arrives as Governor, Dec. 24.
- 1808.—The Madras Military Fund established. Disaffection amongst the troops, arising from some offensive regulations. They proceed to acts of insubordination. Lord Minto goes to Madras, and, by judicious measures, quells the rebellion.
- 1813.—Lt. Gen. the HON. J. ABERCROMBY, Commander-in-chief, takes the government, May 21. The London Missionary Society opens chapels.
- 1814.—Rt. HON. HUGH ELLIOTT arrives as Governor, June 16. The South Indian Mission established.
- 1815.—The clearing of the drain passing through the esplanade, and the new street on the beach, completed. St. George's Church, on the Choultry Plain, also finished. The Madras Diocesan Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge established. Construction of a bridge over the Mambaroota river, between Cannanore and Coata-paramba.
- 1816.—Improvements of the internal communication in Canara. Construction of a bridge over the Paramboor Nullah, and of a new road between the Black Town and the north-west approaches to Madras.
- 1817.—Formation of wells in the vicinity of Madras. Chapels built at Arcot and at Poonamallee.
- 1818.—Construction of a stone bridge across the Madras river, at the village of Chindrapettah. Erection of the new observatory. St. Mary's Church at Fort St. George remodelled and repaired.
- 1819.—Formation of a road in the Neilgherry hills. Repairs to the Bridges across the Cavery at Seringapatam.
- 1820.—MAJOR-GEN. SIR T. MUNRO arrives as Governor, June 10. Re-building of the light-house completed.
- 1821.—Building a church for the Missionary Society. Erection of a chapel at St. Thomas's Mount, and of a church at Vepery. Erection of a stone bulwark at Fort St. George, to protect the Fort and the Black Town from the inroads of the sea.
- 1822.—Erection of bridges at the island of Samoodra, in Coimbatore. The course of the river Vellaur straightened, with a view of securing a village. Re-construction of a bridge near St. Mary's burial-ground, and of the

one by the hospital-gate of the Black Town. Construction of a bridge over the swamp at Masulipatam; one half at the expense of government, the other at that of the inhabitants. Scotch church of St. Andrew's finished. Completion of the stone bulwark, and addition of an iron railing.

1823.—A new cut for the Wootaree Nullah; also a bridge, and other works connected therewith. New lamination rooms for the mint.

1824.—The opening of a canal at Chumnapore. Several wells sunk in the northern division of Arcot, for the purposes of irrigation. Erection of a church at Tellicherry. Excavating and removing the shoals in the Coorm river, from the burial-ground bridge to the Chepauk Bar, and thence to the north-west angle of the burial-ground wall at Fort St. George; also securing the bank opposite the centrical course of Clive's canal, near the burial-ground bridge, with a bulwark of stones. Great road from Secunderabad to Masulipatam. [This work was continued until the year 1831, when, in consequence of the expense, the Government limited themselves to the repair of such part of the road as might be impassable for wheel-carriages]. Great road from Madras through the northern Circars, to the Bengal frontier. In 1828, this work was discontinued, owing to the natural and local obstacles to its duration; the portion only of the road between Bezwarah and Ellore was to be completed.

1825.—Construction of a tunnel from the north-east angle of Fort St. George to the sea, for the purpose of carrying off the filth from the Black Town.

1826.—A bridge built across the Bonally nullah, the boundary of the British and Mysore territories, on the high-road from Cannanore to Mysore and Madras. Continuation of the excavation of the Coorm river, from the old female asylum to Anderson's bridge. A drain of two arches constructed on the west esplanade of Black Town, near the basin bridge. A bridge built over the Coorm river; and three roads, leading to the new bridge, raised and new laid. The road across the swamp from the fort to the pettah at Masulipatam repaired.

1827.—Erection of a monument, of a choultry and tank at Goote, and the sinking of wells at Putteekondah, in honour of Sir T. Munro's memory. Construction of a bridge across a nullah between Alliporam and Gangam, in the main road through the northern Circars, and another over the Jacklee nullah. Sir T. Munro dies of cholera, July 6, 1827.

HENRY SULLIVAN GRAEME (Senior Coancillor) succeeds as Provisional Governor, until

The Right Hon. STEPHEN RUMBOLD LUSHINGTON arrives as Governor, Oct. 18, 1827.

1828.—Formation of a new road from the Wallajah to the bar on the south side of the beach of Madras, annexing safety railings and poles, and fortifying the banks of the river. The Mission church in the Black Town enlarged and improved. The lighthouse in Fort St. George repaired. Repairs made to Anderson's bridge. Construction of a causeway over the ditch at the draw-bridge of the Mysore gateway; and one over that at the Bangalore gateway of the fort of Seringapatam. Formation of a road from Madras to Bangalore.

- 1829.—Military road through Coorg. Choultry at Jaulnah. Bridge over the Wootaree nullah at Fort St. George. The bar of the Coram river partially opened to obtain sea-water by filtration. A wall and cast-iron railing erected round the church at St. Thomas's Mount.
- 1830.—Anicut across the Kedalseroo river in Nellore. The Bislee Ghat in Canara repaired.
- 1832.—Major-Gen. SIR FREDERIC ADAM assumes the Government, Oct. 25. The Madras Club established. Temperance Societies are formed at Trichinopoly, etc. Great distress in some districts—no water and no food.
- 1834.—The American Baptist Missionaries arrive.
- 1835.—The Agricultural and Horticultural Societies established.
- 1836.—The Chamber of Commerce established. Sir F. Adam, after a long sojourn at the Neilgherries, goes with the Governor-General to Calcutta. Much comment on that proceeding. Sir F. Adam returns to Madras; resigns, and embarks for England, March 4, 1837.
- 1837.—LORD ELPHINSTONE arrives as Governor, March 6. The order of "British India," for the decoration of Native officers, is established. An insurrection at Canara; the Moplas and others, being infuriated, murder different persons. A Bombay ship passing near, affords relief to the persons confined within the Castle of Mangalore. The insurrection is suppressed. A gang of Thugs caught near Dharwar. The Boat Monopoly at Madras abolished. The attention of India is fixed on the wars in Afghanistan and China. The Sailors' Home and Temperance Society established.
- 1840.—Madras troops embark for China, April 13. Public meeting, to congratulate the Queen on her marriage, May 4. The Suspension Bridge at Chinladrapettah gives way; 31 sepoys injured, June 1. Eighteen convicts make an attempt to escape from the jail, July 28. The ship *Golconda*, with head-quarters of the 87th Mad. N. I., lost at sea.
- 1841.—An action with insurgent Arabs at Nepanee, Feb. 21. Hostilities resumed in China. The Madras University opened by Lord Elphinstone, in College Hall, April 14. The ship *Ferguson*, from Sidney, with a portion of H. M. 50th Regt. on board, lost at sea. Severe storm at Madras, May 16. Mutiny on board the brig *Anna*, from Moulmein, May 29. Mutiny on board the *Felice*. The fort of Badamee taken. The 87th Regt. raised to the rank of a Grenadier Regt., for its gallantry in China.
- 1842.—Slight mutiny in the Deccan; a company of the 52nd Regiment refuse their pay. Batta is granted to the families of the men lost in the *Golconda*.
- The MARQUIS OF TWEEDDALE arrives and takes the Government, Sept. 24. He is friendly to the Missionaries. Great fire in the Black Town. Storm at Madras, Nov. The Hindostan first Peninsular and Oriental Steamer arrives at Madras, Dec.
- 1843.—The First Madras Europeans raised to the rank of a Fusilier corps. An *ex officio* information filed in England against Archibald Douglas, late Resident at Tanjore. The new Bank opens, July 1. The foundation of a R. C. Church laid at Big Parcherry in the Black Town. Improvements proposed in the mode of communicating with the shipping

in the Roads. Bridge erected across the Tambreepoorn by Sulochenum Modeliar, at a cost of 50,000 rupees. Memorials transmitted to London, for steamers to Madras and Bengal. The Lying-in Hospital is established.

1844.—The new Lighthouse opened Jan. 1. The barque *Potter*, from China, lost on the Prata Shoal. Mutiny of the 47th Regt. on board the *John Line*, when going to Bombay to embark for Aden. The cholera commits great ravages. Alarming fire in Popham's Buildings. Several mutineers executed as examples. Violent discussions with the Natives on the subject of religious liberty. The Wesleyan and American Missionaries open Chapels. The members of the Free Church constitute themselves a Presbytery, March 13. The Lutheran and German Missionaries begin their labours.

1845.—A pier projected at Madras. The General Assembly's Missionaries commence their exertions. A. Douglas is convicted in London of having received bribes at Tanjore. The Chief Justice reduces the fees of the Madras bar. Mr. Minchin, the Master in Equity, is dismissed for taking irregular fees. Disturbances in the Northern Circars, and troops sent to suppress them. The Protestant Collegiate Institution established. The Indo-Britons petition to have the same rights as the Natives.

1846.—The inhabitants of Madras vote a monument to Major Broadfoot. Serious disturbances in the Cuddapah districts. Troops sent to put them down. Disturbances at Madras, in consequence of three youths having asked to be baptized. In one case, the Natives appeal to the Supreme Court, which decides that the lad is old enough to act for himself. The mob attack the carriage in which he is conveyed back to the missionaries. The Polytechnic Institution established. Great discussion in Madras relative to certain proceedings of the government, which suspends three of the judges for taking the part of the natives; those judges are Messrs. Lewin, Waters, and Boileau. A very large meeting of the natives takes place at Madras, who send a strong memorial to the Directors. Madras is, on the 20th Oct., visited by a great fall of rain and a hurricane, which does unusual damage. Many persons lost. Madras is again visited, in Nov., by a furious gale, which does more mischief than that in the preceding month. Several ships injured and lost.

1847.—The Madras Polytechnic Institution opened with great formality. Mr Malcolm Lewin's nomination to be Provisional Member of Council, at Madras, is cancelled by the Court of Directors. Meetings held for relieving the distress in Ireland and Scotland. Collections made. The Lord Bishop of Madras embarks for Europe. A minute by the Marquis of Tweeddale, advocating the introduction of the bible as a class-book, produces much discussion in India. A young girl, who has been educated by the missionaries, is demanded by her mother, who has the case argued in the Supreme Court; but the girl, being of sufficient age, is allowed to act as she pleases. Goomsoor is much disturbed, and the Meriahs, or human sacrifices, are attempted. Troops arrive to produce quiet. The Supreme Court disclaims jurisdiction over the acts of the Company's servants out of Madras. Disturbances in the Golconda

districts. A boat establishment formed at Madras under Capt. Henry Gabb. The Commander-in-chief issues orders that soldiers may attend their own places of worship. Five girls are baptized at Madras. The Brahmins are divided respecting the results of the return to them of a native who, after he had been a missionary Christian, resumed the Hindu system. Some refuse to admit him and declare that his parents have lost caste from eating with him. A great inundation at Nellore, eighty tanks having burst their bounds or banks. Having abolished the transit duties, and removed various petty yet oppressive taxes, and expended large sums on the roads, and improved four important ghats, viz., of Peramboody, of Couloor, of Munzerabad, and of Devammy, and having received a farewell address, signed by 1300 East Indians, the Marquis of Tweeddale resigns, and sails from Madras, Feb. 23.

1848.—HENRY DICKINSON (Senior Councillor) takes the Government provisionally.

SIR HENRY POTTINGER, BART., arrives as Governor, April 7. The Baptist Meeting House opened, and the Court of Small Causes also. A Railway Meeting held in the Banqueting Hall at Madras. The Moplas break into insurrection near Calicut, and are defeated.

1849.—The Pier Company is dissolved. Severe gales at Madras. In the absence of political excitement, religion and conversions are much talked of.

1850.—Intelligence from Madras states that a young Native, who had embraced Christianity, having claimed his young wife, who was kept from him by her Hindu friends, had her restored to him by an application to the Supreme Court, on a writ of *habeas corpus*. The Natives are indignant, and threaten to appeal against the sentence.

1851.—The Governor-General requires the Nizam to give up to the management of the Resident at Hyderabad, a portion of his territories, yielding annually £360,000, until the debt due to the Company is fully liquidated. The Resident is empowered to take military occupation of those districts, unless it is peaceably given to the British officers before the 15th of July.

The soubriquet of the Madrassees is, "the Mulla," arising, as it is said, from the great use of highly seasoned food, and their habits of traffic. Their Sanatory Station is the Neilgherry Hills. Madras is, in India, called "the Benighted Presidency." It is a strange appellation for an Indian city having twelve Christian Churches, twelve Religious Societies, and, independent of its University, etc., more than twenty Charitable Institutions, Schools and Temperance Rooms, etc.

## APPENDIX.—No. III.

## ANNALS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY.

*[From official sources, and in part never before published.]*

- 1612.—Captain Best settles the English factory, at Surat, which is then declared to be the most commodious station belonging to the Company. Factories are also established there by the French and Dutch. Surat is called “The Gate of Mecca,” from the numbers of pilgrims who embark there. The factory is carried on with various results. The Company presents an address to Cromwell, asking to have Bombay and Bassein secured to them.
- 1652.—Capt. JEREMY BLACKMAN is President, with a salary of £500 per annum.
- 1665.—Bombay, with its dependencies, is ceded by the Portuguese King, to Charles II., as a part of the marriage-portion of his sister the Princess Catharine. The King sends the Earl of Marlborough at the head of a fleet, and Sir Abraham Shipman, with troops, to take possession, but the Portuguese governor, A de Mello de Castro, evades the cession. Sir A. Shipman and the troops go to the Island of Angediva, where he and numbers of the men die. Bombay is ceded subsequently to Mr. Cooke, his secretary, Feb. 1665.  
Mr. COOKE is, therefore, the first English Governor.
- 1666.—Sir GERVASE LUCAS is sent out by the king, and takes charge Nov. 5.
- 1667.—Capt. HENRY GEARY is then appointed Deputy Governor. Sir G. Lucas dies, March 21.
- 1668.—Capt. Geary surrenders the government to the Company's President at Surat, Sir G. OXINDEN, Sept. 25.
- 1669.—Sir G. Oxinden dies, July 14.
- 1670.—GERALD AUNGLIER, the next President at Surat, succeeds him. Bombay is very unhealthy, and much molested by the Mahratta pirates. Disputes between the Deputy Governor, Capt. Young, and the Company's servants. Sivajee plunders Surat, Oct. 8.
- 1671.—Capt. Herman Bake constructs the fortifications of Bombay.
- 1672.—The Dutch and French fleets threaten Surat, and Mr. Aungier removes the government to Bombay (in May), when he takes effective measures for the defence of that island against the black admiral's (the Siddee's) fleet, and the attacks of Sivajee, by mounting 100 pieces of cannon. He also introduces various regulations for governing the motley

population of the island, and disciplines the garrison and the native militia.

1677.—Mr. Aungier dies, June 30.

1678.—THOMAS ROLT succeeds as President, at Surat, but he is soon reduced to the rank of agent, at £300 per annum.

HENRY OXINDEN becomes Governor of Bombay. He and Mr. Geary, the chief magistrate, ask the Company to send them every year 150 soldiers to keep up the garrison. Keigwin, an officer in the king's service, is sent from England as Capt. Lieut. (the highest rank in Bombay), to be the third Member of Council, with a salary of 6s. per day, with no further allowance for food or lodging. Mr. Smith, the Assay Master is, at the same time, to have but £60 per annum. A judge appointed for Bombay.

1680.—The islands of Henery and Kenery, at the entrance of Bombay harbour, are occupied by the troops of Sivajee and of the Black Admiral (the Siddee), and a humiliating treaty is concluded by the Governor and Council, allowing those islands to be so retained. The native troops soon afterwards abandon them. The Portuguese throw great difficulties in the way of the English. Surat is allowed to resume the title of a Presidency, and

1682.—JOHN CHILD, brother to Sir Josiah Child, is named President there, with a council of eight; the second in council to have the charge of the Persian trade at Gombroon, Bussora, etc.: and the Surat President to have also the right of naming any member of council to be Governor at Bombay. All interlopers, privateers, or private traders, are strictly prohibited. The hitherto flourishing English factory at Bantam is, Aug. 30th, taken by the Dutch, as adherents of the young king of that country, then in rebellion against his father. This news induces the East India Company to declare Bombay to be an independent English settlement, and the seat of their power and trade in the East Indies, 1684.

1684.—A naval force is sent into the Persian Gulf to protect the trade at Gombroon, Bussora, and other stations in the Persian Gulf, which are under the care of the Bombay government. The Dutch, in Europe, agree to restore Bantam to the old king; but, at the time, the English in the East are forced to withdraw from that place to Surat. The starvation system, which the Directors order to be observed towards Capt. Keigwin and his troops, causes the garrison of Bombay to declare against the Company, and in favour of the King. A committee of the Directors is appointed to examine the complaints of Keigwin, which had been sent to England in letters addressed to the King, to the Duke of York, and others. Capt. Keigwin assumes the government of Bombay in the King's name, and maintains his position against the Surat authorities. The Company authorized, by Letters Patent, to exercise Admiralty jurisdiction. Interlopers encouraged by the Company's own servants, Bowcher and Petit, who are dismissed for their conduct. The difficulties of the Company are very great at this time, for various efforts are made in England to destroy their monopoly, by secretly fitting out ships and carrying on trade. The King receives a report from a Committee of Secrecy, appointed by the Directors, in which they defend their system of paying their officers, as being supe-

rior to that of the Dutch Company, and stating how they had expended large sums on the fortifications of Bombay, and how they are deprived of it by the agency of some officers, who are supported by the interlopers; and praying that the royal pardon should be granted to all save the four ringleaders, Keigwin, Thornburn, Adderton, and Fletcher. The King issues the orders as desired. The Directors then contemplate making Acheen the seat of their trade. In the meantime Keigwin is not idle at Bombay: he makes treaties with Sambajee, the son of Sivajee, then the king of the Mahrattas, for having a free trade with them. The Admiralty Court is opened in Surat under Dr. St. John, who threatens to bring to trial and execute the Bombay rebels and the interlopers. But Sir Thomas Grantham having arrived with a king's ship, Bombay is given up to him, and a general pardon granted.

1684.—Sir T. Grantham is not equally successful in Persia, Nov. 19.

1686.—Orders are issued to remove the Government and Presidency from Surat to Bombay, and Sir John Child is appointed Director-General, with Sir J. Wyborne as Vice-Admiral.

1687.—The Company resolve to take Salsette Island, and to declare war against the King of Siam, the Nabob of Dacca, and the Mogul. Piracy carried on by Danes under English colours in the Red Sea. Money coined at Bombay.

1688.—Sir John Child and his Council arrive at Bombay from Surat, May 2. The Mogul Governor of Surat, sends two merchants, Cojah Ibrahim and Dunjee Borah, to induce him to return, but he refuses, and sends thirty-five articles of complaint to the Governor. Sir J. Child sends a fleet to seize the interlopers. Pirates and the Mogul ships under Dutch colours.

1689.—Sir J. Child makes a treaty with the Surat Governor. The dry Dock formed at Bombay. The Armenians and Parsees encouraged in that island. The Mogul Governor of Surat having tricked Mr. Harris, the Agent at Surat, into a convention, seizes him and other English, whom he imprisons in irons. Sir J. Child goes with a fleet to Swallee, in the hope of rescuing them, but in vain.

1690.—Sir J. Child being unable to take Salsette, is obliged to defend himself in Bombay Castle, as the Siddee (the Black Admiral), holds possession of Mahim, Syon and Mazagon, which are not evacuated until June 22, after Aurungzebe had, Feb. 27, granted a firman of pardon. The Surat prisoners released. Aurungzebe orders the expulsion of Sir J. Child (who dies on the 4th of the month), and receives a fine of 150,000, rupees.

**BARTE HARRIS**, one of the prisoners, succeeds as Governor.

1691.—The property belonging to the Jesuits in Bombay is seized, as they are accused of having aided the Siddee.

1692.—The plague devastates Bombay. Only three civil servants left alive.

1694.—Sir J. Goldesborough, appointed the Gen. Supervisor of India, dies.

**SIR J. GAYER** is appointed Lieutenant and Governor of Bombay. Aurungzebe demands, that all the losses of his subjects, arising from the seizure of their shipes, should be made good by the Company. Mr. Harris dies, and is succeeded by

**MR. ANNESLEY** as President at Surat. Sir John Gayer offers to secure the safety of the pilgrims to Mecca; and the Mogul insists on the embargo being continued until piracy is put down. The interlopers turn pirates. Captain Kidd and others, with two armed privateers off Cape Comoree. Kidd is afterwards taken, and, although highly protected, hanged at home. The crews of two of the Company's ships murder their officers and turn pirates. Great confusion prevails between the Agents of the Old and New companies; the former being called the London Company, and the other the English Company.

1700.—Sir N. Waite, the English Company's Consul, reaches Bombay, Jan. 11; but being disavowed by Sir J. Gayer, he goes to Surat, where he is also rejected by President Colt. He lands two captains and forty men at Swallee, to strike the Company's flag, which he effects; but the flag is speedily rehoisted. The Mogul governor resents this act as an insult to himself. Trade is suspended at Surat.

1702.—Great disorder prevails. Bombay visited a second time by the plague. The two rival Companies unite and form one body, April 27. The deed of settlement, signed July 22, on behalf of the **UNITED COMPANY OF MERCHANTS OF ENGLAND TRADING TO THE EAST INDIES**, specifies their possessions as follow:—The ports and islands of Bombay and St. Helena; the forts of Mazagon, Mahim, Syon, Syere, and Worlee, with the factories of Surat, Swallee, Broach, Ahmedabad, Agra, and Lucknow; the forts of Carwar, Tellicherry, Anjengo, and Calicut; the factories in Persia of Gombroon, Shiraz, and Ispahan, with the yearly sum paid to them by the Sofi of £3,883 0s. 8d. . . On the Coromandel coast—Chingu, Orissa, Fort St. George at Madras, with the city and its dependencies: Fort St. David and its territory of three miles, containing several towns and villages; the factories of Cuddalore, Porto Novo, Pettipolee, Melchelepatnam, Madapollam, and the fort and factory of Vizagapatam. . . In Bengal—Fort William at Calcutta, and the factories of Chutta-nutty, Ballasore, Cossimbazar, Dacca, Hoogley, Milda, Rajmahal, and Patna. . . In the island of Sumatra—York factory and fort, Indrapore, Tryamong, Sillebar, etc. . . In Cochin China—the factory of Tonquin, with the right to Bantam, etc.

1703.—Sir J. GAYER is appointed to act as Governor at Bombay. Sir N. Waite is removed from Surat, as being too violent. Aurungzebe orders the Dutch and English at Surat to be seized, till they make good recompense for Mocha ships that had been taken by a pirate. The Dutch blockade the Taptee until they obtain redress. Sir N. Waite finds means to have Sir J. Gayer and the servants of the old Company, whom the Mogul had arrested as hostages, detained in prison at Surat. By means of a Parsee broker, Rustomjee, he insinuates to the Mohammedan governor, that the imprisonment ought to continue, and he sends 27,000 rupees as a bribe.

1704.—The English men of war threaten the Mogul governor, who requests Sir N. Waite to go to Bombay, and to deliver up any Surat pilgrim ships that might be there. Waite, who is refused a passage on board a Queen's ship, goes in a country one to Bassein, and reaches Bombay in November. He becomes Governor, and appoints Mr. Aislabie to be his Deputy.

- 1705.—Waite then sends a deceitful report to the Directors, Nov. 4, representing his own good conduct, and blaming Sir J. Gayer, whom he keeps in prison for three years. He makes Rustomjee the broker for the English trade. The English Admiral Harland sails in disgust from the neighbourhood of Surat. Rustomjee, the broker, betrays the secrets of Waite to two of the English Company's servants, and shows how Waite had promised him 50,000 rupees to have Sir J. Gayer kept a prisoner. Waite soon dismisses Rustomjee, although the Company are indebted to him about seven lacs of rupees. Great opposition to Waite in the Surat Council. After a conflicting rule, he embarks at Bombay on board the ship *Aurungzeb*, Jan. 28, 1709.
- 1709.—WILLIAM AISLAbIE becomes Governor. Bombay is in such a wretched state, that the Council decline receiving an agent from the Shah of Persia, lest he should espy the nakedness of the island. Mr. Aislabie realizes a large fortune; and after his return to England, spends twenty-one years in laying out the beautiful park of Stukeley, near Ripon, which has since devolved to another family through the female line. He resigns, 1715.
- 1715.—CHARLES BOONE lands at Anjengo, and takes the government, Nov. 19. He has disputes with the Portuguese. He orders the property of some Moslems to be confiscated, from their corresponding with the hostile pirate Angria. The foundations of a church are laid in Bombay fort. Bombay is much excited by the trial of a Major Kane, a loose character, who is charged with several murders, and with giving leave to Parsees and others to build houses irregularly. Kane is deported. Governor Boone attempts to seize Henery and Kenery; but he and his large force fail. He resigns, Jan. 9, 1722.
- 1722.—WILLIAM PHIPPS, Governor. Hostilities with Angria. In his time Admiral Matthews attacks Coilabley, near Choul; but he also fails, through the treachery and cowardice of his Portuguese allies. Frequent conflicts with the pirates along the coast. An agent appointed at Bussoora. The royal Charter, for the election of the mayor's court and sheriffs, elected annually, is obtained in 1727.
- 1729.—ROBERT COWAN, Governor, Jan. 9. He has great trouble with the pirates. He resigns 1734.
- 1735.—JOHN HORNE, Governor, Jan. 1. He is engaged by the war carried on by the Turks and Persians, and by the Mahrattas against the Portuguese; the latter abandon Bandora (which is blown up March 25, 1739) and Versova. They are besieged in Bassein.
- 1736.—Angria takes several Indiamen, viz., the *Derby*, with 150 men, and the *Restoration*, with 200 men, and other vessels. He takes French and Dutch vessels also.
- 1739.—STEPHEN LAW, Governor, April 7. The capitulation of Bassein signed by Caetano de Sousa Pereira, who, after a week's delay, gives it up to Chimnajee, the Mahratta general. The Portuguese troops obtain permission to come to Bombay, where they are well treated. The defences of Bombay are improved, and the ditch dug around the fort. The inhabitants of Bombay are much distressed for corn. Angria's fleet is considerable, and prevents all safe trading on the coast. The Directors order the Bombay Marine to be reduced.

- 1742.—A fearful storm does great damage in Bombay harbour, Sept. 11. Ditch round the fort finished.  
 JOHN GEEKIE *ad interim* Governor for ten days, Nov. 15.
- 1742.—WILLIAM WAKE, Governor, Nov. 25. The Mahrattas invade Salsette, and their proceedings are a source of great uneasiness to the Bombay Council. Angria proposes terms to the Bombay Government, and for not molesting European ships. Dupleix, the French Governor of Pondicherry, proposes to keep peace to the eastward of the Cape, although war rages between England and France in Europe. The poor much distressed for grain.
- 1750.—RICHARD BOURCHIER, Governor, Nov. 17. He had previously been Master Attendant at Calcutta. He finds the position of Bombay critical, on account of the disputes with Angria, and the war with the French.
- 1754.—Angria's fleet burn two large Dutch ships, and take another. Ships built at Bombay, one for Bengal.
- 1755.—Commodore James sails with two ships and two bomb-vessels, and gives chase to Angria's fleet, March 22. On the next day he is joined by seventeen Mahratta galleys and sixty galliots, having 10,000 men on board. The Mahrattas land at Comara, and are to proceed to attack Severndroog. Commodore James proceeds with his ships to attack the enemy at anchor; but he is seen, and the enemy then put to sea. The Commodore bombards the fort, and soon takes it. Bancoote surrenders, April 8. The fleet, from dread of the monsoon, retreats to Bombay. Rear-Admiral Watson arrives in Nov., and an expedition is got ready. On board is Colonel Clive, at the head of 800 Europeans and 1,000 Sepoys. Gheriah is then attacked, and speedily stormed and captured, Feb. 11, 1756.
- 1759.—The Siddee, Ahmet Khan, gives up the castle of Surat and the fleet to the English, which increases their influence.
- 1760.—CHARLES CROMMELIN, Governor, March 4.
- 1769.—THOMAS HODGES is President of the Council, and Governor of the Fort of Bombay, Sept. 28. The Government has resumed a great deal of the property of the island by purchase from the natives, to whom they give it on lease.
- 1771.—WILLIAM HORNBY succeeds, Feb. 25. The Bombay Government takes the part of Ragoba, the ex-Peishwa.
- 1773.—Broach taken. Tannah taken, Dec. 28.
- 1774.—Salsette is occupied by British troops; and a force, under Colonel Keating, effects a junction with Ragoba. They are attacked by the Mahrattas; but, after a considerable loss, are victorious. Ragoba grants the proprietorship of Salsette, of Bassein, and of a part of the revenues of Broach. The Supreme Government—that is, Francis' party—disapproves of the connection with Ragoba, but the Directors express their satisfaction. The Supreme Government sends Colonel Upton from Calcutta to Poonah, to carry on negotiations. After some time, the Supreme Council resolves to support Ragoba; the Mahratta Ministers yield, and a hasty, ill-digested treaty is concluded at Poorunder, which is not so favourable even to the Bombay Presidency. Ragoba is left to his fate, and retires with 200 followers to Surat.

- 1777.—A French Agent is landed near Choul, and received with honour at Poona. Choul is given to the French by the Mahrattas.
- 1779.—Ragoba's party, having gained strength at Poonah, apply for aid to the Supreme Government, which they consent to give. A force, under Colonel Leslie, is sent from Calcutta to cross India to aid Ragoba's friends. A division of the Bombay army is sent towards Poonah; it reaches a spot within sixteen miles, and then, struck with terror, begins a retreat, Jan. 11. A disgraceful convention is signed at Worgaum.
- 1780.—Colonel Leslie having died, Colonel Goddard succeeds him; and having marched his force 300 miles in nineteen days, reaches Surat on Jan. 30. Negotiations are again tried; but the Mahrattas refuse to accept the terms, and hostilities are renewed. Goddard takes several places—Ahmedabad, etc. Captain Popham storms Gwalior, and joins Goddard, who takes Bassein, Dec. 10. Various expeditions sent from Bombay to the Malabar coast, to act against Tippoo.
- 1785.—RAWSON HART BOODAM becomes Governor, Jan. 6. Efforts are made to clear the various buildings from the Esplanade. The successful events in Bengal, and the unhealthy character of Bombay, prevent many Europeans from going there.
- 1788.—ANDREW RAMSAY becomes Governor, Jan. 9.
- Major-General W. MEDDOWS takes the government, Sept. 6. He improves the fort, and a street yet bears his name.
- 1790.—Sir R. ABERCROMBY is appointed Governor, Jan. 21. The English officers, dissatisfied with some retrenchments, openly revolt, and refuse to march on an expedition; but the native soldiers will not support the revolt. Sir R. Abercromby resigns on being named Commander-in-Chief in India.
- 1794.—GEORGE DICK (Senior Councillor) becomes Governor, Nov. 26.
- 1795.—JOHN GRIFFITHS (Senior Councillor) becomes temporary Governor, Nov. 9.
- 1795.—JONATHAN DUNCAN takes the Government, Dec. 27. He dedicates much attention to the improvement of the island, by having roads opened, by erecting various bridges, by forming vellards between Breach Candy and Lovegrove, and also that from Syon to Salsette in 1805. The prevention of the irruptions of the sea has rendered Bombay healthful. The cocoa-nut trees and buildings are removed from the Esplanade, which is extended to 800 yards.
- 1802.—Treaty with the Peishwa, signed at Bassein.
- 1803.—An extensive fire takes place in the fort, of which a great part has to be rebuilt. Many of the natives are obliged to erect huts in places just recovered from the sea. The new town is therefore the most unhealthy part of the island.
- 1804.—The Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society is established. The ships built in the docks are considered to be of a superior kind. Sir Arthur Wellesley, after a splendid fete, sails from Bombay in April. The Literary Society of Bombay is established by Sir James Mackintosh. Mr. Duncan dies in the Government House, Aug. 11, 1811.
- 1811.—GEORGE BROWN (Senior Councillor) succeeds, Aug. 11. Subsidiary alliance with the Guicowar.
- 1812.—Sir EVAN NEPHAN, Bart., Governor, Aug. 12.

- 1814.—The road from Bancoota to Mundgaum formed.
- 1815.—The Docks repaired. The Bombay Education Society established.
- 1818.—Road made from Bandora to Gorabunder. The war with the Peishwa engrosses the attention of the authorities. The Scotch church finished.
- 1819.—The Hon. MOUNSTUART ELPHINSTONE takes the Government Nov. 9. Plans are adopted for supplying the lower town with sweet water. The Bycular tank is built. Capt. Hawkins proposes to drain the flats by the sluices at Worlee. Expeditions are sent to Arabia. The Town Hall is begun. The Elphinstone Institution is established.
- 1823.—Churches built at Surat and in the Northern Concan, and chapels at Poona and at Colaba.
- 1827.—Sir JOHN MALCOLM becomes Governor, Nov. 1. He applies himself to improvements. Capt. Hughes's plan is adopted for constructing the road to Poonah. A church is built at Kirkee. The road from Malligam to Surat is completed.
- 1828.—The Bungalows at Malabar point are begun.
- 1830.—The Botanical Garden at Daporee is begun. The Town Hall and Observatory at Colaba are completed. The Agri-Horticultural Society of Western India is established. The new church at Byculla is subscribed for at this time. Sir John Malcolm resigns the government, Dec. 1.
- 1830.—Major-General Sir T. S. BECKWITH (Commander-in-Chief) succeeds, Dec. 1. He dies Jan. 15, 1831.
- 1831.—JOHN ROMER (Senior Councillor) succeeds provisionally, Jan. 15. The EARL OF CLARE arrives from England, and assumes the government, March 21. The new church at Byculla is begun. Riots at Bombay by the Parsees, who object to the killing of dogs, June 7. They are speedily suppressed.
- 1832.—The Bombay Geographical Society is founded. A trial for libel is brought against a missionary publication for accusing an officer of having built a Hindu temple to please his mistress. Damages given, 850 rupees. Lord Clare departs.
- 1835.—Sir ROBERT GRANT arrives as Governor, March 17. He promotes education and improvements. Subscriptions opened for the Salsette and Trombay vellard. The vellard that joins Old Woman's Island to Bombay is commenced. The Savings Bank established. Chamber of Commerce established. Bank of Bombay is proposed.
- 1838.—A severe storm does great damage at Bombay, June 15. The transit duties are abolished. Bombay is declared a warehousing port. Sir Robert Grant dies at Poonah, July 9.
- JAMES FARISH (Senior Councillor) takes the government provisionally. The expedition to Cabul engrosses attention.
- 1839.—Sir J. RIVETT CARNAC arrives as Governor, May 31. He goes to Sattara to induce the Rajah to adopt proper measures, but that self-willed prince refuses, and is dethroned.
- 1840.—The Bank of Bombay is incorporated. American cotton planters arrive in India. The ships *Lord W. Bentinck* and *Lord Castlereagh* wrecked, with great loss of life, at the entrance of Bombay harbour, June.
- 1841.—Sir J. R. Carnac resigns, from ill health, April 28.

- 1841.—**G. W. ANDERSON** (Senior Councillor) becomes provisional governor. He hands the patent of Knighthood to the well-known beneficent Parsee, Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, whose charities are of the most munificent character, having, during the preceding twenty years, exceeded £80,000. Besides the large sums expended amongst his co-religionists, he gave £30,000 for translations of good books into Guzerathee, which is the language most in use amongst the Parsees; and establishes schools for the diffusion of knowledge amongst them.
- Sir W. M'NAUGHTEN, who has been named Governor of Bombay, is killed at Cabul.
- 1842.—Sir **GEORGE ARTHUR**, Bart., arrives as Governor, June 9. The Oriental Bank is established. A gang of harbour robbers, called "The Bunder gang," is detected.
- 1843.—The Governor, Sir G. Arthur, invites all the elite of the island to witness his presentation, in the name of the Queen, of a gold medal to Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Kt. The foundation of a grand hospital, at Bombay, is laid with masonic solemnity, Jan. 3; it is called the Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy Hospital, to which the generous Parsee gives £5,000. The Lord Bishop of Calcutta laid the foundation stone of the adjoining Grant Medical College, March 30.
- 1845.—The Vellard or causeway leading from Mahim to Bandora, is built by Lady Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, and opened by public procession, April 8. It costs £17,500. Other works of public utility contribute to place the reputation of this munificent Parsee above all his Indian contemporaries: they are the Poonah *bawd* or water-works, the Dhurmsalla in Bombay, etc., etc. Visitation of St. Thomas's Cathedral by the Bishop of Calcutta as metropolitan. The officers of the Scinde army vindicate their reputation, against charges made relative to their treatment of the Ameers' Zenana, June 4. The search of Dhackjee Dadajee's house takes place by order of the Governor. This act produces much discussion. Military proceedings in the Southern Mahratta country. The disturbances quashed.
- 1846.—Sir George Arthur resigns, from ill health, Aug. 5.
- 1846.—**LESTOCK ROBERT REID** (Senior Councillor) is provisional Governor, Aug. 5. The discussions respecting opium cases engage much attention. One of the most striking evils is the burning of ships; and no sufficient means of repression have been devised.
- 1847.—**GEORGE RUSSELL CLERK** arrives, and takes the government, Jan. 23. Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy presents a new Dhurmsala to the Bombay government. The steamer *Cleopatra* founders at sea. Scinde is placed on the same footing as the other British provinces. The establishment for the culture of silk in the Deccan fails. The Maldivian Islands inundated. The foundation is laid of a church at Colabah, to commemorate the officers killed in Afghanistan. The Mohammedans, at Bombay, hire steamers for their pilgrimages to Mecca.
- 1848.—The Governor visits Scinde. Great discussions are going forward relative to the Indian navy, and the management of that service. Capt. Lushington, R. N., takes command of it, Jan. 27. Mr. Clerk resigns, May 1.
- 1849.—**LORD FALKLAND** arrives, as Governor, May 1. In consequence of

the death of the Rajah of Sattara without heirs, his territories are annexed. Education is much extended in Bombay. Young natives are, in many instances, so far instructed as to give lectures in various branches of science. Sir E. Perry, the Chief Justice, publishes a remarkable memento on the state and prospects of education in Bombay, in which he holds out great encouragement for the dissemination of English education in that part of India. Yet the necessities of the government compel the refusal of the funds requisite for the different educational establishments.

1850.—The Nepalese Ambassador arrives from England in Nov. A Commission is appointed at Bombay, which makes inquiries into the conduct of the Native officials, and dismisses several of them.

1851.—Dr. J. Hardinge is consecrated Bishop of Bombay, in the Chapel of the Palace at Lambeth, Aug. 11.

The cool station of this Presidency is the Mahableshwar Hills, which was selected by Sir John Malcolm, in 1828.

The soubriquet of the Bombayites is "the Ducks," arising from their insular position.

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## APPENDIX—No. IV.

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### NOTICE OF FOREIGN EAST INDIA COMPANIES.

THE foreign companies which endeavoured to make a profit of the commerce of India, by rivalling the English, deserve a short notice. They were the following, viz.:—the Portuguese, the Spanish, the Dutch, the French, the Danish, the Ostend or Flemish, the Swedish, and the Embden or Prussian Companies.

The Portuguese were the first who effected a settlement in India; their early efforts were energetic; but when they lost the spirit of chivalry and religious enthusiasm, which animated their attacks against the Moslems and Gentoos of India, as much as against the Moors, whom they had expelled from their own country into Africa, they sunk into indolence and insignificance.

The Spanish people were too much engrossed with their American colonies to pay great attention to India; yet they preserve in the East an important colony, which adheres to the parent stock long after all the other offshoots have torn themselves from it. If Spain be engaged in a war, the Manilla Islands will be much coveted by the Americans.

The Dutch East India Company commenced in 1594, and in circumstances of good or evil at home it has continued; so that, even now, that steady, persevering people, possess the finest islands of the East as their colonies. Those islands once belonged to England, but she surrendered them at the general peace of Europe, and by the exchanges made in 1824, which have been already noticed.

The French East India Company was established by Colbert, in 1664, when its privileges were sanctioned by Louis XIV. It was ordered to be composed of twenty-one Directors, twelve being Parisians, and nine from the provinces. Their efforts were chiefly directed towards mastering the island of Madagascar, but, from being engaged in numerous wars, they were never successful in effecting any lasting settlements there. The efforts, in India, of Labourdonnais, Dupleix, Bussy, and Lally, are sketched in this history. The French possessions, in India, are but five; and, exclusive of Pondicherry and Carical, are scarcely worthy of notice, particularly as they are without any means of defence. Good reasons must be found for erecting fortifications in places which were taken during the last four wars by the English troops, and four times restored.

The Danish East India Company begun their long voyages to the East about the middle of the 17th century; but, as they have not gained much, they sold their only settlements in India to the English about seven years ago.

The Ostend East India Company was got up by the Flemish merchants after the treaty of Rastadt, when they hoped that, as their country was then given to the Emperor of Austria, his power would ensure them commerce. The Dutch and English pirates took some of the richest vessels. The Emperor struggled for a time against the different cabinets; but he at length consented, in 1727, to suspend their charter for seven years, and it was never afterwards revived.

The Swedes tried for a time to keep up an Eastern trade; but their ships have, for many years, been restricted to the trade with China.

The Embden East India or Prussian Asiatic Company was established in 1751, with the object of sending ships to China; but it never produced any important consequences to the trade of Europe.

## I N D E X.

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**ABINGDON**, Major, defends Tellichery, and takes Calicut, 163

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**AHMEDNUGGUR** taken by Gen. Wellesley, 207

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CORRIGENDA.—Page 25, for Prithri read Prithvee ; page 40, for Khodabed read Khodadad ; page 81, for Chaul read Choul ; page 90, in the Calcutta dates, for 169 read 1646 ; page 96, for Suhajee read Sahujee ; page 97, for Comorin read Comoree ; page 135, in the heading, read Governor of Bengal ; page 153, for Omrat ul read Omdut ul ; page 168, for Panian read Paniani ; page 195, for Rhonda read Rhoda ; page 204, in the side-heading, for 1810 read 1801 ; page 231, for steps read ships ; page 356, for Fraser read Fraser ; page 525, for departure of Sir E. J. Gambier from Madras in June, 1848, read in April, 1850.







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